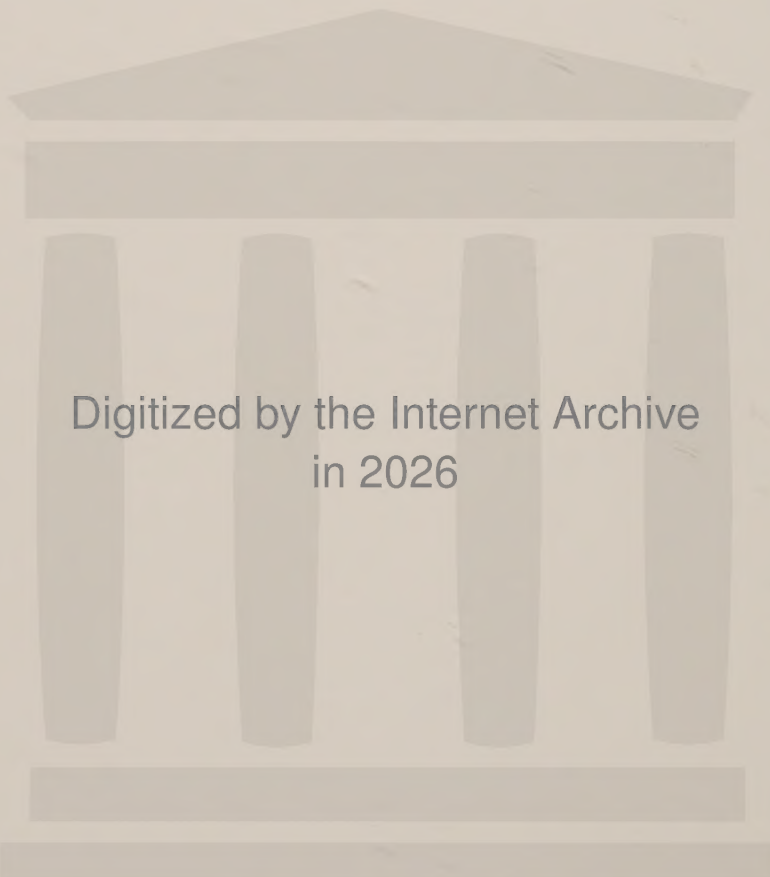




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LIVES OF THE ENGLISH POETS

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

EDITED BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III

SWIFT—LYTTTELTON

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SWIFT¹

AN Account of Dr. Swift has been already collected, with great ¹ diligence and acuteness, by Dr. Hawkesworth, according to a scheme which I laid before him in the intimacy of our friendship. I cannot, therefore, be expected to say much of a life concerning which I had long since communicated my thoughts to a man capable of dignifying his narration with so much elegance of language and force of sentiment ².

JONATHAN SWIFT was, according to an account said to ² be written by himself³, the son of Jonathan Swift, an attorney⁴, and was born at Dublin on St. Andrew's day, 1667⁵: according to his own report, as delivered by Pope to Spence, he was born at Leicester, the son of a clergyman, who was minister of a parish in Herefordshire⁶. During his life the place of his birth was undetermined. He was contented to be called an Irishman by the Irish, but would occasionally call himself an Englishman⁷.

¹ Johnson recorded on his birthday, Sept. 18, 1780:—'I have not at all studied, nor written diligently. I have Swift and Pope yet to write, Swift is just begun.' *John. Misc.* i. 94.

² See Appendix A.

³ 'The original MS., under the Doctor's own hand, which I received from his cousin, Mrs. Whiteway, I have lodged in the University Library of Dublin.' Deane Swift's *Essay upon the Life, &c., of Dr. Swift*, App. p. 2.

⁴ His father, he wrote, 'had some employments and agencies.' Craik's *Life of Swift*, p. 513. Forster says he was an attorney of Dublin. *Life of Swift*, p. 18. He described himself as 'a younger son of younger sons,' although he had no brother. He had a sister. *Works*, xvii. 260.

⁵ 'Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, Oct. 27, 1745, in recording his death, says he was "born in the parish of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, on St. An-

drew's Day, 1667, at his uncle, Counsellor Godwin Swift's house in Hoey's-alley, which was the general residence of the chief lawyers.'" The Rev. W. G. Carroll, whose *Succession of Clergy, &c.*, p. 55, I am quoting, thinks it probable that it was at Godwin Swift's house in Bull Alley, off Bride Street, that he was born. It was close to the Deanery.

⁶ Spence's *Anec.* p. 161. Probably Pope's memory was at fault; though Swift's cousin writes:—'Sometimes he would declare that he was not born in Ireland at all. . . . He could never endure to be called an Irishman.' Deane Swift, pp. 26, 28.

It was his grandfather who 'was Vicar of Goodrich in Herefordshire.' Craik, p. 510. For Swift's account of 'the old gentleman's being plundered two and fifty times by the barbarity of Cromwell's hellish crew' see *Works*, xix. 195.

⁷ Orrery's *Remarks*, p. 7. 'As to

The question may, without much regret, be left in the obscurity in which he delighted to involve it¹.

- 3 Whatever was his birth, his education was Irish. He was sent at the age of six to the school at Kilkenny², and in his fifteenth year (1682) was admitted into the University of Dublin.
- 4 In his academical studies he was either not diligent or not happy. It must disappoint every reader's expectation that, when at the usual time he claimed the Bachelorship of Arts, he was found by the examiners too conspicuously deficient for regular admission, and obtained his degree at last by *special favour*³, a term used in that university to denote want of merit.
- 5 Of this disgrace it may be easily supposed that he was much ashamed, and shame had its proper effect in producing reformation. He resolved from that time to study eight hours a-day, and continued his industry for seven years, with what improvement is sufficiently known⁴. This part of his story well deserves to be remembered; it may afford useful admonition and powerful encouragement to men whose abilities have been made for a time useless by their passions or pleasures, and who, having lost one

my native country,' he wrote on March 23, 1733-4, 'I happened indeed by a perfect accident to be born here, my mother being left here from returning to her house at Leicester . . . and thus I am a Teague, or an Irishman, or what people please, although the best part of my life was in England.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 184. See also *ib.* xix. 73. He distinguishes 'between the English gentry of this island and the savage old Irish.' The English 'think it very hard that an American, who is of the fifth generation from England, should be allowed to preserve that title [Englishman]' by a legal fiction, while they are denied it. *ib.* xix. 94. He makes the 'Draper' say:—'Our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England.' *ib.* vii. 412. For 'the disadvantage of being born in Ireland' see *ib.* vii. 31. See also *ib.* p. 11 for 'the wild Irish.'

'It seems to me he was no more an Irishman than a man born of English parents at Calcutta is a Hindoo. Goldsmith was an Irishman, and always an Irishman; Steele was an Irishman, and always an Irish-

man; Swift's heart was English and in England, his habits English, his logic eminently English.' THACKERAY, *English Humourists*, p. 13.

[The original seat of the family was in Yorkshire.' Craik's *Swift*, p. 3.]

For a Table of Swift's Residences in England see Appendix B.

¹ T. Sheridan said of this sentence:—'In plain English it would run thus:—"It is of very little moment where the fellow was born."' Swift's *Works*, 1803, ii. 202.

² *Ante*, CONGREVE, 4.

³ Swift, writing of himself, says:—'He was stopped of his degree for dulness and insufficiency; and at last hardly admitted in a manner little to his credit, which is called in that College *speciali gratia*.' Craik, p. 513. See also *ib.* p. 12 and Forster, p. 28, for his College days, and *N. & Q.* 6 S. v. 383 for the examination.

⁴ Delany's *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, p. 50. Jortin said of Swift:—'Writing Latin, either prose or verse, was not his talent, any more than making sermons. As to the knowledge which he is said to

part of life in idleness, are tempted to throw away the remainder in despair¹.

In this course of daily application he continued three years 6 longer at Dublin; and in this time, if the observation and memory of an old companion may be trusted, he drew the first sketch of his *Tale of a Tub*².

When he was about one-and-twenty (1688), being by the death 7 of Godwin Swift his uncle, who had supported him³, left without subsistence, he went to consult his mother, who then lived at Leicester, about the future course of his life⁴, and by her direction solicited the advice and patronage of Sir William Temple, who had married one of Mrs. Swift's relations, and whose father, Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, had lived in great familiarity of friendship with Godwin Swift, by whom Jonathan had been to that time maintained⁵.

Temple received with sufficient kindness the nephew of his 8 father's friend, with whom he was, when they conversed together,

have acquired of the learned languages—*Cras credo, hodie nihil*.
Jortin's *Tracts*, 1790, ii. 523.

¹ Swift wrote to Pope on April 5, 1729:—'I am ashamed to tell you, that when I was very young I had more desire to be famous than ever since.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 150. On Oct. 31 he wrote to Bolingbroke of fame: 'With age we learn to know the house is so full that there is no room for above one or two at most in an age through the whole world.' *Ib.* p. 162.

² The story comes from Swift's 'chamber-fellow,' Waring, whose sister he courted in 1695-6 under the name of Varina. *Deane Swift*, p. 31. Mr. Forster thinks the story 'may be true in everything but place and date.' *Forster*, pp. 47, 77.

³ *Deane Swift*, App. p. 42. 'He gave me,' said Swift, 'the education of a dog.' *Works*, i. 11 n. Godwin's son, Deane, says 'he had a numerous progeny by four wives.' His misfortunes made him cut down his nephew's allowance. *Deane Swift*, App. p. 41. In 1713, when Swift was made Dean, 'he had in Ireland nine cousin-germans [first cousins] living.' Most of them were well-to-do people. *Ib.* p. 350. In 1739, thanking a friend

for civilities to young Deane Swift, he continues:—'Mrs. Whiteway says he is my cousin; which will not be to his advantage, for I hate all relations.' *Works*, xix. 187. He described them as 'a numerous race, degenerating from their ancestors, who were of good esteem for their loyalty and sufferings in the rebellion against King Charles I.' Deane's great-grandfather was the regicide, Admiral Deane. *Ib.* xix. 194.

⁴ 'He was forced away,' wrote Temple, 'by the desertion of the College of Dublin upon the calamities of the country.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 160.

Swift wrote of his mother on her death:—'If the way to Heaven be through piety, truth, justice and charity, she is there.' *Works*, xv. 337. For her birth see *N. & Q.* 6 S. xi. 264.

⁵ Deane Swift (pp. 33, 34, 38) is the chief authority for this paragraph. The relationship between Swift's mother and Temple had been previously asserted by Lord Orrery in his *Remarks*, p. 15.

Sir John Temple was Master of the Rolls both before the Rebellion and after the Restoration. Temple's *Works*, ed. 1757, Preface, p. 8. *Post*, SWIFT, 16 n. 7.

so much pleased that he detained him two years in his house. Here he became known to King William, who sometimes visited Temple when he was disabled by the gout¹, and, being attended by Swift in the garden, shewed him how to cut asparagus in the Dutch way².

- 9 King William's notions were all military, and he expressed his kindness to Swift by offering to make him a captain of horse³.
- 10 When Temple removed to Moor-park he took Swift with him; and when he was consulted by the Earl of Portland about the expedience of complying with a bill then depending for making parliaments triennial, against which King William was strongly prejudiced, after having in vain tried to shew the Earl that the proposal involved nothing dangerous to royal power, he sent Swift for the same purpose to the King. Swift, who probably was proud of his employment, and went with all the confidence of a young man, found his arguments and his art of displaying them made totally ineffectual by the predetermination of the King⁴, and used to mention this disappointment as his first antidote against vanity⁵.
- 11 Before he left Ireland he contracted a disorder, as he thought, by eating too much fruit⁶. The original of diseases is commonly obscure. Almost every boy eats as much fruit as he can get, without any great inconvenience. The disease of Swift was giddiness with deafness, which attacked him from time to time, began very early, pursued him through life, and at last sent him to the grave deprived of reason⁷.

¹ Swift tells us that when Temple, at the age of forty-seven, had the gout 'he grew very melancholy. He said a man was never good for anything after it. . . . Nobody,' he added, 'should make love after forty, nor be in business after fifty.' Temple's *Works*, Pref. p. 27.

² Deane Swift, p. 108. See Swift's *Works*, i. 25 n., for Swift's making his bookseller eat the stalks of asparagus on his plate, because King William always ate them.

³ Deane Swift, p. 108. For the King's indifference to literature see *ante*, ADDISON, 17.

⁴ Craik, p. 514. The bill was rejected in March, 1693. 'The rejecting a bill, though an unquestionable right of the Crown, has been so

seldom practised that the two Houses are apt to think it a hardship when there is a bill denied.' Burnet's *Hist.* iii. 118. See also Macaulay's *Hist.* vi. 383. In Dec. 1694, a similar bill received the royal assent. *Ib.* vii. 155. For the Septennial Act, by which it was repealed in 1716, see *ante*, ADDISON, 94.

⁵ Craik, p. 514.

⁶ Johnson places this 'surfeit of fruit' in Ireland, as Swift says it happened before he was twenty. *Ib.* He wrote to Mrs. Howard:—'I got my giddiness by eating a hundred golden pippins at a time at Richmond.' *Works*, xvii. 132. See also Mrs. Delany's *Auto.* i. 550.

⁷ In 1734 he wrote of his giddiness and deafness:—'It is only of late

Being much oppressed at Moor-park by this grievous malady, 12 he was advised to try his native air¹, and went to Ireland; but, finding no benefit, returned to Sir William, at whose house he continued his studies, and is known to have read, among other books, *Cyprian* and *Irenæus*². He thought exercise of great necessity, and used to run half a mile up and down a hill every two hours³.

It is easy to imagine that the mode in which his first degree 18 was conferred left him no great fondness for the University of Dublin, and therefore he resolved to become a Master of Arts at Oxford⁴. In the testimonial which he produced the words of disgrace were omitted⁵, and he took his Master's degree (July 5, 1692) with such reception and regard as fully contented him⁶.

years that they have begun to come together.' Mrs. Delany's *Auto.* p. 501.

¹ Dr. Bucknill in *Brain*, Jan. 1882, proves that these two maladies of giddiness and deafness had their common origin in a disease in the region of the ear, to which the name of *Labyrinthine vertigo* has been given. . . . Nothing that could be called insanity came on, until this physical and local malady produced paralysis, a symptom of which was the not uncommon one of aphasia. . . . As a consequence of that paralysis, but not before, the brain, already weakened by senile decay, at length gave way.' *Craik*, p. 561. See also *Letters of Swift to Chetwode*, p. 45, and *post*, SWIFT, 106. [In W. R. Wilde's *Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life*, &c., Dublin, 1849, the whole course of these symptoms is discussed from the pathological point of view.]

² *Craik*, p. 514. On Feb. 14, 1691-2, he wrote:—'I returned from Ireland about half a year ago.' *Works*, xv. 243.

³ 'I have lying before me a book of extracts from St. Cyprian and St. Irenæus taken by Swift in 1697.' *Deane Swift*, p. 276. 'A sort of cant or jargon of certain heretics,' found in Irenæus, is quoted on the title-page of *The Tale of a Tub*. *Works*, x. 170 n.

⁴ 'This exercise he performed in about six minutes; backwards and forwards it was about half a mile.' *Deane Swift*, p. 272. In 1733 he wrote to Pope, who was forty-five:—'At your time of life I could have

leaped over the moon.' *Works*, xviii. 124. At Letcombe, where he resided in 1714 (*post*, SWIFT, 61), 'there is a hill,' wrote Bowles in 1806, 'which the village tradition says he was in the habit of running up every morning before breakfast.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 315.

⁵ In 1724 Swift wrote from Dublin:—'The discipline in Oxford is more remiss than here.' *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 155. See also *ib.* pp. 156-9. In 1735, contrasting Dublin with Oxford and Cambridge, he wrote:—'A fellowship is here obtained with great difficulty by the number of candidates, the strict examination in many branches of learning, and the regularity of life and manners.' *Works*, xviii. 241. See also *ib.* viii. 229.

In the March List of Deaths in *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 164, is the following:—'The Rev. Mr. Edward Ford, M.A., jun. Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, being shot by the Schollars, having render'd himself unacceptable to them, tho' a very pious Man.'

⁶ 'These words were never entered in any *testimonium*, which merely states the fact of a degree being taken.' Johnson's *Works*, viii. 194 n. Orrery foolishly asserts that it was thought at Oxford 'that the words signified a degree conferred in reward of extraordinary diligence or learning.' *Remarks*, p. 12.

⁶ He entered Hart Hall. *Craik*, p. 515. This Hall had been also

- 14 While he lived with Temple he used to pay his mother at Leicester an yearly visit. He travelled on foot¹, unless some violence of weather drove him into a waggon², and at night he would go to a penny lodging, where he purchased clean sheets for sixpence³. This practice Lord Orrery imputes to his innate love of grossness and vulgarity⁴: some may ascribe it to his desire of surveying human life through all its varieties; and others, perhaps with equal probability, to a passion which seems to have been deep fixed in his heart, the love of a shilling⁵.
- 15 In time he began to think that his attendance at Moor-park deserved some other recompence than the pleasure, however mingled with improvement, of Temple's conversation; and grew so impatient that (1694) he went away in discontent⁶.
- 16 Temple, conscious of having given reason for complaint, is said to have made him Deputy Master of the Rolls in Ireland⁷, which, according to his kinsman's account, was an office which he knew him not able to discharge⁸. Swift therefore resolved to enter into the Church⁹, in which he had at first no higher hopes

known as Hertford or Hert Hall. For its transformations into Hertford College, Magdalen Hall, and, a second time, into Hertford College, see *The University Calendar* under HERTFORD COLLEGE. Swift wrote to his uncle, William Swift:—'I never was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the University of Oxford to me.' *Works*, xv. 244.

¹ Swift wrote from London in 1711:—'The young fellows here have begun a kind of fashion to walk, and many of them have got swinging strong shoes on purpose; it has got as far as several young lords.' *Works*, ii. 395. In 1728 the Wesleys, who began to perform their journeys on foot, 'thought it a discovery that four or five and twenty miles are an easy and safe day's journey.' Southey's *Wesley*, 1846, i. 52.

² Roderick Random and Strap, in one day's quick walking, overtook the Newcastle and London wagon, though it had two days' start. *Roderick Random*, ch. x.

³ 'I have often heard him say that he took particular care to keep clear of being lodged in the same bed with the clowns he conversed with; and

that he often bribed the maid with a tester for a single bed and clean sheets.' *Delany*, p. 73.

⁴ *Orrery*, p. 33.

⁵ *Post*, SWIFT, 124. 'Swift told his friends that, whatever money he saved by this manner of travelling, he threw it away, as soon as he went to London, upon a fine waistcoat, or some additional gaiety upon a suit of clothes.' *Deane Swift*, p. 101.

⁶ *Works*, xv. 246.

⁷ Charles II gave Temple 'the reversion of the Master of the Rolls' place in Ireland, after his father [Sir John Temple]. Temple's *Works*, Preface, p. 27. [The patent bears date April 7, 1664. He received the actual appointment on Nov. 23, 1677, exercising it by deputy until 1689, when he was removed. *Liber Hiberniae*, vol. i, *The Establishments of Ireland*, pt. 2, p. 20.] Swift says that the post in the Rolls Office offered him was worth about £120 a year. *Craik*, p. 515.

⁸ *Deane Swift*, App. p. 49.

⁹ He wrote to Lord Peterborough in 1711:—'My ambition is to live in England, and with a competency to support me with honour. The minis-

than of the chaplainship to the Factory at Lisbon¹; but, being recommended to Lord Capel, he obtained the prebend of Kilroot in Connor of about a hundred pounds a year².

But the infirmities of Temple made a companion like Swift so³ necessary, that he invited him back, with a promise to procure him English preferment, in exchange for the prebend which he desired him to resign⁴. With this request Swift complied, having perhaps equally repented their separation, and they lived on together with mutual satisfaction⁵; and, in the four years that passed between his return and Temple's death, it is probable that he wrote *The Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*⁶.

Swift began early to think, or to hope, that he was a poet, 18 and wrote Pindarick Odes⁷ to Temple⁸, to the King⁹, and to the Athenian Society, a knot of obscure men, who published a periodical pamphlet of answers to questions, sent, or supposed to be sent, by Letters¹⁰. I have been told that Dryden, having perused these verses, said, 'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet¹¹'; and

try know by this time whether I am worth keeping; and it is easier to provide for ten men in the Church than one in a civil employment.' *Works*, xv. 420.

¹ *Ib.* p. 247.

² *Craik*, p. 515. He was ordained deacon on Oct. 25, 1694, and priest on Jan. 13, 1694-5. *Ib.* p. 48.

³ He returned to England in May, 1696. *Works*, xv. 251. Swift's sister wrote of Temple in 1699:—'He made my brother give up his living to stay with him, and promised to get him one in England; but death came in between, and has left him unprovided both of friend and living.' *Ib.* p. 260.

⁴ Swift, in 1700, described Temple as 'a good master, and the best friend in the world.' Temple's *Works*, Preface, p. 26. To Stella he wrote on April 3, 1711:—'I warned Mr. Secretary [St. John] never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a schoolboy; that I had felt too much of that in my life already (meaning Sir William Temple).' *Works*, ii. 214. See also *ib.* xvii. 26, for Lord Palmerston (a Temple by birth) reproaching Swift with ingratitude to the family, and the Dean's rough reply.

⁵ Swift says that 'the greatest part' of the first was finished in

1696, and the second in 1697. *Ib.* x. 14, 210.

⁶ *Ante*, COWLEY, 143. Swift wrote to his cousin Mr. (afterwards Rev. Dr.) Swift, of Puttenham, co. Surrey, on May 3, 1692, from Moor Park:—'I esteem the time of studying poetry to be 2 hours in a morning, and that onely when the humor fits, which I esteem to be the flower of the whole day, . . . and yet I seldom write about [? above] 2 stanzaes in a week, I mean such as are to any Pindarick ode . . . I have a sort of vanity or foibless, I do not know what to call it. . . . It is . . . that I am over fond of my own writings, I would not have the world think so, and I find when I writt [? write] what pleases me, I am Cowley to myself, and can read a hundred times over.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. App. p. 680. [Swift's correspondent was his 'little parson cousin' Thomas Swift, who 'affected to talk suspiciously as if he had some share in' *The Tale of a Tub*. *Works*, xv. 345.]

⁷ In 1689. *Ib.* xiv. 13.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 21. It is written in quatrains—in imitation of Dryden's lines on Cromwell.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 23. For Swift's letter to the Society see *ib.* xv. 242.

¹⁰ Malone, in his *Dryden*, i. 241,

- that this denunciation was the motive of Swift's perpetual malevolence to Dryden¹.
- 19 In 1699 Temple died, and left a legacy with his manuscripts to Swift², for whom he had obtained from King William a promise of the first prebend that should be vacant at Westminster or Canterbury³.
- 20 That this promise might not be forgotten, Swift dedicated to the King the posthumous works with which he was intrusted⁴; but neither the dedication, nor tenderness for the man whom he once had treated with confidence and fondness, revived in King William the remembrance of his promise. Swift awhile attended the Court; but soon found his solicitations hopeless⁵.
- 21 He was then invited by the Earl of Berkeley to accompany him into Ireland as his private secretary; but after having done the business till their arrival at Dublin, he then found that one Bush had persuaded the Earl that a Clergyman was not a proper secretary, and had obtained the office for himself⁶. In a man like Swift such circumvention and inconstancy must have excited violent indignation.
- 22 But he had yet more to suffer. Lord Berkeley had the disposal of the deanery of Derry, and Swift expected to obtain it, but by the secretary's influence, supposed to have been secured by a bribe, it was bestowed on somebody else⁷; and Swift was

referring to this anecdote as related in Deane Swift's *Essay*, p. 117, says: —'Johnson probably communicated it to his amanuensis, Shiels, who introduces it (from authentic information) in the account of Swift in Cibber's *Lives* [*ante*, HAMMOND, I], previous to the appearance of the *Essay*.'

Dr. Warton had the same story from his father, who had it from Fenton. *Essay on Pope*, ii. 312. For Johnson's connexion with Fenton through Lewis see *ante*, FENTON, 4*n*.

¹ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 89, 147 *n.*, 286 *n.*, 306 *n.*, 341 *n.*, 349.

² Swift writes of him as 'that great man, who besides a legacy left him the care and trust, and advantage of publishing his posthumous writings.' *Craik*, p. 515. In 1709 Swift signed a receipt for £40 'for the original copy of the third part of Temple's *Memoirs*.' *Ib.* p. 75 *n*.

³ *Ib.* p. 515.

⁴ It was the first two volumes of *Letters* that he dedicated, in 1700. *Works*, ix. 103; Temple's *Works*, i. 225.

⁵ *Craik*, p. 515. 'That frequent expression, *upon the word of a King*, I have always despised and detested, for a thousand reasons.' SWIFT, *Works*, xii. 158.

⁶ *Craik*, p. 516; *Works*, 1803, i. 108. Berkeley, in 1699, was made one of the three Lords Justices (*ante*, TICKELL, 16). *Craik*, p. 515. For *The Discovery*, satirical lines on him and Bush, see *Works*, xiv. 59.

⁷ Swift says a bribe was given. *Craik*, p. 516. Sheridan adds that Bush, with Berkeley's knowledge, told Swift that he could still have the Deanery 'if he would lay down £1,000. To which he made no other answer but this:—"God confound

dismissed with the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin in the diocese of Meath, which together did not equal half the value of the deanery ¹.

At Laracor he increased the parochial duty by reading prayers ²³ on Wednesdays and Fridays, and performed all the offices of his profession with great decency and exactness ².

Soon after his settlement at Laracor he invited to Ireland the ²⁴ unfortunate Stella, a young woman whose name was Johnson, the daughter of the steward of Sir William Temple, who, in consideration of her father's virtues, left her a thousand pounds ³. With her came Mrs. Dingley, whose whole fortune was twenty-seven pounds a year for her life ⁴. With these Ladies he passed his hours of relaxation, and to them he opened his bosom; but they never resided in the same house, nor did he see either without a witness ⁵. They lived at the Parsonage when Swift was away; and when he returned removed to a lodging or to the house of a neighbouring clergyman ⁶.

Swift was not one of those minds which amaze the world with ²⁵ early pregnancy; his first work, except his few poetical Essays,

you both for a couple of scoundrels." *Works*, 1803, i. 109. Swift describes the Earl as 'intolerably lazy and indolent, and somewhat covetous.' *Works*, xii. 231.

¹ *Craik*, p. 516. He had more-over the rectory of Agher. The three together, he says, 'were not worth above a third part of that rich deanery.' *Ib.* 'Five or six livings,' he says, 'are often joined to make a revenue of £50.' *Works*, xv. 361. His three livings he reckoned at about £230 a year. *Works*, 1803, i. 110 n. For Laracor see Swift's *Letters to Chetwode*, pp. 7, 27, 86.

² *Delany*, pp. 40, 64; *post*, SWIFT, 117.

³ She was baptized at Richmond on March 20, 1681, by the name of 'Hester ye Daughter of Edwd Johnston.' *N. & Q.* 6 S. x. 287. In two deeds she signed her name 'Esther Johnston' (not Johnson). *Ib.* 8 S. ii. 302. 'Her father was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamshire; her mother of a lower degree. . . . Her fortune at that time was in all not above £1,500.' SWIFT,

Works, ix. 274. 'She was the daughter of Temple's steward.' *Orrery*, p. 22. 'Temple left her £1,000.' *Deane Swift*, p. 85. [Lord Orrery and Deane Swift were in error. For Temple's bequest and Stella's parentage see Appendix J.]

⁴ *Deane Swift*, p. 86, where it is added that she was fifteen years older than Stella. 'Dr. Swift, who allowed her £52 a year, pretended [not to her, but to others] he was only her agent for money that she had in the funds.' *Ib.* p. 346. See also *Works*, xviii. 237 n. In writing to one of the Temple family he calls her 'your cousin.' *Ib.* xix. 36.

⁵ *Post*, SWIFT, 70. To Tickell he wrote from London in 1726:—'I wonder how you could expect to see Mrs. Johnson in a morning, which I, her oldest acquaintance, have not done these dozen years, except once or twice in a journey.' *Ib.* xix. 283.

⁶ *Deane Swift*, p. 90. 'They lived always in lodgings; their domestics consisted of two maids and one man.' SWIFT, *Works*, ix. 281.

was *The Dissentions in Athens and Rome*¹, published (1701) in his thirty-fourth year². After its appearance, paying a visit to some bishop, he heard mention made of the new pamphlet that Burnet had written, replete with political knowledge. When he seemed to doubt Burnet's right to the work he was told by the Bishop that he was 'a young man,' and, still persisting to doubt, that he was 'a very positive young man'³.

- 26 Three years afterward (1704) was published *The Tale of a Tub*⁴: of this book charity may be persuaded to think that it might be written by a man of a peculiar character, without ill intention; but it is certainly of dangerous example. That Swift was its author, though it be universally believed, was never owned by himself⁵, nor very well proved by any evidence⁶; but no other claimant can be produced, and he did not deny it when Archbishop Sharpe and the Duchess of Somerset, by shewing it to the Queen, debarred him from a bishoprick⁷.

- 27 When this wild work first raised the attention of the publick,

¹ *Works*, iii. 193.

² He had already written, though not published, *The Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*. *Ante*, SWIFT, 17.

³ 'Goldsmith,' said Johnson, 'was a plant that flowered late.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 167. Richardson was fifty-two when he published *Pamela*, and Sterne forty-six when he published *Tristram Shandy*.

⁴ It was written against the impeachment of Somers, Halifax (*ante*, HALIFAX, 8), and three other peers. 'I sent it,' writes Swift, 'very privately to the press.' Burnet, he adds, 'told me afterwards that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment wherewith he was threatened.' *Works*, iii. 179. According to T. Sheridan the bishop was William Sheridan, deprived Bishop of Kilmore. "Then pray," said he, "who writ it?" Swift answered, "My Lord, I writ it." Swift's *Works*, 1803, i. 114. 'Returning next year for England,' writes Swift, 'I must confess the vanity of a young man prevailed with me to let myself be known for the author.' *Works*, iii. 180. Defending anonymous writing,

threatened by parliament, he says:—'All persons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their thoughts into the world.' *Ib.* v. 150.

⁵ *Ib.* x. 1; *post*, SWIFT, III.

⁶ Atterbury wrote in 1704 (*Corres.* iii. 218):—"The author, if it be the man I guess, hath reason to conceal himself because of the prophane stories, which would do his reputation and interest in the world more harm than the wit can do him good."

⁷ 'I doubt,' said Johnson, 'if it was his; it has so much more thinking, more knowledge, more power, more colour, than any of the works which are indisputably his. If it was his, I shall only say he was *impar sibi*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 44. See also *ib.* i. 452, ii. 318; *John. Misc.* ii. 331.

Swift's correspondence with Tooke the bookseller in 1710 proves that he was the author. *Works*, xv. 344. For his muttering 'in the last years of his life:—"Good God! what a genius I had when I wrote that book!"' see *ib.* i. 81.

⁸ See Appendix C.

Sacheverell¹, meeting Smalridge, tried to flatter him by seeming to think him the author; but Smalridge² answered with indignation, 'Not all that you and I have in the world, nor all that ever we shall have, should hire me to write *The Tale of a Tub*³.'

The digressions relating to Wotton and Bentley must be confessed to discover want of knowledge or want of integrity; he did not understand the two controversies, or he willingly misrepresented them. But Wit can stand its ground against Truth only a little while. The honours due to learning have been justly distributed by the decision of posterity⁴.

*The Battle of the Books*⁵ is so like the *Combat des Livres*,²⁹ which the same question concerning the Ancients and Moderns had produced in France, that the improbability of such a coincidence of thoughts without communication is not, in my opinion, balanced by the anonymous protestation prefixed, in which all knowledge of the French book is peremptorily disowned⁶.

For some time after Swift was probably employed in solitary³⁰ study, gaining the qualifications requisite for future eminence. How often he visited England, and with what diligence he attended his parishes, I know not⁷. It was not till about four

¹ *Ante*, KING, 13; ADDISON, 14.

² *Ante*, SMITH, 57. Addison wrote of him in 1718:—'He is to me the most candid and agreeable of all bishops.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 303. Johnson praised his elegant style. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 248.

³ Miss Byron in *Sir Charles Grandison* had read it. Letter 12.

⁴ *Ante*, KING, 6. Boyle wrote to his tutor Atterbury in 1693:—'There is no post in the world I could be better pleased with than a groom of the bedchamber's place.' *Atterbury Corres.* ii. 19. This was the man who had the impudence to match himself with Bentley in learning. He was long considered the victor. Budgell wrote in 1732:—'The world was pleased to see a young man of quality and fortune get the better of an old critic.' *Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery*, p. 193.

⁵ *Works*, x. 205.

⁶ Swift quotes Wotton as saying:—'I have been assured that the battle in St. James's Library is taken out of a French book, entitled *Com-*

bat des Livres, if I misremember not.' Swift replies that 'he has never seen any such treatise in his life, nor heard of it before.' *Ib.* x. 26.

In the *Anecdotes of Pope*, quoted in *Gent. Mag.* 1770, p. 159, it is said that 'it was taken from a French tract in 12mo, entitled *Histoire politique de la guerre nouvellement déclarée entre les Anciens et les Modernes*.' Mr. Craik says that 'the trifling points of coincidence make it probable that it had passed under Swift's notice, along with a crowd of forgotten authorities.' *Craik*, p. 71. Of *The Tale of a Tub*, Voltaire wrote:—'Ce fameux *Conte du tonneau* est une imitation de l'ancien conte des trois anneaux indiscernables qu'un père légua à ses trois enfans. Ces trois anneaux étaient la religion juive, la chrétienne et la mahométane. C'est encore une imitation de l'*Histoire de Méro et d'Enegu* par Fontenelle.' *Œuvres*, xxiv. 133.

⁷ For his visits to England see Appendix B.

years afterwards that he became a professed author, and then one year (1708) produced *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man*¹; the ridicule of Astrology, under the name of Bickerstaff²; the *Argument against abolishing Christianity*³; and the defence of the Sacramental Test⁴.

- 81 *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* is written with great coolness, moderation, ease, and perspicuity. The *Argument against abolishing Christianity* is a very happy and judicious irony. One passage in it deserves to be selected.

'If Christianity were once abolished, how could the free-thinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning be able to find another subject so calculated, in all points, whereon to display their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of from those whose genius, by continual practice, hath been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives against religion, and would therefore never be able to shine, or distinguish themselves, upon any other subject? We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would take away the greatest, perhaps the only, topick we have left. Who would ever have suspected Asgill⁵ for a wit, or Toland⁶ for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? What other subject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal⁷ for a profound author, or furnished him with readers? It is the wise choice of the subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For had an hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion.'

¹ *Works*, viii. 239; *Craik*, p. 168.

² *Predictions for the Year 1708*. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., *Works*, viii. 437; *Craik*, p. 170. For astrology see *ante*, BUTLER, 47; DRYDEN, 191.

³ *An Argument to prove that the Abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be attended with some Inconveniences, and perhaps not produce those many good Effects proposed thereby*, *Works*, viii. 61; *Craik*, p. 162.

⁴ *Works*, viii. 339; *Craik*, p. 167. Swift wrote of it to Archbishop King:—'Some parts of it are very well, and others puerile.' *Works*, xv. 307.

⁵ John Asgill is placed among the

writers in 'The Pert Style' in *The Art of Sinking*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 391.

⁶ 'I know no genuine Saxon English superior to Asgill's. I think his and Defoe's irony often finer than Swift's.' COLERIDGE, *Table-Talk*, 1884, p. 161.

⁷ *Ante*, MILTON, 117.

⁸ 'But art thou one whom new opinions sway,
One who believes as Tindal leads the way,
Who virtue and a church alike disowns,
Thinks that but words, and this but brick and stones?'
POPE, *Imit. Hor., Epis.* i. 6. 63.

The reasonableness of a Test is not hard to be proved; but 82 perhaps it must be allowed that the proper test has not been chosen¹.

The attention paid to the papers published under the name of 83 Bickerstaff induced Steele, when he projected *The Tatler*, to assume an appellation which had already gained possession of the reader's notice².

In the year following he wrote *A Project for the Advancement* 34 *of Religion*³, addressed to Lady Berkeley⁴, by whose kindness it is not unlikely that he was advanced to his benefices. To this project, which is formed with great purity of intention, and displayed with spriteliness and elegance, it can only be objected that, like many projects, it is, if not generally impracticable, yet evidently hopeless, as it supposes more zeal, concord, and perseverance than a view of mankind gives reason for expecting⁵.

¹ Lord Eldon said much the same in 1828, when in vain he opposed the abolition of the test. 'He had never desired to retain the sacramental test, if any other equivalent security could be substituted.' Twiss's *Eldon*, 1846, ii. 206.

By this Act all officers, civil and military, had to receive the sacrament according to the Church of England within six months after their admission. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, ed. 1775, iv. 58.

In a debate in the House of Commons in 1736, it was stated that on account of 'the terrible indecencies some have been guilty of upon such occasions, it is the common practice for the curate to desire the legal communicants to divide themselves from those who come for the sake of devotion.' *Parl. Hist.* ix. 1050.

Swift wrote on Nov. 25, 1711:—'I was early with the Secretary to-day, but he was gone to his devotions, and to receive the sacrament; several rakes did the same; it was not for piety, but employments; according to act of parliament.' *Works*, ii. 412. The Secretary was St. John (Bolingbroke), Johnson's 'scoundrel, who charged a blunderbuss against religion and morality.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 268. Hume and Gibbon must have taken the test for the offices they held. Swift opposed its abolition

in Ireland. *Works*, viii. 345. For Dryden's exclusion by it see *ante*, DRYDEN, 136.

² In the Preface to vol. iv Steele writes:—'I have in the Dedication of the first volume made my acknowledgments to Dr. Swift, whose pleasant writings, in the name of Bickerstaff, created an inclination in the town towards anything that could appear in the same disguise.' For Swift's Bickerstaff papers see *Works*, viii. 437-end. Pope addresses him in *The Dunciad*, i. 19:—

'O Thou! whatever title please thine ear,

Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver!'

³ *Works*, viii. 78. Swift begins his *Project* with a mystification, for he describes it as 'By a Person of Quality.'

⁴ *Ante*, SWIFT, 22. In his Dedication he says that she has been 'grafted into a family, which the unmeasurable profusion of ancestors for many generations had too much eclipsed.' *Works*, viii. 80.

⁵ The great Reformer was to be the Queen. She should begin with her 'domestics of the middle and lower sort,' and 'oblige them to a constant weekly attendance, at least, on the service of the Church . . . and to the appearance, at least, of temperance and chastity.' She should next re-

- 85 He wrote likewise this year *A Vindication of Bickerstaff*¹, and an explanation of an *Ancient Prophecy*², part written after the facts, and the rest never completed, but well planned to excite amazement.
- 86 Soon after began the busy and important part of Swift's life. He was employed (1710) by the primate of Ireland³ to solicit the Queen for a remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth parts to the Irish Clergy⁴. With this purpose he had recourse to Mr. Harley, to whom he was mentioned as a man neglected and oppressed by the last ministry, because he had refused to co-operate with some of their schemes⁵. What he had refused has

form 'those of higher rank. Morality and religion would soon become fashionable Court virtues.' *Works*, viii. p. 85. Hypocrisy would, no doubt, be increased, but 'hypocrisy is much more eligible than open infidelity and vice.' *Ib.* p. 97. He attacks the London magistrates who often 'enrich themselves by encouraging the grossest immoralities; to whom all the bawds of the ward pay contribution for shelter and protection from the laws.' *Ib.* p. 94. All taverns should be cleared at midnight; 'no woman should be suffered to enter them upon any pretence whatsoever,' and the landlords should be 'obliged, upon the severest penalties,' to limit the quantity of drink. *Ib.* p. 100. See also *post*, SWIFT, 138 n.

Steele praised this pamphlet in *The Tatler* for April 21, 1709. He quoted this *Tatler* in his *Apology occasioned by his Expulsion from the House of Commons*. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 1300.

John Wesley, who was to begin his reformation, not with the Sovereign but the people, was a boy of six when Swift published his *Project*.

¹ *Works*, viii. 472.

² *A Famous Prediction of Merlin, the British Wizard*, *ib.* p. 480. One of the prophecies never completed was that 'Norway's Pryd again shall marry.' 'Norway's Pryd' was Queen Anne, the widow of Prince George of Denmark.

³ Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh. Swift wrote of him:—'It has been affirmed that originally he

was not altogether devoid of wit, till it was extruded from his head to make room for other men's thoughts.' *Works*, ix. 269.

⁴ The Pope had claimed the first-fruits of all benefices,—'the first year's whole profits'—and the tenths—'the tenth part of the annual profit.' On the Reformation this revenue was annexed to the Crown. 'In Charles II's time it went chiefly among his women and his natural children.' As the valuation had not been raised, the amount paid 'was in most places not above the fifth part of the true value.' In England the whole amounted to about £16,000 a year. By statute 2 Anne, c. 11, it was applied to the augmentation of poor livings, under the title of Queen Anne's Bounty. *Blackstone*, 1775, i. 284; *Burnet's Hist.* iv. 32.

A like indulgence was sought for the Irish Church. 'The twentieth parts,' writes Swift, 'are twelve pence in the pound, paid annually out of all benefices, as they were valued at the Reformation.' The total yearly revenue paid to the Crown amounted to £3,000. *Works*, xv. 362. In his *Change in the Queen's Ministry* he says that it was 'the first fruits and tenths that he solicited.' *Ib.* iii. 184. In July, 1711, the twentieth parts were remitted, and the first-fruits granted for buying impropriations ('church land in the hands of a layman'). *Ib.* xv. 437.

⁵ 'I got myself represented as one extremely ill-used by the last ministry after some obligations, because I re-

never been told; what he had suffered was, I suppose, the exclusion from a bishoprick by the remonstrances of Sharpe, whom he describes as 'the harmless tool of others' hate,' and whom he represents as afterwards 'suing for pardon'.

Harley's designs and situation were such as made him glad of 87 an auxiliary so well qualified for his service²; he therefore soon admitted him to familiarity, whether ever to confidence some have made a doubt³; but it would have been difficult to excite his zeal without persuading him that he was trusted, and not very easy to delude him by false persuasions.

He was certainly admitted to those meetings in which the first 88 hints and original plan of action are supposed to have been formed, and was one of the sixteen Ministers, or agents of the Ministry, who met weekly at each other's houses, and were united by the name of *Brother*⁴.

Being not immediately considered as an obdurate Tory⁵, he 89 conversed indiscriminately with all the wits, and was yet the friend of Steele, who in *The Tatler*, which began in 1710⁶, confesses the advantages of his conversation⁷, and mentions something contributed by him to his paper⁸. But he was now im-

fused to go certain lengths they would have me. This happened to be in some sort Mr. Harley's own case.' *Works*, xv. 364. See also *ib.* ii. 29. For his gross flattery of Halifax in 1709 with a view to preferment see his two letters to him in Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 201. For Harley, Earl of Oxford, see *ante*, PRIOR, 21, 35; CONGREVE, 28.

² *Ante*, SWIFT, 26 n.

³ 'He told me that their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen to keep up the spirit raised in the people.' *Works*, iii. 185.

⁴ *Orrery*, p. 44. Swift wrote on Nov. 11, 1710:—'Mr. St. John told me that Mr. Harley complained he could keep nothing from me, I had the way so much of getting into him. I knew that was a refinement.' *Works*, ii. 77. (*Refinement*, in this sense, is defined by Johnson as 'artificial practice.') Lewis (*ante*, GAY, 13) wrote to Swift on Aug. 6, 1713 of Harley:—'His mind has been communicated more freely to you than any other.' *ib.* xvi. 58.

⁵ *Ante*, PRIOR, 45.

⁶ In 1716 Swift wrote that he 'was always a Whig in politics.' *Works*, xvi. 267. He always defended the Revolution. In 1724 he wrote:—'All government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery.' *ib.* vi. 422. See also *ib.* iii. 255, vii. 477, viii. 266, xvi. 345; *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 88; *post*, SWIFT, 115.

⁷ It began on April 12, 1709.

⁸ 'A certain uncommon way of thinking, and a turn in conversation peculiar to that agreeable gentleman, rendered his company very advantageous to one whose imagination was to be continually employed upon obvious and common subjects, though at the same time obliged to treat of them in a new and unbeaten method.' *The Tatler*, Preface to vol. iv. On Dec. 14, 1710, Swift wrote:—'The ministry hate to think that I should help Steele; . . . and I frankly told them I would do it no more.' *Works*, ii. 107.

⁹ *Description of the Morning in*

merging into political controversy; for the same year produced *The Examiner*, of which Swift wrote thirty-three papers¹. In argument he may be allowed to have the advantage; for where a wide system of conduct and the whole of a publick character is laid open to enquiry, the accuser having the choice of facts must be very unskilful if he does not prevail; but with regard to wit, I am afraid none of Swift's papers will be found equal to those by which Addison opposed him².

- 40 Early in the next year he published *A Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue, in a Letter to the Earl of Oxford*³, written without much knowledge of the general nature of language, and without any accurate enquiry into the history of other tongues. The certainty and stability which, contrary to all experience, he thinks attainable⁴, he proposes to secure by instituting an academy; the decrees of which every man would have been willing, and many would have been proud to disobey, and which, being renewed by successive elections, would in a short time have differed from itself.

- 41 He wrote the same year *A Letter to the October Club*⁵, a number of Tory gentlemen sent from the country to Parliament, who formed themselves into a club, to the number of about a hundred,

Town, No. 9, and *Description of a City Shower*, No. 238.

¹ *Ante*, SMITH, 2 n.; KING, 13; PRIOR, 22. Swift wrote all the numbers from 13 to 45. *Works*, iii. 252. On July 17, 1711, he wrote to Stella:—'No, I don't like anything in *The Examiner* after the 45th, except the first part of the 46th; all the rest is trash.' *Ib.* ii. 303. See also *ib.* p. 393.

² The last *Whig Examiner* was on Oct. 12, 1710. Addison's *Works*, iv. 390. Swift's first *Examiner* appeared on Nov. 2.

³ *Ante*, ROSCOMMON, 14; PRIOR, 15; *Works*, ix. 133. It was published, not the next year, but in 1712. In Johnson's *Works*, 1825, viii. 202, the mistake is corrected by a silent transposition of paragraphs. Swift wrote on May 10, 1712:—'My letter is now printing, and I suffer my name to be put at the end of it, which I never did before in my life.' *Works*, iii. 26. See also *ib.* ii. 282, 486, xv. 435, 492, xvi. 5, and *post*, SWIFT, 75 n. 2.

⁴ Les membres de ce corps auraient

eu un grand avantage sur les premiers qui composèrent l'Académie française. Swift, Prior, Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Addison etc. avaient fixé la langue anglaise par leurs écrits; au lieu que Chapelain, Colletet, Cassaigne, Faret, Cotin, nos premiers académiciens, étaient l'opprobre de notre nation.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 145. Dryden died twelve years before Swift published his *Proposal*. See also *John. Misc.* i. 436.

⁵ 'Nay, it were no difficult contrivance, if the public had any regard to it, to make the English tongue immutable, unless hereafter some foreign nation shall invade and overrun us.' BENTLEY, *Works*, ed. 1836, ii. 13.

⁶ *Works*, iv. 79. It was published in January 1711-12. On Jan. 28 Swift wrote:—'It does not sell. . . . Like a true author I grow fond of it because it does not sell.' On Feb. 1 he added:—'It begins now to sell.' *Ib.* ii. 468, 471.

and met to animate the zeal and raise the expectations of each other¹. They thought, with great reason, that the ministers were losing opportunities; that sufficient use was not made of the ardour of the nation; they called loudly for more changes and stronger efforts, and demanded the punishment of part, and the dismission of the rest, of those whom they considered as publick robbers.

Their eagerness was not gratified by the Queen or by Harley. ⁴² The Queen was probably slow because she was afraid, and Harley was slow because he was doubtful: he was a Tory only by necessity or for convenience², and when he had power in his hands had no settled purpose for which he should employ it; forced to gratify to a certain degree the Tories who supported him, but unwilling to make his reconciliation to the Whigs utterly desperate, he corresponded at once with the two expectants of the Crown³, and kept, as has been observed, the succession undetermined. Not knowing what to do he did nothing; and with the fate of a double-dealer at last he lost his power, but kept his enemies⁴.

Swift seems to have concurred in opinion with the October ⁴³ Club; but it was not in his power to quicken the tardiness of Harley, whom he stimulated as much as he could, but with little effect⁵. He that knows not whither to go, is in no haste to move. Harley, who was perhaps not quick by nature, became yet more slow by irresolution, and was content to hear that

¹ On Feb. 18, 1710-11, Swift wrote: —'We are plagued here with an October Club; that is, a set of above a hundred parliamentmen of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the parliament . . . to drive things on to extremes against the Whigs . . . and get off five or six heads.' *Works*, ii. 177. On April 13 he wrote: —'The Club is about 150.' *Ib.* ii. 226. See also *ib.* iii. 188, v. 141, xv. 384, 400.

² Coxe describes him as 'a Whig in his heart and a Tory from ambition.' *Memoirs of Walpole*, 1798, i. 198.

³ Bolingbroke accused him before the Queen of 'maintaining a private correspondence with the House of

Hanover.' Smollett's *Hist. of Eng.* ii. 289. In Article iv of his impeachment he is charged with corresponding with the Pretender's mother. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 120. For his correspondence with the Pretender in 1716, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv. 404. Of earlier correspondence there is no mention in the article.

⁴ 'He was a greater object of the hatred of the Whigs than all the rest of the ministry together.' SWIFT, *Works*, v. 259.

⁵ Swift mentions 'that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the Queen and the Earl of Oxford.' *Ib.* iii. 165. See also *ib.* v. 275.

dilatoriness lamented as natural, which he applauded in himself as politick.

- 44 Without the Tories, however, nothing could be done, and as they were not to be gratified they must be appeased; and the conduct of the Minister, if it could not be vindicated, was to be plausibly excused.
- 45 Swift now attained the zenith of his political importance: he published (1712) *The Conduct of the Allies*, ten days before the Parliament assembled¹. The purpose was to persuade the nation to a peace², and never had any writer more success. The people, who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the General and his friends who, as they thought, had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage when they found that 'mines had been exhausted and millions destroyed'³, to secure the Dutch or aggrandize the emperor, without any advantage to ourselves⁴; that we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel, and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies.
- 46 That is now no longer doubted, of which the nation was then first informed, that the war was unnecessarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough⁵, and that it would have been continued without end if he could have continued his annual plunder.

¹ *Ante*, PRIOR, 21; *Works*, iv. 291. Swift wrote on Nov. 27, 1711:—'The pamphlet is published.' *Ib.* ii. 413. Parliament met on Dec. 7. *Ib.* p. 423. Johnson was misled by the date on the title-page of the first edition—1712. 'On those for the three following editions it is 1711. Several editions were issued before the end of the year, and the publisher was compelled to go back on his word.' *Literature*, Jan. 1. 1898, p. 346.

² 'Oct. 26, 1711. We have no quiet with the Whigs, they are so violent against a peace; but I'll cool them with a vengeance very soon.' *Works*, ii. 387.

³ This quotation is not from Swift's pamphlet.

⁴ 'It will no doubt be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster Hall, which cost a hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast, as

beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.' *Ib.* iv. 357.

⁵ *Ib.* iv. 340, 361; *ante*, SOMERVILLE, 6.

Swift wrote to Stella:—'Dec. 31, 1710. The Duke is as covetous as Hell, and ambitious as the prince of it; he would fain have been general for life, and has broken all endeavours for peace to keep his greatness and get money. . . . Yet he has been a successful general, and I hope he will continue his command.

'Jan. 7, 1710-11. I question whether ever any wise state laid aside a general who had been successful nine years together, whom the enemy so much dreaded, and his own soldiers cannot but believe must always conquer.' *Works*, ii. 126, 141.

['Marlborough really desired and expected peace, but it cannot be said that he fully exerted his influence in favour of practicable terms.' LESLIE STEPHEN, *Dict. Nat. Biog.* x. 333. See

But Swift, I suppose, did not yet know what he has since written, that a commission was drawn which would have appointed him General for life, had it not become ineffectual by the resolution of Lord Cowper, who refused the seal¹.

'Whatever is received,' say the schools, 'is received in proportion to the recipient.'² The power of a political treatise depends much upon the disposition of the people: the nation was then combustible, and a spark set it on fire. It is boasted that between November and January eleven thousand were sold³; a great number at that time, when we were not yet a nation of readers⁴. To its propagation certainly no agency of power or influence was wanting. It furnished arguments for conversation, speeches for debate, and materials for parliamentary resolutions⁵.

Yet, surely, whoever surveys this wonder-working pamphlet⁴⁸ with cool perusal will confess that its efficacy was supplied by the passions of its readers; that it operates by the mere weight of facts, with very little assistance from the hand that produced them⁶.

This year (1712) he published his *Reflections' on the Barrier*⁴⁹

Coxe's *Mem.* iii. 40, and *Priv. Corres. of the Duch. of Marl.* i. 172-9.]

¹ *Works*, iii. 172, iv. 255. See also *ib.* iii. 310.

² [Through the kindness of Mr. C. C. J. Webb, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, my attention has been directed to the following passages in St. Thomas, wherein the maxim is implied—'in inferioribus quandoque recipitur aliquid in eadem virtute quae est in eo a quo recipitur, quando scilicet recipiens est proportionatum ad recipiendum totam virtutem dantis.' *S. Thom.* i. Sent., dist. 20, qu. 2, art. 2 ad 3^{um}. 'influentiam agentis recipit patiens per modum virtutis suae et non per modum virtutis ipsius agentis.' *ib.* ii. Sent., dist. 18, qu. 2, art. 2 ad 2^{um}.]

³ Jan. 28, 1711-12. The sixth edition of 3,000 is sold, and the printer talks of a seventh; 11,000 of them have been sold.' *Works*, ii. 468. In the fifth edition the price was reduced from a shilling to sixpence. *ib.* pp. 421, 433. There were three Dublin editions. *ib.* p. 477.

⁴ *Ante*, MILTON, 135.

⁵ Feb. 4, 1711-12. The House of Commons have this day made

many severe votes about our being abused by our allies. Those who spoke drew all their arguments from my book.

'Feb. 8. The Resolutions printed t'other day in the Votes are almost quotations from it.' *Works*, ii. 473, 476. See also *post*, SWIFT, 110.

⁶ 'JOHNSON. Sir, his *Conduct of the Allies* is a performance of very little ability. "Surely, Sir," said Dr. Douglas, "you must allow it has strong facts." JOHNSON. Why yes, Sir; but what is that to the merit of the composition? In the Sessions-paper of the Old Bailey there are strong facts. Housebreaking is a strong fact; robbery is a strong fact; and murder is a *mighty* strong fact: but is great praise due to the historian of those strong facts? No, Sir, Swift has told what he had to tell distinctly enough, but that is all. He had to count ten, and he has counted it right. . . . Why, Sir, Tom Davies might have written *The Conduct of the Allies*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 65.

⁷ *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty between Her Majesty and the States-General, &c.*

*Treaty*¹, which carries on the design of his *Conduct of the Allies*, and shews how little regard in that negotiation had been shewn to the interest of England, and how much of the conquered country had been demanded by the Dutch.

- 50 This was followed by *Remarks on the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to his third Volume of the History of the Reformation*²; a pamphlet which Burnet published as an alarm, to warn the nation of the approach of Popery³. Swift, who seems to have disliked the Bishop with something more than political aversion, treats him like one whom he is glad of an opportunity to insult⁴.
- 51 Swift, being now the declared favourite and supposed confidant of the Tory Ministry, was treated by all that depended on the Court with the respect which dependents know how to pay. He soon began to feel part of the misery of greatness; he that could say he knew him, considered himself as having fortune in his power. Commissions, solicitations, remonstrances crowded about him; he was expected to do every man's business, to procure employment for one, and to retain it for another⁵. In assisting those who addressed him, he repre-

¹ *Works*, iv. 371. 'Feb. 20, 1711-12. I went into the City to my printer, to correct some sheets of *The Barrier Treaty* and *Remarks*, which must be finished to-morrow.' *Ib.* ii. 486.

² 'A Preface to the *B—p of S-r-um's Introduction to the third volume*, &c. By Gregory Miso-Sarum.' *Ib.* iv. 141.

³ 'He [Burnet] has been poring so long upon Fox's *Book of Martyrs* that he imagines himself living in the reign of Queen Mary, and is resolved to set up for a knight-errant against popery. . . . To do him justice, he seems to have nothing else left but to cry out, halts, gibbets, faggots, Inquisition, popery, slavery, and the Pretender.' *Ib.* p. 177.

⁴ Burnet was one of the Whigs who, in 1702, 'were (Swift wrote) very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came into their power.' *Ib.* iii. 180. Moreover he attacked Swift's patron, Temple, as 'a corrupter of all that came near him.' *History of my own Time*, i. 423.

In later years Swift wrote of him:—'After all, he was a man of generosity and good-nature, and very communicative; but in his last ten years was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw Popery under every bush.' *Ib.* xii. 179. For Burnet see *ante*, MILTON, 101; *post*, POPE, 141.

⁵ 'June 30, 1711. I am now envied, and thought in high favour, and have every day numbers of considerable men teasing me to solicit for them.

'March 8, 1711-12. I can serve everybody but myself.

'Sept. 18, 1712. Pray God that I may live free from the discontent and envy that attends those who are thought to have more favour at Court than they really possess.' *Works*, ii. 289, iii. 1, 50.

See *post*, POPE, 107, for Kennet's description of the scene in the antechamber in 1713, when 'Dr. Swift acted as a master of requests,' and *Works*, xii. 307, where Swift describes the levee in his *Imitation of Part of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace*.

sents himself as sufficiently diligent; and desires to have others believe, what he probably believed himself, that by his interposition many Whigs of merit, and among them Addison and Congreve, were continued in their places¹. But every man of known influence has so many petitions which he cannot grant, that he must necessarily offend more than he gratifies, because the preference given to one affords all the rest a reason for complaint. 'When I give away a place,' said Lewis XIV., 'I make an hundred discontented, and one ungrateful².'

Much has been said of the equality and independence which he preserved in his conversation with the Ministers, of the frankness of his remonstrances, and the familiarity of his friendship³. In accounts of this kind a few single incidents are set against the general tenour of behaviour. No man, however, can pay a more servile tribute to the Great, than by suffering his liberty in their presence to aggrandize him in his own esteem. Between different ranks of the community there is necessarily some distance⁴: he who is called by his superior to pass the interval

¹ 'Dec. 27, 1712. I have taken more pains to recommend the Whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place. Congreve I have got to be used kindly and secured [*ante*, CONGREVE, 28]. Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place [*ante*, ROWE, 20]. Philips I should certainly have provided for, if he had not run party mad [*post*, A. PHILIPS, 4]; . . . I set Addison so right at first that he might have been employed, and have partly secured him the place he has.' *Works*, iii. 80. See also *ib.* ii. 201, v. 15, xvi. 39, 47, 266, 341. For Addison's treatment of Swift, see *ante*, ADDISON, 105.

² 'Toutes les fois que je donne une place vacante, je fais cent mécontents et un ingrat.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, xviii. 112.

South says of suitors:—'All but one will be sure to depart grumbling, because they miss of what they think their due, and even that one scarce thankful, because he thinks he has no more than his due.' *Sermons*, i. 22. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 167; *Rasselas*, ch. xxvii.

³ 'May 19, 1711. Mr. Secretary told me the Duke of Buckingham desired my acquaintance. I answered it could not be, for he had not made sufficient advances. Then the Duke of Shrewsbury said he thought that duke was not used to make advances. I said I could not help that; for I always expected advances in proportion to men's quality, and more from a duke than other men.

'Dec. 12. I make no figure but at Court, where I affect to turn from a lord to the meanest of my acquaintance.' *Works*, ii. 259, iii. 70. See also *ib.* ii. 214, 310, 367, xv. 411, xvii. 310.

'He never thought an honour done him,

Because a duke was proud to own him;

Would rather slip aside, and choose To talk with wits in dirty shoes.'

ib. xiv. 330.

⁴ 'JOHNSON. Sir, I would no more deprive a nobleman of his respect than of his money. I consider myself as acting a part in the great system of society. . . . There would be a perpetual struggle for precedence were there no fixed invariable rules

may properly accept the invitation; but petulance and obtrusion are rarely produced by magnanimity, nor have often any nobler cause than the pride of importance and the malice of inferiority. He who knows himself necessary may set, while that necessity lasts, a high value upon himself, as, in a lower condition, a servant eminently skilful may be saucy; but he is saucy only because he is servile. Swift appears to have preserved the kindness of the great when they wanted him no longer; and therefore it must be allowed that the childish freedom, to which he seems enough inclined, was overpowered by his better qualities.

- 53 His disinterestedness has been likewise mentioned¹; a strain of heroism, which would have been in his condition romantick and superfluous. Ecclesiastical benefices, when they become vacant, must be given away; and the friends of Power may, if there be no inherent disqualification, reasonably expect them. Swift accepted (1713) the deanery of St. Patrick, the best preferment that his friends could venture to give him². That Ministry was in a great degree supported by the Clergy, who were not yet reconciled to the author of *The Tale of a Tub*, and would not without much discontent and indignation have borne to see him installed in an English Cathedral³.

- 54 He refused, indeed, fifty pounds from Lord Oxford⁴, but

for the distinction of rank, which creates no jealousy, as it is allowed to be accidental.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 447. See also *post*, SWIFT, 134.

¹ He says of himself (*Works*, xiv. 330) that he

'Without regarding private ends
Spent all his credit for his friends.

Had he but spared his tongue and
pen,

He might have rose like other
men;

But power was never in his thought,
And wealth he valued not a groat.'

On April 5, 1711, he wrote of the assurances given him by the ministers:—'They may come to nothing, but the first opportunity that offers, and is neglected, I shall depend no more, but come away.' *Ib.* ii. 217. On May 23 he wrote:—'To return without some mark of distinction would look extremely little; and I

would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than I am.' *Ib.* p. 263. See also *ib.* ii. 269.

² *Ante*, SWIFT, 26, 36. He wrote of it to Atterbury, in 1713, as 'the deanery they thought fit to throw me into.' *Works*, xvi. 55. Rundle's suspected heterodoxy had thrown him into an Irish bishopric. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 188 n.

³ It was, no doubt, to *The Tale of a Tub* that he referred when he wrote to Stella in 1710:—'They may talk of the *you know what*, but, gad, if it had not been for that, I should never have been able to get the access I have had; and if that helps me to succeed, then that *same thing* will be serviceable to the Church.' *Works*, ii. 37.

⁴ Swift was highly offended with the offer, and at first was 'deaf to all entreaties to be reconciled.' *Ib.* ii. 164, 191.

he accepted afterwards a draught of a thousand upon the Exchequer¹, which was intercepted by the Queen's death, and which he resigned, as he says himself, '*multa gemens*' (with many a groan²).

In the midst of his power and his politicks, he kept a journal⁵⁵ of his visits, his walks, his interviews with Ministers, and quarrels with his servant, and transmitted it to Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley, to whom he knew that whatever befel him was interesting, and no accounts could be too minute³. Whether these diurnal trifles were properly exposed to eyes which had never received any pleasure from the presence of the Dean, may be reasonably doubted. They have, however, some odd attraction: the reader, finding frequent mention of names which he has been used to consider as important, goes on in hope of information; and, as there is nothing to fatigue attention, if he is disappointed he can hardly complain⁴. It is easy to perceive, from every page, that though ambition pressed Swift into a life of bustle, the wish for a life of ease was always returning⁵.

¹ On April 23, 1713, he wrote that the charges on entering the deanery would be £1,000. 'I will dun * them [the ministers] to give a sum of money.' *Works*, iii. 152. 'May 16. I shall be sadly cramped unless the Queen will give me £1,000. . . . Lord Treasurer rallies me upon it, and I believe intends it; but *quando*?' *Ib.* p. 156. Scott says that Bolingbroke, 'during his short ministry of three days,' got for Swift a Treasury order for £1,000 signed by the Queen. *Ib.* i. 193.

² He wrote to Pope on Aug. 30, 1726:—'I forgave Sir R. W. a thousand pounds, *multa gemens*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 73. (This letter is wrongly dated in Swift's *Works*, xvii. 150.) See also his letter of July 8, 1726. *Ib.* xvii. 37. For *multa gemens* see *Aeneid*, i. 465, iv. 395, v. 869, xii. 886.

³ It is known as *The Journal to Stella*. *Works*, ii. 1–end; iii. 1–158.

⁴ 'JOHNSON. There is nothing wonderful in the journal which we see Swift kept in London, for it con-

tains slight topicks, and it might soon be written.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 177.

⁵ 'It is a fund of entertainment. You will see Swift's insolence in full colours, and at the same time how daily vain he was of being noticed by the Ministers he affected to treat arrogantly.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, iv. 505.

['Mr. Burke was a great admirer of Swift's humour, particularly of his namby-pamby letters to Stella, which he ever praised for their genuine graceful ease.' *Burke's Table Talk*, p. 25, *Philobiblon Society, Bibliog. and Hist. Misc.* vol. vii.]

⁶ 'It is the want of any good contemporary daily paper that makes Swift's *Journal* so interesting.' JEFFREY, Cockburn's *Jeffrey*, 1852, ii. 249.

⁷ 'April 28, 1711. I vow to God, if I could decently come over now I would, and leave all schemes of politics and ambition for ever.

'Oct. 22. I will certainly steal away as soon as I decently can. . . . I have no shuddering at all to think

- 56 He went to take possession of his deanery as soon as he had obtained it; but he was not suffered to stay in Ireland more than a fortnight before he was recalled to England¹, that he might reconcile Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, who began to look on one another with malevolence, which every day increased², and which Bolingbroke appeared to retain in his last years³.
- 57 Swift contrived an interview, from which they both departed discontented; he procured a second, which only convinced him that the feud was irreconcilable: he told them his opinion, that all was lost. This denunciation was contradicted by Oxford, but Bolingbroke whispered that he was right⁴.
- 58 Before this violent dissension had shattered the Ministry, Swift had published, in the beginning of the year (1714), *The publick Spirit of the Whigs*⁵, in answer to *The Crisis*, a pamphlet for which Steele was expelled from the House of Commons⁶. Swift was now so far alienated from Steele as to think him no longer entitled to decency, and therefore treats him sometimes with contempt, and sometimes with abhorrence⁷.

of retiring to my old circumstances, if you can be easy.' *Works*, ii. 241, 380. See also *ib.* ii. 263, iii. 15, xii. 313.

¹ He wrote in 1737:—'When I came to Ireland to take this deanery I could not stay here above a fortnight, being recalled by a hundred letters.' *Ib.* xix. 72. He stayed nearly three months. He was appointed on April 23, 1713, and started for Dublin on June 1. *Ib.* iii. 151, 157. Lewis (*ante*, GAV, 13) wrote to recall him on July 9, July 30, and Aug. 6. *Ib.* xvi. 50, 53, 57. He returned early in September. *Craik*, p. 272.

² 'The first misunderstanding took its rise' in March, 1710–11, at the time of the attempt on Harley's life. 'Mr. St. John,' writes Swift, 'affected to say in several companies, "That Guiscard intended the blow against him," which, if it were true, the consequence must be that Mr. St. John had all the merit, while Mr. Harley remained with nothing but the danger and pain.' *Works*, iii. 191. On Aug. 15, 1711, Swift first mentions his efforts at a reconciliation. *Ib.* ii. 320. See also *ib.* ii. 333, 378, iii. 46, 144, xv. 446.

³ In 1734 he described Oxford to Swift as one who 'knew neither how to use power, nor how to wear honours, and yet who was jealous of one and fond of the other, even to ridicule.' *Ib.* xviii. 196. See also *ib.* v. 277, xvii. 251.

⁴ This meeting was in May, 1714. Swift, in 1737, described it in a letter to Oxford's son. *Ib.* xix. 72. On July 22, 1714, Charles Ford wrote to Swift:—'They often eat, and drink, and walk together, as if there was no sort of disagreement; and when they part, I hear they give one another such names as nobody but ministers of state could bear without cutting throats.' *Ib.* xvi. 156.

⁵ *Ib.* iv. 215.

⁶ On March 18, 1713–14. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 1268. A few days earlier the House of Lords had addressed the Queen to offer a reward for the discovery of the author of *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs*. *Wentworth Papers*, pp. 359, 360. For Steele see *ante*, ADDISON, 36, 73.

⁷ On May 13, 1713, Swift wrote to Addison:—'Mr. Steele knows very well that my Lord-Treasurer has kept

In this pamphlet the Scotch were mentioned in terms so pro-59 voking to that irritable nation¹, that, resolving 'not to be offended with impunity²', the Scotch Lords in a body demanded an audience of the Queen, and solicited reparation³. A proclamation was issued, in which three hundred pounds was offered for discovery of the author⁴. From this storm he was, as he relates, 'secured by a sleight,' of what kind, or by whose prudence, is not known; and such was the increase of his reputation that 'the Scottish Nation applied again that he would be their friend⁵.'

He was become so formidable to the Whigs, that his familiarity 60 with the Ministers was clamoured at in Parliament, particularly by two men, afterwards of great note, Aislabie and Walpole⁶.

him in his employment upon my entreaty and intercession.' Steele replied:—'They laugh at you if they make you believe your interposition has kept me thus long in my office.' *Works*, xvi. 39.

'Mr. Steele might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions and a zeal mingled with scurrilities had not forfeited all title to lenity.' SWIFT, *Works*, v. 16.

¹ For 'the extreme jealousy of the Scotch' see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 306.

² 'Nemo me impune lacessit'—the motto of Scotland.

³ According to Orrery (p. 196) this fact is stated 'in an advertisement printed before the pamphlet.'

⁴ The printer and publisher were brought before the House. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 1263. 'The fault,' writes Swift, 'was calling the Scots "a poor, fierce, northern people" [*Works*, iv. 244].' *Ib.* xvi. 109. Oxford sent Swift secretly £100 for the two men. *Ib.* xvi. 100.

For a second reward of £300 for the discovery of Swift as an author see *post*, SWIFT, 78.

⁵ 'The Queen incensed, his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot.

Now through the realm a proclamation spread,

To fix a price on his devoted head.

While innocent he scorns ignoble flight,

His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight.

By Harley's favour once again he shines;

Is now caress'd by candidate divines.

The Scottish nation, whom he durst offend,

Again apply that Swift would be their friend.' *Ib.* xii. 304.

⁶ 'Finch, famed for tedious elocution, proves

That Swift oils many a spring which Harley moves.

Walpole and Aislabie, to clear the doubt,

Inform the Commons that the secret's out.' *Ib.*

In 1721 John Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled the House and committed to the Tower for his share in the South Sea Bubble. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 749; Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 149.

'It pleased Mr. Walpole,' writes Swift, 'in the Queen's time to make a speech directly against me by name in the House of Commons.' *Works*, vii. 9. In *The History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne* he speaks of Walpole as 'one Mr. Robert Walpole.' He adds:—'The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one who is otherwise altogether obscure.' *Ib.* v. 40, 99. He retained

- 61 But, by the disunion of his great friends, his importance and his designs were now at an end; and seeing his services at last useless¹, he retired about June (1714) into Berkshire, where, in the house of a friend², he wrote what was then suppressed, but has since appeared under the title of *Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs*³.
- 62 While he was waiting in this retirement for events which time or chance might bring to pass, the death of the Queen broke down at once the whole system of Tory politicks; and nothing remained but to withdraw from the implacability of triumphant Whiggism, and shelter himself in unenvied obscurity⁴.
- 63 The accounts of his reception in Ireland, given by Lord Orrery and Dr. Delany, are so different, that the credit of the writers, both undoubtedly veracious, cannot be saved but by supposing, what I think is true, that they speak of different times. When Delany says that he was received with respect⁵, he means for the first fortnight, when he came to take legal possession; and when Lord Orrery tells that he was pelted by

these unworthy sneers when he re-visited the work in the time of Walpole's power.

¹ 'He labour'd many a fruitless hour
To reconcile his friends in power;
Saw mischief by a faction brewing,
While they pursued each other's
ruin.

But finding vain was all his care,
He left the Court in mere despair.'

Works, xiv. 331.

² Parson Gery, of Upper Letcombe, near Wantage — 'a melancholy, thoughtful man,' Swift described him. 'We dine exactly between twelve and one; at eight we have some bread and butter, and a glass of ale, and at ten he goes to bed.' *ib.* xix. 330. Swift arrived there about June 2 and left on Aug. 16. *ib.* xvi. 193 n., xix. 329. For Pope and Parnell's visit to him see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 468. See also *ante*, SWIFT, 12 n.

³ *Works*, v. 228. His printer, Barber, wrote on July 6: — 'I have shown it only to one person [Bolingbroke], who is charmed with it, and will make some alterations and addi-

tions to it, with your leave.' *ib.* xvi. 129. It was these alterations that led to its suppression. *ib.* pp. 140, 337.

⁴ On Dec. 9, 1711, fearing the Whigs were returning to power, he asked for a post 'abroad, as Queen's Secretary, where I may remain till the new ministers recal me; and then I will be sick for five or six months till the storm has spent itself. . . . I should hardly trust myself to the mercy of my enemies, while their anger is fresh.' *ib.* ii. 426. See also *ib.* viii. 47. Nevertheless on Sept. 7, 1714, Arbuthnot wrote of him: — 'Though like a man knocked down, you may behold him still with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his old adversaries.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 473. Johnson's account is the truer one. He did 'shelter himself in unenvied obscurity' for many years.

⁵ 'I am well assured by persons who knew it well, that the reception he met with from all sorts of men was as kind and honourable as he could wish.' *Delany*, p. 87.

the populace¹, he is to be understood of the time when, after the Queen's death, he became a settled resident.

The Archbishop of Dublin gave him at first some disturbance 64 in the exercise of his jurisdiction; but it was soon discovered, that between prudence and integrity he was seldom in the wrong; and that, when he was right, his spirit did not easily yield to opposition².

Having so lately quitted the tumults of a party and the 65 intrigues of a court, they still kept his thoughts in agitation, as the sea fluctuates a while when the storm has ceased. He therefore filled his hours with some historical attempts, relating to 'the Change of the Ministers'³ and 'the Conduct of the Ministry'. He likewise is said to have written a *History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne*, which he began in her lifetime, and afterwards laboured with great attention, but never published. It was after his death in the hands of Lord Orrery and Dr. King⁴. A book under that title was published, with Swift's

¹ 'The common people were taught to look upon him as a Jacobite; and they threw stones and dirt at him as he passed through the streets.' *Orrery*, p. 48.

² For some years after the Queen's death his politics were despised and his person was detested.' *Deane Swift*, p. 29.

³ *Delany*, p. 88. Swift wrote on June 28, 1715:—'My amusements are defending my small dominions against the archbishop [King], and endeavouring to reduce my rebellious choir.' *Works*, xvi. 226. He thus described his 'dominions' on July 8, 1733:—'I am lord mayor of 120 houses; I am absolute lord of the greatest cathedral in the kingdom; am at peace with the neighbouring princes, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the Archbishop of Dublin; only the latter, like the King of France, sometimes attempts encroachments on my dominions, as old Lewis did upon Lorraine.' *Ib.* xviii. 123. See also *ib.* xvi. 244, 263, xvii. 105, 112, 117.

⁴ 'The Archbishop,' he said, 'was a wit and a scholar, but I hate him as I hate garlick.' *Craik*, p. 125. In the *Drapier Letters* he describes him as 'renowned for his piety and

wisdom and love of his country.' *Works*, vi. 439.

⁵ *Ib.* iii. 161. It was written in Oct. 1714. *Works*, 1803, vi. 261.

⁶ Written in June, 1715. *Works*, v. 260.

⁷ Dr. King was 'Dr. King of Oxford.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 187. Swift in 1737 said he wrote it at Windsor, 'above a year before the Queen's death.' *Works*, xix. 72, 90. He was there a good deal in July, Aug. and Sept. 1712—about two years before her death. *Ib.* iii. 39, 43, 45, 50. Bolingbroke and Oxford, he said, 'could not agree about printing it.' *Ib.* xix. 73. See also *ib.* v. 13. In Jan. 1720–21 he was 'digesting these papers into order.' *Ib.* xvi. 338. See also *ib.* v. 17. According to Warburton, he took it to England 'some years after' it was written—in 1726 or 1727; but Bolingbroke dissuaded him from publishing it. 'Swift told a common friend that since L. B. did not approve his *History*, he would cast it into the fire, though it was the best work he had ever written.' Warburton's *Pope*, ix. 12. The second Earl of Oxford read it at that time. *Works*, xix. 88. In 1736 Dr. King undertook to get it printed; but in 1738 pointed out that it might 'in-

name, by Dr. Lucas¹; of which I can only say that it seemed by no means to correspond with the notions that I had formed of it, from a conversation which I once heard between the Earl of Orrery and old Mr. Lewis².

- 66 Swift now, much against his will, commenced Irishman for life, and was to contrive how he might be best accommodated in a country where he considered himself as in a state of exile³. It seems that his first recourse was to piety⁴. The thoughts of

volve every one concerned in a certain ruin.' *Works*, xix. 10, 20, 134. Erasmus Lewis gave the same warning. *Ib.* p. 131. Orrery read it in MS. *Remarks*, p. 308. In 1740 Mrs. White-way wrote of it to Pope: 'If I am rightly informed, it is the only piece of his, except *Gulliver*, which he ever proposed making money by.' *Works*, xix. 230.

¹ In 1749 Lucas fled from an Irish prison, to which he was committed by the House of Commons for seditious writings. In 1756 Johnson defended him as 'the friend of his country.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 311. Lucas prefixed to the first edition of the book (1758) an 'Advertisement' beginning:—'Thus the long-wished-for *History*, &c., is at length brought to light, in spite of all attempts to suppress it.' Swift's *Works*, v. 3.

² For Lewis (not Erasmus Lewis) see *ante*, FENTON, 4 n. Johnson in *The Idler*, No. 65, says 'this *History* had perished, had not a straggling transcript fallen into busy hands.' Chesterfield describes it as 'a party pamphlet founded on the lie of the day, which, as Lord Bolingbroke, who had read it, often assured me, was coined and delivered out to him to write *Examiners* and other political papers upon.' *Misc. Works*, iv. 276. One of these 'lies' thus incorporated was that, on Prince Eugene's suggestion that Harley 'should be taken off à la négligence, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed.' *Works*, v. 51.

³ Can one wonder that Lord Bolingbroke and Pope always tried to prevent Swift from exposing himself by publishing this wretched ignorant libel! HORACE WALPOLE, *Works*, i. 430.

'Burke,' writes Mr. E. J. Payne, 'had remarked the peculiarities of the style, though he never thought of pronouncing it a forgery.' Burke's *Select Works*, i. Intro. p. 43. [The reference is to *The Annual Register*, 1758, p. 256, where extracts from the *History* are given, with remarks evidently, as Mr. Payne says (*Select Works*, i. 277), by Burke.]

Macaulay, in a MS. marginal note, has described it as 'wretched stuff, and I firmly believe not Swift's.' *Craik*, p. 523. See *ib.* p. 518, for a convincing argument of its authenticity. The characters of Somers, Marlborough, Godolphin, Sunderland, Wharton, Cowper, Nottingham, and Harley (*Works*, v. 23-32, 109-112) are surely in Swift's inimitable style. The *History* itself, party pamphlet as it was, dealing also with the negotiations of a Peace, must soon have become unreadable. It ends moreover fifteen months before the Queen's death, so that it tells nothing of the struggle between Bolingbroke and Oxford.

³ *Ante*, SWIFT, 2; *post*, 96, 136.

In 1731 he wrote of himself:—

'In exile, with a steady heart,

He spent his life's declining part.'

Works, xiv. 334.

In 1735 he spoke of himself as 'an obscure exile in a most obscure and enslaved country.' *Ib.* xviii. 308. 'I am condemned for ever to another country,' he wrote in 1723. *Ib.* xvi. 389. Pope (*Dunciad*, i. 25) and Gay (Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 175) described him as being in Boeotia.

⁴ I know nothing in his letters that shows this except his statement on Sept. 14, 1714, that he goes 'every day once to prayers.' *Works*, xvi. 213.

death rushed upon him at this time with such incessant importunity, that they took possession of his mind when he first waked for many years together¹.

He opened his house by a publick table two days a week², 67 and found his entertainments gradually frequented by more and more visitants of learning among the men, and of elegance among the women. Mrs. Johnson had left the country, and lived in lodgings not far from the deanery. On his publick days she regulated the table, but appeared at it as a mere guest, like other ladies³.

On other days he often dined, at a stated price, with Mr. 68 Worrall, a clergyman of his cathedral, whose house was recommended by the peculiar neatness and pleasantry of his wife⁴. To this frugal mode of living he was first disposed by care to pay some debts which he had contracted⁵, and he continued it for the pleasure of accumulating money. His avarice, however, was not suffered to obstruct the claims of his dignity; he was served in plate, and used to say that he was the poorest gentleman in Ireland that eat upon plate, and the richest that lived without a coach⁶.

¹ Swift wrote to Bolingbroke in 1729:—'I was forty-seven years old when I began to think of death; and the reflections upon it now begin when I wake in the morning, and end when I am going to sleep.' *Works*, xvii. 260. He was forty-seven four months after the Queen's death. He wrote to Pope in 1733:—'As to mortality it has never been out of my head eighteen minutes these eighteen years.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 300. The Queen had been dead eighteen years. See also *Works*, xvii. 234, xviii. 107.

'The whole of life,' said Johnson, 'is but keeping away the thoughts of death.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 93.

² By 1729 he seems to have opened his house only one day a week. In that year he wrote:—'On Sunday evenings it costs me six bottles of wine to people whom I cannot keep out.' *Works*, xvii. 221. See also *ib.* xviii. 223. For 'a publick table' see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 367 n. Dr. Newton (*Works*, 1782, i. 62), justifying his taking a third wife as he

had a bishopric in prospect, says:—'There would be a better table and public days to be kept.' See also Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 1752, p. 283, for the Archbishop's account of the temperance and self-denial he can exercise at his public table.

³ *Deane Swift*, p. 91.

⁴ [Worrall was a minor canon of St. Patrick's, dean's vicar and master of song in both cathedrals. Swift called him Melchisedec because he was a foundling. The Dean and he were nearly of the same standing at the University. Worrall had, however, one special qualification for intimacy with Swift—he was a good walker. After walking from church they would dine either at Swift's house or at Worrall's as Johnson describes. *Delany*, p. 91. Deane Swift (p. 294) says that Swift 'never had any esteem for the husband or the wife.' See also Mason's *Hist. of the Cathedral of St. Patrick*, p. 294 n.]

⁵ *Ante*, SWIFT, 54 n.

⁶ A list of his plate, with the value of each article, is given in his *Works*,

- 69 How he spent the rest of his time, and how he employed his hours of study, has been enquired with hopeless curiosity. For who can give an account of another's studies? Swift was not likely to admit any to his privacies, or to impart a minute account of his business or his leisure¹.
- 70 Soon after (1716), in his forty-ninth year, he was privately married to Mrs. Johnson by Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher², as Dr. Madden³ told me, in the garden⁴. The marriage made no change in their mode of life; they lived in different houses, as before⁵: nor did she ever lodge in the deanery but when Swift was seized with a fit of giddiness⁶. 'It would be difficult,' says Lord Orrery, 'to prove that they were ever afterwards together without a third person⁷.'
- 71 The Dean of St. Patrick's lived in a private manner, known and regarded only by his friends⁸, till, about the year 1720, he, by a pamphlet, recommended to the Irish the use, and consequently the improvement, of their manufacture⁹. For a man to

xix. 223. The total value was over £360. He had 24 plates, but only 6 teaspoons. On a save-all he had had engraved, 'For Ireland.' For his providing 'tridents'—three-pronged forks—for £30, see *ib.* xvii. 301. 'The ill-management of forks,' he wrote, 'is not to be helped when they are only bidental, which happens in all poor houses, especially those of poets, upon which account a knife was absolutely necessary at Mr. Pope's.' There are no forks in the list. For his setting up a coach on the news coming of Walpole's fall see *ib.* i. 397 n.

¹ Delany (p. 101) gives some account of his studies. For his regularity in all his actions see *post*, SWIFT, 133 n.

² *Ante*, PARNELL, 4. He had been Swift's tutor at Trinity College. Forster, p. 28. On Jan. 15, 1710–11, Swift got Harley to promise that 'the Bishop shall not be removed from the Council. I know he has enemies, and they shall not be gratified.' *Works*, ii. 147.

³ For Johnson's 'castigation' of Madden's *Boulter's Monument* see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 318. See also *ib.* ii. 321; *John. Misc.* ii. 211, 267;

ante, ADDISON, 134.

⁴ See Appendix D.

⁵ 'She never came to his house but upon very particular invitation.' *Delany*, p. 129.

⁶ *Deane Swift*, p. 92. It seems that she sometimes lodged there when he was in England. He wrote from London on July 7, 1726:—'I find the ladies made the Deanery their villa.' *Works*, xix. 283.

⁷ 'It would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove they had ever been together without some third person.' *Orrery*, p. 25. See *ante*, SWIFT, 24.

⁸ 'July 18, 1717. I am in a hopeless situation, torn to pieces by pamphleteers and libellers on that side the water, and by the whole body of the ruling party on this; against which all the obscurity I live in will not defend me.' *Works*, xvi. 287. See also *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 72.

⁹ *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*. . . . Utterly rejecting and renouncing everything wearable that comes from England. 1720. *Works*, vi. 252. Swift quotes 'a pleasant observation that Ireland would never be happy till a law were made for burning

use the productions of his own labour is surely a natural right, and to like best what he makes himself is a natural passion. But to excite this passion, and enforce this right, appeared so criminal to those who had an interest in the English trade, that the printer was imprisoned¹; and, as Hawkesworth justly observes, the attention of the publick being by this outrageous resentment turned upon the proposal, the author was by consequence made popular².

In 1723 died Mrs. Van Homrigh³, a woman made unhappy⁷² by her admiration of wit, and ignominiously distinguished by the name of *Vanessa*, whose conduct has been already sufficiently discussed⁴, and whose history is too well known to be minutely repeated. She was a young woman fond of literature, whom *Decanus*, the Dean, called *Cadenus* by transposition of the letters, took pleasure in directing and instructing; till, from being proud of his praise, she grew fond of his person⁵. Swift was then about forty-seven, at an age when vanity is strongly excited by the amorous attention of a young woman⁶. If it be said that

everything that came from England, except their people and their coals.' *Works*, vi. p. 257. He described his pamphlet as 'a weak, hasty scribble.' *Hammer Corres.* p. 191.

¹ 'The printer,' wrote Swift, 'was seized, and forced to give great bail.' *Works*, xvi. 339. For the trial see *post*, SWIFT, 77.

The Dublin Newgate was a dreadful den. Exemption from the felons' room was got by daily fees. 'Those who refused to pay were stripped of their clothes by the common executioner, beaten, and in some instances chained. Many died from want.' The Keeper's salary was £10 a year. A parliamentary document shows that in 1729 he made £1,163 by his place. He was dismissed. J. T. Gilbert's *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 268.

² [Hawkesworth's *Life of Swift*, 1755, p. 42.]

³ 'The name is pronounced Van-numery.' *Orrery*, p. 103. 'Her father, Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1697-8. His large fortune he bequeathed to his wife and four children in equal shares. Vanessa's two brothers and

her sister, as well as her mother, had predeceased her. One of her brothers had left his share to a Mr. Partinton, provided he took the name of Vanhomrigh, a condition he complied with.' F. ELRINGTON BALL, *Journal of the Cork Hist. Soc.*, 2 S. iii. 264.

Vanessa had
'Five thousand guineas in her purse.'
Cadenus and Vanessa, *Works*, xiv. 447.

⁴ *Orrery*, p. 102; *Delany*, p. 111.

⁵ Vanessa says to Decanus:—

'Your lessons found the weakest part;

Aim'd at the head, but reach'd the heart.'
Works, xiv. 446.

⁶ The first mention of her by Swift is in his *Journal to Stella*, Feb. 2, 1710-11, when he was forty-three. *Works*, ii. 161. He became acquainted with the family two or three years earlier. *Forster*, pp. 230, 269. *Cadenus and Vanessa*, if we can trust the title-page, was 'written at Windsor in 1713.' On April 19, 1726, he wrote 'it was written at Windsor near 14 years ago, and dated.' *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 189. On July 7 of the same year he wrote:—'It was

Swift should have checked a passion which he never meant to gratify, recourse must be had to that extenuation which he so much despised, 'men are but men': perhaps, however, he did not at first know his own mind, and, as he represents himself, was undetermined². For his admission of her courtship, and his indulgence of her hopes after his marriage to Stella, no other honest plea can be found, than that he delayed a disagreeable discovery from time to time, dreading the immediate bursts of distress, and watching for a favourable moment. She thought herself neglected, and died of disappointment; having ordered by her will the poem to be published, in which *Cadenus* had proclaimed her excellence, and confessed his love³. The effect of the publication upon the Dean and Stella is thus related by Delany⁴.

- 73 'I have good reason to believe that they both were greatly shocked and distressed (though it may be differently) upon this occasion. The Dean made a tour to the South of Ireland, for about two months, at this time, to dissipate his thoughts, and give place to obloquy. And Stella retired (upon the earnest invitation of the owner) to the house of a cheerful, generous, good-natured friend of the Dean's, whom she also much loved and honoured. There my informer often saw her; and, I have reason to believe, used his utmost endeavours to relieve, support, and amuse her in this sad situation.

written 14 years ago at Windsor.' *Works*, xix. 283. This places its composition in 1712. In the poem he tells (*ib.* xiv. 444) how

'Vanessa, not in years a score,
Dreams of a gown of forty-four.'

He was not forty-five till Nov. 30, 1712. She was of age in Aug. 1711. *ib.* ii. 320. In Sept. 1712, the Vanhomrighs were to join him at Windsor. *ib.* xix. 317. Writing to her in 1722 he says:—'Go over the scenes of Windsor.' *ib.* xix. 369. He was a good deal in that town in the late summer of 1712. *ib.* iii. 41, 43, 45, 50. His letters to Stella had been interrupted by illness through April of that year; but when he recovered he wrote but little. Between July 17 and Sept. 15 he only wrote once. *ib.* pp. 24, 43. It seems likely that Vanessa was the cause of this neglect. If the poem was written in 1712, it must have been revised next year, for he was not 'Decanus' till May, 1713.

['I cannot find this 'extenuation' in Swift's writings *totidem verbis*. In his Sermon on the Testimony of Conscience (*Works*, ed. by Scott, 1824, vii. 453) he says of 'men who set up for morality without regard to religion, . . . if they find themselves disposed to pride, lust, intemperance, or avarice they do not think their morality concerned to check them in any of these vices; because it is the great rule of such men that they may lawfully follow the dictates of nature, wherever their safety, health and fortune are not injured.' It may be worth while mentioning that the 1820 edition of Johnson's *Works* (xi. 23) reads 'which is much despised.']

'Cadenus, who could ne'er suspect
His lessons would have such
effect,
Or be so artfully applied,
Insensibly came on her side.'

Works, xiv. 449.

² See Appendix E.

⁴ *Observations*, p. 57.

'One little incident he told me of, on that occasion, I think I shall never forget. As her friend was an hospitable, open-hearted man, well-beloved and largely acquainted, it happened one day that some gentlemen dropt in to dinner, who were strangers to Stella's situation; and as the poem of *Cadenus and Vanessa* was then the general topic of conversation, one of them said, "Surely that Vanessa must be an extraordinary woman, that could inspire the Dean to write so finely upon her." Mrs. Johnson smiled, and answered, "that she thought that point not quite so clear; for it was well known the Dean could write finely upon a broomstick!"'

The great acquisition of esteem and influence was made by the 75 *Drapier's Letters* in 1724². One Wood of Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, a man enterprising and rapacious³, had, as is said, by a present to the Dutchess of Munster⁴, obtained a patent,

¹ She no doubt knew of the trick Swift had played on Lady Berkeley, when he read out to her, as one of Boyle's *Meditations*, *A Meditation upon a Broomstick*. *Works*, ix. 118; ed. 1803, iii. 274.

'It is to be regretted that Johnson did not write an account of his travels in France; . . . he is reported to have once said that "he could write the Life of a Broomstick." Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 389.

² No. 1, dated 1724. 'Published while the Committee of Inquiry was sitting in London'—i. e. between April 9 and July 24. *Craik*, pp. 348, 351. *Works*, vi. 339.

No. 2, Aug. 4, 1724. *Ib.* p. 353.

No. 3, Aug. 25. *Ib.* p. 377.

No. 4, Oct. 23. *Ib.* p. 409.

No. 5, Dec. 24. *Ib.* p. 464.

No. 6, dated Oct. 1724, and No. 7, undated, were first printed in 1735. *Ib.* vii. 5, 26.

'Johnson observed that Swift put his name to but two things (after he had a name to put), *The Plan for the Improvement of the English Language* [ante, SWIFT, 40], and the last *Drapier's Letter*. Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 319. It was to No. 6 that he put his name—or rather initials. Besides the *Letters* he published *Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury*, dated Nov. 11, 1724. *Works*, vi. 436. For a facsimile of the title-page of the first edition of the *Letters*

see *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 151.

³ Swift calls him 'a mean ordinary man, a hardware dealer'; 'this little impudent hardwareman'; 'a diminutive, insignificant mechanic.' *Works*, vi. 341, 358. 'He was a great proprietor and renter of iron works in England. He had a lease of all the mines on the Crown lands in 39 counties.' Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 216.

'He was the fourth in descent from François Dubois, who with his wife and only son fled after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew to Shrewsbury. By 1609 his descendants had anglicized their name to Wood. Removing to Wolverhampton they purchased coal-mines and built iron forges. He was the great-grandfather of Mary Howitt.' Mary Howitt's *Auto.* i. 12, 15.

⁴ Baroness de Schulemberg, mistress of George I, and Duchess of Munster and Kendal. Horace Walpole, who, in his eleventh year, saw her in 1727, writes:—'I remember that just beyond his Majesty stood a very tall, lean, ill-favoured old lady.' *Letters*, Preface, p. 94. In *A Wicked Treasonable Libel*—'the bitterest epigram,' writes Scott, 'which his own or any other pen ever traced'—Swift attacked her, the King, and the Prince of Wales. *Works*, i. 338, xii. 453. See also *ib.* xii. 356. He only indirectly attacked her in the *Letters*. 'Mr. Wood,' he writes,

empowering him to coin one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of half-pence and farthings for the kingdom of Ireland, in which there was a very inconvenient and embarrassing scarcity of copper coin¹, so that it was possible to run in debt upon the credit of a piece of money; for the cook or keeper of an ale-house could not refuse to supply a man that had silver in his hand, and the buyer would not leave his money without change.

- 76 The project was therefore plausible. The scarcity, which was already great, Wood took care to make greater by agents who gathered up the old half-pence²; and was about to turn his brass into gold by pouring the treasures of his new mint upon Ireland, when Swift, finding that the metal was debased to an enormous degree³, wrote Letters, under the name of *M. B., Drapier*, to shew the folly of receiving, and the mischief that must ensue, by giving gold and silver for coin worth perhaps not a third part of its nominal value.

- 77 The nation was alarmed; the new coin was universally refused; but the governors of Ireland considered resistance to the King's patent as highly criminal⁴; and one Whitshed, then Chief Justice, who had tried the printer of the former pamphlet, and sent out the Jury nine times, till by clamour and menaces they were frightened into a special verdict⁵, now

'had great friends; and, it seems, knew very well where to give money to those that would speak to others that could speak to the King, and would tell a fair story.' *Works*, vi. 342. See also *ib.* p. 399.

Sunderland, when First Lord of the Treasury, had given the disposal of the patent to the Duchess, who sold it to Wood. Walpole, his successor, saw the danger; but from fear of her influence with the King, from which he had suffered, 'reluctantly submitted.' Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 218. See also *ib.* ii. 409. The patent passed on July 12, 1722. *Craig*, p. 347.

¹ See Appendix F.

² 'Wood by his emissaries—enemies to God and this kingdom—has taken care to buy up as many of our old half-pence as he could.' *Works*, vi. 355, 391.

³ See Appendix G.

⁴ The Chancellor Middleton's op-

position to the project led to his resignation. Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 219, 228. (See also Swift's *Works*, vii. 5.) On Sept. 1, 1724, Walpole wrote that 'the Lords Justices refuse to signify his Majesty's pleasure to the people.' Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 364.

⁵ *Works*, vii. 248, xvi. 338; *Letters to Chetwode*, pp. 129-33; *ante*, SWIFT, 71.

Blackstone defines a special verdict as one 'setting forth all the circumstances of the case, and praying the judgment of the Court, whether, for instance, on the facts stated, it be murder, manslaughter, or no crime at all. This is where they *doubt* the matter of law, and therefore *choose* to leave it to the determination of the Court.' *Com.* iv. 361. The printer escaped in the end, as the Lord Lieutenant granted a *nolle prosequi*. *Works*, vii. 249, 274, xvi. 339. Charles Stewart Parnell was descended from Whitshed's daughter,

presented' the Drapier, but could not prevail on the Grand Jury to find the bill².

Lord Carteret³ and the Privy Council published a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds for discovering the author of *The Fourth Letter*⁴. Swift had concealed himself from his printers, and trusted only his butler, who transcribed the paper⁵. The man, immediately after the appearance of the proclamation, strolled from the house, and staid out all night and part of the next day. There was reason enough to fear that he had betrayed his master for the reward; but he came home, and the Dean ordered him to put off his livery and leave the house, 'for,' says he, 'I know that my life is in your power, and I will not bear, out of fear, either your insolence or negligence.' The

who married the poet's brother John. *N. & Q.* 6 S. viii. 510.

² It is not the Judge that 'presents,' but the Grand Jury. Johnson defines *present*:—'To lay before a Court of Judicature as an object of enquiry,' and quotes from Swift:—'The Grand Juries were practised effectually with to present the said pamphlet, with all aggravating epithets.' [*Works*, xvi. 338, where it is printed "to represent."]

³ The 'bill' is the indictment. 'If the Jury are satisfied of the truth of the accusation they then endorse upon it, "a true bill"; anciently "billa vera." The indictment is then said to be found, and the party stands indicted.' Blackstone's *Com.* iv. 305.

Whitshed discharged the Jury in a rage. For Swift's attacks on him for this see *Works*, vi. 441-59. The next Grand Jury, on Nov. 28, made a presentment against Wood's halfpence. *Ib.* p. 460.

⁴ In a dispute with Swift 'he replied with a mastery and strength of reason. Swift cried out:—"What the vengeance brought you amongst us? Get you gone, get you gone; pray God Almighty send us our boobies back again.'" *Delany*, p. 24. Carteret wrote to him on March 6, 1734-5:—"As for futurity, I know your name will be remembered, when

the names of kings, lord-lieutenants, archbishops and parliament politicians will be forgotten.' *Works*, xviii. 252. Swift had written to him about Wood as early as April 28, 1724. *Ib.* xvi. 420.

⁵ Swift wrote on March 23, 1733-4:—"My old friend, my Lord Carteret, was forced to consent to the proclamation." *Ib.* xviii. 185. A Dublin merchant told T. Sheridan that at the levee, the day after the proclamation, he heard Swift, 'with the voice of a Stentor,' upbraid Carteret for it, who replied:—

'Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri *.' *Works*, 1803, i. 292.

We find, however, Carteret on Oct. 31, 1724—seven days after the letter appeared—informing the English Secretary of State, that if he discovered the author—he suspected Swift—and if the law allowed it, he would keep him in custody without bail. Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 366. See also *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 181.

For an earlier reward of £300 see *ante*, SWIFT, 59.

⁵ Swift makes the 'Drapier' write to the printer:—"My custom is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand, and what is written we send to your house by a black-guard boy." *Works*, vi. 465.

* *Aeneid*, i. 563.

And doubts attending an unsettled state

Force me,' &c.

'My cruel fate

DRYDEN, i. 790.

man excused his fault with great submission, and begged that he might be confined in the house while it was in his power to endanger his master; but the Dean resolutely turned him out, without taking further notice of him, till the term of information had expired, and then received him again. Soon afterwards he ordered him and the rest of the servants into his presence, without telling his intentions, and bade them take notice that their fellow-servant was no longer Robert the butler, but that his integrity had made him Mr. Blakeney, verger of St. Patrick's, an officer whose income was between thirty and forty pounds a year; yet he still continued for some years to serve his old master as his butler¹.

79 Swift was known from this time by the appellation of 'The Dean.' He was honoured by the populace as the champion, patron, and instructor of Ireland, and gained such power as, considered both in its extent and duration, scarcely any man has ever enjoyed without greater wealth or higher station².

80 He was from this important year the oracle of the traders and the idol of the rabble, and by consequence was feared and courted by all to whom the kindness of the traders or the populace was necessary. The Drapier was a sign; the Drapier was a health; and which way soever the eye or the ear was turned some tokens were found of the nation's gratitude to the Drapier³.

¹ Johnson follows Deane Swift's version of the story (*Essay*, p. 190), though with slight variations. Sheridan, who had the story from his father, who was sent for by Mrs. Johnson 'to try to make up matters,' says that the Dean at once pardoned the man, on hearing that 'he was walking about the hall, shedding abundance of tears,' and chiefly grieving that 'his master should suppose him capable of betraying him for any reward whatever.' When the place of verger became vacant, Swift ordered him to strip off his livery and put on common clothes. 'The poor fellow begged to know what crime he had committed. "Well, do as I order you."' The story goes on as in the text. The butler's name was Blakely. *Works*, 1803, i. 289.

Swift, perhaps, exaggerated the danger. Bolingbroke wrote to Pope on Feb. 18, 1723-4:—'The poor dean

... dreams of gibbets and halters.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 397. He goes on to praise a comparison of Arbuthnot's, who, in Nov. 1723, wrote to Swift:—'You are in the case of the man who held the whole night by a broom bush, and found, when daylight appeared, he was within two inches of the ground.' *Works*, xvi. 412.

² 'He was known over the whole kingdom by the title of THE DEAN; and when THE DEAN was mentioned, it always carried with it the idea of the first and greatest man in the kingdom.' T. SHERIDAN, *Works*, 1803, i. 314. See also *Orrery*, p. 72; *ante*, SWIFT, 33 n., and Pope's *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* ii. l. 221.

³ *Orrery*, p. 73. Swift wrote to Pope on Feb. 9, 1735-6:—'My popularity is wholly confined to the common people, who are more constant than those we miscall their betters.

The benefit was indeed great; he had rescued Ireland from 81
a very oppressive and predatory invasion: and the popularity
which he had gained he was diligent to keep by appearing
forward and zealous on every occasion where the publick interest
was supposed to be involved. Nor did he much scruple to boast
his influence; for when, upon some attempts to regulate the
coin, Archbishop Boulter, then one of the Justices¹, accused him
of exasperating the people, he exculpated himself by saying, 'If
I had lifted up my finger, they would have torn you to pieces.'

But the pleasure of popularity was soon interrupted by domestick 82
misery. Mrs. Johnson, whose conversation was to him the great
softener of the ills of life, began in the year of the Drapier's
triumph to decline²; and two years afterwards was so wasted
with sickness that her recovery was considered as hopeless.

Swift was then in England³, and had been invited by Lord 83
Bolingbroke to pass the winter with him in France⁴; but this
call of calamity hastened him to Ireland⁵, where perhaps his

I walk the streets, and so do my
lower friends, from whom, and from
whom alone, I have a thousand hats
and blessings upon old scores, which
those we call the gentry have forgot.'
Works, xix. 33. See also *ib.* xvii.
123, xix. 4.

'A few years after his death Dr.
John Lyon was one of the Committee,
along with Judge Marshall and
Faulkner the printer, that used to
meet in Sheridan's house on the
Blind Quay (nearly opposite Stella's
old lodgings) for the purpose of getting
up a national memorial to the Dean.
The effort came to nothing.' W. G.
Carroll's *Succession of Clergy, &c.*,
p. 26.

For The Drapier's Triumph, an
allegorical picture by Vertue, see
Letters to Chetwode, p. 175.

¹ The Lords Justices. *Ante*, TIC-
KELL, 16. Swift's *Ay or No. A
Tale from Dublin* (1737), ends:—

'It is pity a prelate should die with-
out law;

But if I say the word—take care of
Armagh.' *Works*, xii. 450.

For Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh,
see *ib.* vi. 420; *post*, A. PHILIPS, 28;
Craik, p. 363, and Boswell's *Johnson*,
i. 318.

² *Orrery*, p. 27. Swift, in a prayer
written on Oct. 17, 1727, describes
her as 'afflicted with a long, constant,
weakly state of health.' *Works*, ix.
291.

³ Pope wrote on March 22, 1725—
6:—'He [Swift] is in perfect health
and spirits, the joy of all here who
know him, as he was eleven years
ago.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and
Courthope), viii. 221.

⁴ Swift wrote on July 8, 1726, that
he would certainly have accepted the
invitation, 'if Mrs. Johnson were not
so out of order.' *Works*, xvii. 39.

⁵ He did not hasten back at once.
He knew of her danger by July 15,
on which day he wrote:—'I am de-
termined not to go to Ireland, to find
her just dead or dying. . . . I have
(till I know farther) fixed on August 15
to set out for Ireland.' *ib.* xvii. 41.
He started on Aug. 17. *ib.* p. 50.
In all his distress he gave a thought
to scandal. If, during his absence,
she came to Dublin she 'should be
lodged in some airy healthy part, and
not in the Deanery: which besides,
you know, cannot but be a very im-
proper thing for that house to breathe
her last in.' *ib.* p. 40.

presence contributed to restore her to imperfect and tottering health.

- 84 He was now so much at ease that (1727) he returned to England¹, where he collected three volumes of *Miscellanies* in conjunction with Pope, who prefixed a querulous and apologetical Preface².
- 85 This important year sent likewise into the world *Gulliver's Travels*³, a production so new and strange that it filled the reader with a mingled emotion of merriment and amazement. It was received with such avidity that the price of the first edition was raised before the second could be made; it was read by the high and the low, the learned and illiterate⁴. Criticism was for a while lost in wonder: no rules of judgement were applied to a book written in open defiance of truth and regularity. But when distinctions came to be made the part which gave least pleasure was that which describes the Flying Island, and that which gave most disgust must be the history of the Houyhnhnms⁵.

¹ On April 8 he wrote:—'I am just going for England.' *Works*, xvii. 100.

In the *Spiritual Quixote* (1773, iii. 217) Wildgoose finds in The George in the Tree, a public-house near Menden [Meriden] on the Chester road, the following inscription on the parlour window-pane:—

J. S. D. S. P. D. hospes ignotus,
Patriæ (ut nunc est) plusquam vellet
notus,

Tempestate pulsus,
Hic pernoctavit,

A.D. 17—.

² Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin, here a stranger unknown, but in his own country (such as it now is) better known than he would wish to be, being driven by a storm, lodged here all night, in the year of our Lord 17—.'

³ *Post*, POPE, 141. Ford described these *Miscellanies* to Swift in 1733 as 'that jumble with Pope, &c., in three volumes, which put me in a rage whenever I meet them.' *Works*, xviii. 158. See also *ib.* xvii. 88, 98, 117, and Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 84.

⁴ The copy-right money was divided between Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay and Swift; but Swift's portion was sent to

the widow of a Dublin bookseller.' *N. & Q.* 1 S. xii. 198. See also *post*, POPE, 141 n.

⁵ See Appendix H.

⁴ 'It has been the conversation of the whole town,' wrote Gay. *ib.* xvii. 81. See *ante*, GAY, 31.

⁵ Arbuthnot wrote to Swift:—'I tell you freely, the part of the projectors is the least brilliant.' *ib.* xvii. 71. Gay and Pope wrote:—'As to other critics, they think the flying island is the least entertaining;—it is agreed that part was not writ by the same hand, though this has its defenders.' *ib.* p. 83; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 90.

Voltaire wrote from England on Feb. 2, 1726-7:—'Le second tome roule sur des choses particulières à l'Angleterre et indifférentes à la France. . . . Le premier tome est fait pour plaire à toutes les nations.' *Œuvres*, xli. 157.

Dr. Young wrote of it:—'Before a character is established merit makes fame; afterwards fame makes merit. Swift is not commended for this piece, but this piece for Swift.' Young's *Works*, 1770, iv. 283. 'I wondered to hear Johnson say of it:—"When once you have thought of big men

While Swift was enjoying the reputation of his new work the 86 news of the King's death arrived; and he kissed the hands of the new King and Queen three days after their accession ¹.

By the Queen, when she was Princess, he had been treated 87 with some distinction, and was well received by her in her exaltation; but whether she gave hopes which she never took care to satisfy, or he formed expectations which she never meant to raise, the event was that he always afterwards thought on her with malevolence, and particularly charged her with breaking her promise of some medals which she engaged to send him.

I know not whether she had not in her turn some reason for 88 complaint. A letter was sent her, not so much entreating as requiring her patronage of Mrs. Barber, an ingenious Irish-woman, who was then begging subscriptions for her Poems. To this letter was subscribed the name of Swift, and it has all the appearances of his diction and sentiments; but it was not written in his hand, and had some little improprieties. When he was charged with this letter he laid hold of the inaccuracies, and urged the improbability of the accusation, but never denied it: he shuffles between cowardice and veracity, and talks big when he says nothing ².

He seemed desirous enough of recommencing courtier, and 89 endeavoured to gain the kindness of Mrs. Howard, remembering what Mrs. Masham had performed in former times, but his flatteries were, like those of the other wits, unsuccessful; the lady either wanted power, or had no ambition of poetical immortality ³.

and little men it is very easy to do all the rest." Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 319.

In *N. & Q.* 6 S. iv. 404 it is shown that 'the storm in the voyage to Brobdingnag is copied almost *verbatim* from Sturmy's *Compleat Mariner*, 1669.'

¹ George I died on the road to Hanover on June 11, 1727. Swift 'was just ready to go to France when the news arrived.' *Works*, xvii. 111. Bolingbroke begged him not 'to think of such an unmeaning journey, when the opportunity for quitting Ireland for England is, I believe, fairly before you.' *Ib.* p. 113. On June 24 Swift wrote:—'I prevailed with a dozen

that we should go in a line to kiss the King's and Queen's hands.' *Ib.* p. 111. For his hopes of Walpole's fall and of his getting a settlement in England see *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 214.

² See Appendix I.

³ *Ante*, GAY, 17. Swift wrote to Gay on June 29, 1731:—'A p— on Mrs. Howard for hindering me from going to France, where I might have recovered my health; and she did it in a most treacherous manner, when I laid it on her honour.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 231. Gay replied on July 18:—'I am still so much a dupe that I think you mistake her.' *Works*, xvii. 364.

- 90 He was seized not long afterwards by a fit of giddiness¹, and again heard of the sickness and danger of Mrs. Johnson². He then left the house of Pope, as it seems, with very little ceremony, finding that 'two sick friends cannot live together'³, and did not write to him till he found himself at Chester.
- 91 He returned to a home of sorrow: poor Stella was sinking into the grave, and, after a languishing decay of about two months, died in her forty-fourth year on January 28, 1728⁴. How much he wished her life his papers shew; nor can it be doubted that he dreaded the death of her whom he loved most, aggravated by the consciousness that himself had hastened it.
- 92 Beauty and the power of pleasing, the greatest external advan-

Swift wrote to her on July 24:—'You well know that when I had an intention to go to France, about the time that the late King died, I desired your opinion (not as you were a courtier) whether I should go or not; and that you absolutely forbid me...; wherein I confess I was your dupe, as well as somebody else's; and for want of that journey I fell sick, and was forced to return hither to my unenvied home.' *Works*, xvii. p. 371. She replied on Sept. 25:—'If I cannot justify the advice I gave you from the success of it, I gave you my reasons for it, and it was your business to have judged of my capacity by the solidity of my arguments.' *Id.* p. 392. See also *ib.* pp. 107, 124, 131, 221, 312, 406.

Horace Walpole mentions Lady Betty Germain's defence of Lady Suffolk [Mrs. Howard] 'against that brute who hated everybody that he hoped would get him a mitre, and did not.' *Letters*, iv. 505. For her defence in a letter to Swift see *Works*, xviii. 74.

Lady M. W. Montagu wrote of Swift:—'We see him making a servile court where he had any interested views, and meanly abusive when they were disappointed.' *Letters*, 1837, iii. 18. She had the insolence to add that 'had it not been for the good nature of these very mortals they [Swift and Pope] condemn, these two superior beings were entitled by their birth and hereditary fortune to

be only a couple of link-boys.'

¹ *Works*, xvii. 130. On Aug. 19, 1727, he wrote:—'I have a hundred oceans rolling in my ears, into which no sense has been poured this fortnight.' *Id.* p. 133.

² On Aug. 29, 1727, he wrote of her from Pope's house:—'I expect the most fatal news that can ever come to me, unless I should be put to death for some ignominious crime.' *Id.* p. 134.

³ On Oct. 12 he wrote to Pope, not from Chester but Dublin: 'Two sick friends never did well together.' *Id.* p. 144. This same year he wrote to him:—

'Pope has the talent well to speak,
But not to reach the ear;
His loudest voice is low and weak,
The Dean too deaf to hear.

A while they on each other look,
Then different studies choose;
The Dean sits plodding on a book,
Pope walks, and courts the Muse.'
Id. xiv. 198.

For his Journal from Chester to Holyhead see *Craig*, p. 537.

⁴ He began a brief account of 'her life and character' with the following entry:—'This day, being Sunday, January 28, 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night, a servant brought me a note with an account of the death of the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend that I, or perhaps any other person, was ever blessed with.' *Works*, ix. 274.

tages that woman can desire or possess, were fatal to the unfortunate Stella. The man whom she had the misfortune to love was, as Delany observes, fond of singularity¹, and desirous to make a mode of happiness for himself, different from the general course of things and order of Providence. From the time of her arrival in Ireland he seems resolved to keep her in his power, and therefore hindered a match sufficiently advantageous by accumulating unreasonable demands and prescribing conditions that could not be performed². While she was at her own disposal he did not consider his possession as secure; resentment, ambition, or caprice might separate them; he was therefore resolved to make 'assurance double sure³,' and to appropriate her by a private marriage, to which he had annexed the expectation of all the pleasures of perfect friendship, without the uneasiness of conjugal restraint⁴. But with this state poor Stella was not satisfied; she never was treated as a wife, and to the world she had the appearance of a mistress⁵. She lived sullenly on, in hope that in time he would own and receive her; but the time did not come till the change of his manners and depravation of his mind made her tell him, when he offered to acknowledge her,

¹ *Delany*, p. 62.

² An Irish clergyman, Dr. William Tisdall, informed Swift that he was a suitor for her hand. He replied on April 20, 1704:—'If my fortunes and humour served me to think of that state [marriage], I should certainly, among all persons on earth, make your choice.' He added:—'I did not conceive you were then rich enough to make yourself and her happy and easy. . . . But the objection of your fortune being removed, I declare I have no other.' *Works*, xv. 274.

According to Deane Swift, he insisted that Tisdall should live in Dublin, keep a coach for his wife, and settle £100 a year on her for pin-money. [*Essay upon Swift's life*, 1755, p. 89.] 'The match,' writes Sheridan, 'was not broken off by any artifice of Swift's. The refusal came from Mrs. Johnson.' *Swift's Works*, 1803, ii. 10. See also *Craik*, p. 116.

³ 'But yet I'll make assurance double sure.' *Macbeth*, iv. 1. 83.

⁴ *Ante*, SWIFT, 70. He wrote about her to a friend, when she was thought to be dying:—'Dear Jim, pardon me, I know not what I am saying; but believe me that violent friendship is much more lasting, and as much engaging, as violent love.' *Works*, xvii. 44.

⁵ Bolingbroke wrote to him in 1724:—'Set your foot on the continent; I dare promise that you will in a fortnight have gone back the ten years you lament so much. . . . With what pleasure should I hear you "Inter vina fugam Stellae moerere protervae *"!'" *Ib.* xvi. 442.

In 1725 he wrote:—'Your star will probably hinder you' from coming to England.' *Ib.* p. 464.

A year before her death he wrote:—'My wife sends you some fans . . . which you will dispose of to the present Stella, whoever she be.' *Ib.* xvii. 95.

* 'Inter vina fugam Cynaræ,' &c. HORACE, *Epis.* i. 7. 28.

that 'it was too late'. She then gave up herself to sorrowful resentment, and died under the tyranny of him by whom she was in the highest degree loved and honoured.

- 98 What were her claims to this excentrick tenderness, by which the laws of nature were violated to retain her, curiosity will inquire; but how shall it be gratified? Swift was a lover; his testimony may be suspected. Delany and the Irish saw with Swift's eyes and therefore add little confirmation. That she was virtuous, beautiful, and elegant in a very high degree, such admiration from such a lover makes it very probable; but she had not much literature, for she could not spell her own language²; and of her wit, so loudly vaunted³, the smart sayings which Swift himself has collected afford no splendid specimen⁴.
- 94 The reader of Swift's *Letter to a Lady on her Marriage*⁵ may be allowed to doubt whether his opinion of female excellence ought implicitly to be admitted; for if his general thoughts on women were such as he exhibits, a very little sense in a lady would enrapture and a very little virtue would astonish him.

² Johnson's authority is Delany (p. 56), who says that the offer was made some years before her death. 'It was then, she said, "too late"; and therefore better that they should live on, as they had hitherto done.' *Craik*, p. 530.

Scott also reports this anecdote which he had from Deane Swift's son, Theophilus, who professed to have it from Mrs. Whiteway. The scene is transferred to her death-bed. 'She heard the Dean say, "Well, my dear, if you wish it, it shall be owned," to which Stella answered with a sigh, "It is too late." The word *marriage* was not mentioned, but there can remain no doubt that such was the secret to be owned.' *Works*, i. 332. For an account by Sheridan of Swift's meeting the request by leaving the room and never returning see *Works*, ed. 1803, ii. 61, and *Craik*, p. 530.

³ Swift wrote to her on Oct. 23, 1711:—'Here is a full and true account of Stella's new spelling.' The list contains such misspelling as *strangers*, *hower*, *inmagin*, *merrit*, *phamphlets*, *bussness*. Against these words she wrote the correct spelling.

Works, ii. 381. See also *ib.* p. 417, and *Works*, 1803, xvi. 142 n.

⁴ 'I have often heard a competent judge declare that he never passed one day in Stella's society wherein he did not hear her say something which he would wish to remember to the last day of his life.' *Delany*, p. 66.

⁵ 'Some of us,' wrote Swift, 'have written down several of her sayings, or what the French call *bons mots*, wherein she excelled beyond belief.' *Ib.* ix. 277. For the collection—twelve in number—see *ib.* p. 286. See also *ante*, ADDISON, 120.

On Swift's birthday in 1721 she sent him a copy of verses ending:—
'Late dying, may you cast a shred
Of your rich mantle o'er my head;
To bear with dignity my sorrow
One day alone, then die to-morrow.'

Works, xiv. 469.

⁵ *Ib.* ix. 202. Pope wrote to Swift in 1736:—'Mrs. Blount says she will be agreeable many years hence, for she has learned that secret from some receipts of your writing.' The allusion is to this *Letter*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 353.

Stella's supremacy, therefore, was perhaps only local; she was great because her associates were little ¹.

In some Remarks lately published on the Life of Swift this marriage is mentioned as fabulous or doubtful ²; but alas! poor Stella, as Dr. Madden told me, related her melancholy story to Dr. Sheridan when he attended her as a clergyman to prepare her for death ³; and Delany tells it not with doubt but only with regret. Swift never mentioned her without a sigh ⁴.

The rest of his life was spent in Ireland, in a country to which not even power almost despotick, nor flattery almost idolatrous, could reconcile him ⁵. He sometimes wished to visit England, but always found some reason of delay. He tells Pope, in the decline of life, that he hopes once more to see him; 'but if not,' says he, 'we must part, as all human beings have parted ⁶.'

After the death of Stella his benevolence was contracted and his severity exasperated; he drove his acquaintance from his table and wondered why he was deserted ⁷. But he continued his attention to the publick, and wrote from time to time such directions, admonitions, or censures as the exigency of affairs, in his opinion, made proper, and nothing fell from his pen in vain.

In a short poem on the Presbyterians, whom he always regarded with detestation, he bestowed one stricture upon Bettes-

¹ For the ignorance of women at this time see *ante*, MILTON, 135 n. 3.

² *Ante*, SWIFT, 70. Cunningham (*Lives of the Poets*, ii. 185) refers to a paper by Dr. Lyons, printed by Nichols in 1779, in a supplemental volume to Swift's *Works*. [The reference is to *Biographical Anecdotes of Dean Swift* in the first volume of the three supplementary volumes to Hawkesworth's *Swift*, printed from MS. annotations in an interleaved copy of his *Life of Swift*. *Supplement to Hawkesworth's Swift*, vol. i. Intro. pp. xvii, xxxii.]

³ For three prayers by Swift 'used by him for Mrs. Johnson in her last sickness' see *ib.* ix. 289. Sheridan's son gives a somewhat different account. Swift's *Works*, 1803, ii. 61.

⁴ *Orrery*, p. 28. 'Dr. Tuke,' writes Scott, 'has a lock of her hair, on the envelope of which is written in Swift's hand, "Only a woman's hair."' *Works*, i. 223 n.

G. M. Berkeley records (*Literary Relics*, Preface, pp. xxviii, liv) that when Swift first saw Mrs. Hearne, Stella's niece, 'he was so struck with the strong resemblance she bore to Stella that he uttered a deep groan.' This was some years after Stella's death.

⁵ *Ante*, SWIFT, 66. He wrote to Bolingbroke from Dublin on March 21, 1729-30:—'You think, as I ought to think, that it is time for me to have done with the world; and so I would if I could get into a better, before I was called into the best, and not die here in a rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole.' *Works*, xvii. 236. [See Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), vii. 188, for the date of this letter.]

⁶ Letter of Oct. 12, 1727. *Ib.* xvii. 143; quoted by Johnson. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 312.

⁷ *Delany*, p. 144; *Deane Swift*, pp. 181, 308.

worth¹, a lawyer eminent for his insolence to the clergy, which, from very considerable reputation, brought him into immediate and universal contempt. Bettesworth, enraged at his disgrace and loss, went to Swift and demanded whether he was the author of that poem².

'Mr. Bettesworth,' answered he, 'I was in my youth acquainted with great lawyers, who, knowing my disposition to satire, advised me, that, if any scoundrel or blockhead whom I had lampooned should ask, "Are you the author of this paper?" I should tell him that I was not the author; and therefore I tell you, Mr. Bettesworth, that I am not the author of these lines³.'

99 Bettesworth was so little satisfied with this account that he publicly professed his resolution of a violent and corporal revenge; but the inhabitants of St. Patrick's district embodied themselves in the Dean's defence⁴. Bettesworth declared in Parliament that Swift had deprived him of twelve hundred pounds a year.

100 Swift was popular a while by another mode of beneficence.

¹ 'Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,
Though half a crown o'er pays his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law nor text nor margent,
Calls Singleton his brother serjeant.'
Works, xii. 417.

The poem appeared in *Gent. Mag.* 1733, p. 710, where in the second line it is 'out-pays.'

² 'Upon entering the room,' says T. Sheridan, who had it from his father, 'Swift desired to know his commands. "Sir," says he, "I am Sergeant Bet-t'es-worth" (which was always his pompous way of pronouncing his name, in three distinct syllables).—"Of what regiment, pray?" says Swift.' *Works*, 1803, ii. 129.

³ According to Sheridan the advice was given him by Lord Somers. *Ib.* As for the lawfulness of such an answer see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 376.

⁴ Swift wrote to the Lord Lieutenant in Jan. 1733-4 that he was at a friend's house when Bettesworth asked to see him. 'The Sergeant had a footman in the hall during all his talk, who was to have opened the

door for one or two more fellows, as he has since reported; and likewise that he had a sharp knife in his pocket, ready to stab or maim me. . . . The least uproar would have called his nearest neighbours, first to my assistance, and next to the manifest danger of his life.' *Works*, xviii. 175.

A paper was presented to Swift about the end of December, 1733, by the inhabitants of the Liberty of St. Patrick's, in which, after stating that 'a certain Man of this City hath openly sworn by the Help of several Ruffians to murder or maim the Reverend the Dean of St. Patrick's, our Neighbour, Benefactor and Head of the Liberty of St. Patrick's,' they continued:—'We, from our great Love and Respect to the said Dean, do unanimously declare that we will defend the Life and Limbs of the said Dean against the said Man, and all his Ruffians and Murderers, as far as the Law will allow.' To this 'the Dean, being in bed very much indisposed, dictated an answer.' *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 48; *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 112.

He set aside some hundreds to be lent in small sums to the poor, from five shillings, I think, to five pounds. He took no interest, and only required that, at repayment, a small fee should be given to the accomptant; but he required that the day of promised payment should be exactly kept. A severe and punctilious temper is ill qualified for transactions with the poor; the day was often broken and the loan was not repaid. This might have been easily foreseen, but for this Swift had made no provision of patience or pity. He ordered his debtors to be sued. A severe creditor has no popular character; what then was likely to be said of him who employs the catchpoll under the appearance of charity? The clamour against him was loud and the resentment of the populace outrageous; he was therefore forced to drop his scheme and own the folly of expecting punctuality from the poor¹.

His asperity continually increasing condemned him to soli- 101
tude, and his resentment of solitude sharpened his asperity². He was not, however, totally deserted: some men of learning, and some women of elegance, often visited him, and he wrote from time to time either verse or prose; of his verses he willingly gave copies, and is supposed to have felt no discontent when he saw them printed³. His favourite maxim was 'vive la baga-

¹ According to Sheridan 'he lent £500 in sums of five or ten pounds, to be repaid weekly, at two or four shillings, without interest.' He required 'good security for the repayment'; a steady man, he said, would easily find it. 'Thus did this fund continue undiminished to the last. I have been well assured that many families, now living in great credit, owed the foundation of their fortunes to the sums first borrowed from this fund.' *Works*, 1803, i. 312. One man, when asked for his security, 'replied:—"I have none to offer excepting my faith in my Redeemer." Swift accepted the security, made the entry accordingly with all formality, and declared that none of his debtors was more punctual.' *Works*, i. 445 n.

His housekeeper was the accountant. On Sept. 14, 1721, he wrote to Mr. Worrall (*ante*, SWIFT, 68):—"I doubt Mrs. Brent will be at a loss about

her industry-book, for want of a new leaf, with a list drawn of the debtors.' *Ib.* xvi. 366. It is stated in a pamphlet recently issued by the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital (*post*, SWIFT, 138) that their predecessors 'found great difficulty in collecting the £11,000 bequeathed by Swift; a considerable amount of his money having been lent by the Dean to deserving tradesmen.'

For Johnson's almsgiving see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 119, iii. 56, iv. 3; *John. Misc.* i. 204.

² T. Sheridan, after speaking of his 'temper, peevish, fretful, and morose,' continues:—"I loved him from my boyish days, and never stood in the least awe before him, as I do not remember ever to have had a cross look or harsh expression from him." *Works*, 1803, ii. 83.

³ Delany, in *A Letter to Deane Swift*, 1755, p. 16, says, 'Swift was so long used to the sweet incense of

telle'; he thought trifles a necessary part of life, and perhaps found them necessary to himself. It seems impossible to him to be idle, and his disorders made it difficult or dangerous to be long seriously studious or laboriously diligent. The love of ease is always gaining upon age, and he had one temptation to petty amusements peculiar to himself; whatever he did he was sure to hear applauded; and such was his predominance over all that approached, that all their applauses were probably sincere. He that is much flattered soon learns to flatter himself: we are commonly taught our duty by fear or shame, and how can they act upon the man who hears nothing but his own praises?

- 102 As his years increased his fits of giddiness and deafness grew more frequent, and his deafness made conversation difficult³; they grew likewise more severe, till in 1736, as he was writing a poem called *The Legion Club*, he was seized with a fit so painful and so long continued, that he never after thought it proper to attempt any work of thought or labour⁴.

praise from printing that he could not well live without it.

¹ 'In the end he was almost totally engrossed by that detestable maxim, *Vive la bagatelle*.' *Delany*, p. 120.

After writing to Bolingbroke on March 21, 1729-30, that 'death is never out of my mind,' he continues:— 'And yet I love *la bagatelle* better than ever; for finding it troublesome to read at night, and the company here growing tasteless, I am always writing bad prose or worse verses, either of rage or raillery.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 188; *Works*, xvii. 234 (where the letter is misdated). See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 276, for 'my rule, *vive la bagatelle*.'

Bolingbroke wrote to him in 1722:— 'I will undertake to find in two pages of your *bagatelles* more good sense, useful knowledge and true religion than you can shew me in the works of nineteen in twenty of the profound divines and philosophers of the age.' *Works*, xvi. 378.

² 'If, after all, we must with Wilmot own

The cordial drop of life is love alone;
And Swift cry wisely, "*Vive la bagatelle*!"

The man that loves and laughs must sure do well.'

POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* i. 6. 127. See also Swift's *Works*, xvi. 326, 411, xviii. 329.

³ *Post*, SWIFT, 130.

⁴ He wrote to Pope in 1737:— 'This deafness unqualifies me for all company except a few friends with counter-tenor voices, whom I can call names if they do not speak loud enough for my ears.' *Works*, xix. 69. See also *ib.* p. 64, where he says he can hear 'a woman with a treble.'

⁵ *Orrery*, p. 245. *The Legion Club* (*Works*, xii. 436) is a complete poem. Swift wrote on April 24, 1736:— 'I have been very ill these two months past. . . I have writ a very masterly poem on the *Legion Club*; which, if the printer should be condemned to be hanged for it, you will see in a threepenny book, for it is 240 lines. Mrs. Whiteway is to have half the profit, and half the hanging.' *ib.* xviii. 424. See also *ib.* p. 433, xix. 67.

'Tennyson,' says Mr. Lockier-Lampson, 'was greatly impressed by the deadly-earnest and savagery, and, let me say *sadness*, of Swift's *Legion Club*. He has more than once read it to me.' *Tennyson's Life*, ii. 73.

He was always careful of his money and was therefore no liberal entertainer, but was less frugal of his wine than of his meat¹. When his friends of either sex came to him in expectation of a dinner his custom was to give every one a shilling, that they might please themselves with their provision². At last his avarice grew too powerful for his kindness; he would refuse a bottle of wine, and in Ireland no man visits where he cannot drink³.

Having thus excluded conversation⁴, and desisted from study, 104 he had neither business nor amusement; for having, by some ridiculous resolution or mad vow, determined never to wear spectacles⁵, he could make little use of books in his later years; his ideas, therefore, being neither renovated by discourse, nor increased by reading, wore gradually away, and left his mind vacant to the vexations of the hour, till at last his anger was heightened into madness.

He, however, permitted one book to be published, which 105 had been the production of former years: *Polite Conversation*, which appeared in 1738⁶. The *Directions for Ser-*

¹ 'His meat was but little, yet much more than Mr. Pope's; and his wine out of all proportion more, and excellent in its kind.' *Delany*, p. 180. See also *ib.* p. 145; *ante*, SWIFT, 67 n. 2. For Pope's frugality see *post*, POPE, 267. In 1734 Swift described himself as drinking 'a pint of wine at noon, and another at night.' *Works*, xviii. 230.

² When Lady Eustace brought her daughter 'he would contend hard that no more than sixpence should be allowed for the brat (now Mrs. Tickell).' *Delany*, p. 181.

³ Swift wrote in 1732:—'I should hardly prevail to find one visitor if I were not able to hire him with a bottle of wine.' *Works*, xviii. 12. A few days earlier he wrote:—'Even my wine will not purchase me company.' *Ib.* xix. 291.

⁴ Deane Swift (p. 181) says that till the death of Stella 'he generally spent his time from noon till he went to bed in conversation.'

⁵ Delany adds (p. 146) that 'the natural make of his eyes (large and prominent) very ill qualified him to support this resolution.' On Jan. 15,

1730-1, Swift wrote to Pope:—'Read at night I dare not for my eyes. . . I am in my chamber at five, there sit alone till eleven, and then to bed. I write pamphlets and follies merely for amusement, and when they are finished, or I grow weary in the middle, I cast them into the fire.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 211.

He wrote to Stella on her birthday, March 13, 1724-5 (*Works*, xiv. 480):—

'For Nature always in the right
To your decays adapts my sight;
And wrinkles undistinguished pass,
For I'm ashamed to use a glass;
And till I see them with these eyes,
Whoever says you have them lies.'

'Whenever,' said Goethe, 'a stranger steps up to me with spectacles on his nose a discordant feeling comes over me, which I cannot master.' Eckermann's *Conversations*, 1850, ii. 276.

⁶ *Ib.* ix. 339. [The shorter title, *Polite Conversation*, appears in the 1st ed., after the Introduction and immediately preceding the Dialogues.] Swift wrote of it in 1731:—'I have a

vants was printed soon after his death. These two performances shew a mind incessantly attentive, and, when it was not employed upon great things, busy with minute occurrences. It is apparent that he must have had the habit of noting whatever he observed; for such a number of particulars could never have been assembled by the power of recollection.

- 106 He grew more violent; and his mental powers declined till (1741) it was found necessary that legal guardians should be appointed of his person and fortune². He now lost distinction. His madness was compounded of rage and fatuity³. The last face that he knew was that of Mrs. Whiteway⁴, and her he ceased to know in a little time⁵. His meat was brought him cut into mouthfuls; but he would never touch it while the

thing in prose, begun above 28 years ago, and almost finished.' *Works*, xvii. 356. He described it as 'a work to reduce the whole politeness, wit, humour, and style of England into a short system, for the use of all persons of quality, and particularly the maids of honour.' *Ib.* p. 384. See also *ib.* xix. 7, 120.

Thackeray in his *English Humourists*, p. 140, trusted to the ignorance of his audience when he quoted it as representing the talk of 'persons of fashion.'

Early in 1738-9 Swift published his poem *On the Death of Dr. Swift*, of which two editions (the first of 2000 copies) were rapidly sold off. *Works*, xiv. 317, xvii. 389, xix. 171, 178.

² *Ib.* xi. 365. Swift wrote in 1731 that it was 'of almost equal importance' as *Polite Conversation*. 'I may call it the whole duty of servants.' *Ib.* xvii. 384. Mrs. Whiteway, in 1740, described it as 'very unfinished and incorrect.' *Ib.* xix. 230. Faulkner, the printer, wrote in 1745 that 'it was never finished by the Dean, and is consequently very incorrect.' *Ib.* p. 255. See also *ib.* xvii. 357, xix. 158, 213.

³ Johnson, in the rest of this account, follows Delany (p. 150), who however does not mention the appointment of legal guardians. Hawkesworth in *Swift's Life*, 1755, p. 57, mentions this. Professor Sir John Banks showed in *The Dublin*

Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, May, 1861, p. 83, that on Aug. 12, 1741, a writ *de lunatico inquirendo* was issued. The jury found that Swift had been 'a person of unsound mind, and not capable of taking care of his person or fortune, since May 20 last past.' See *ante*, SWIFT, 11.

³ See *post*, YOUNG, 31, for Young's anecdote of the tree withered at its top.

'From Marlborough's eyes the streams of dotage flow,
And Swift expires a driv'ler and a show.'

JOHNSON, *The Vanity*, &c., l. 317.

⁴ He wrote of her in 1735:—'I have kindred enough, but not a grain of merit among them except one female, who is the only cousin I suffer to see me.' *Works*, xviii. 277. In 1737 he wrote of her as 'the only cousin I own.' *Ib.* xix. 61.

'She was a lady of talents, fashion, and independent fortune.' SCOTT. *Ib.* i. 412 n. 'She came from her own house three days in each week to read and chat with him after Stella's death.' *Ib.* xviii. 362 n.

⁵ 'I was informed by the servant who attended him in his last illness, that when any person of whose talents he had thought highly visited him, he evinced the greatest anxiety for his departure, whilst blockheads were suffered to approach him with impunity.' G. M. BERKELEY, *Literary Relics*, Preface, p. lv.

servant staid, and at last, after it had stood perhaps an hour, would eat it walking; for he continued his old habit, and was on his feet ten hours a-day¹.

Next year (1742) he had an inflammation in his left eye, 107 which swelled it to the size of an egg, with boils in other parts; he was kept long waking with the pain, and was not easily restrained by five attendants from tearing out his eye.

The tumour at last subsided, and a short interval of reason 108 ensuing, in which he knew his physician and his family, gave hopes of his recovery; but in a few days he sunk into lethargick stupidity, motionless, heedless, and speechless. But it is said that, after a year of total silence, when his housekeeper, on the 30th of November, told him that the usual bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate his birthday, he answered, 'It is all folly; they had better let it alone.'

It is remembered that he afterwards spoke now and then, or 109 gave some intimation of a meaning; but at last sunk into perfect silence which continued till about the end of October, 1744, when, in his seventy-eighth year, he expired without a struggle³.

¹ He wrote in 1738:—'I seldom walk less than four miles, sometimes six, eight, ten, or more, never beyond my own limits; or, if it rains, I walk as much through the house, up and down stairs.' *Works*, xix. 153.

² *Delany*, p. 150. He wrote to Stella on his birthday in 1710:—'I saw fellows wearing crosses to-day [Nov. 30 is St. Andrew's Day], and I wondered what was the matter; but just this minute I recollect it is little Presto's birthday; and I was resolved these three days to remember it when it came, but could not. Pray, drink my health to-day at dinner; do, you rogues.' *Works*, ii. 95. On Jan. 1 he wrote:—'And so you kept Presto's little birthday, I warrant; would to God I had been at the health rather than here, where I have no manner of pleasure.' *Ib.* p. 129. On Jan. 8, 1711-12, he wrote in answer to her letter:—'What's here now? Yes, faith, I lamented my birthday two days after, and that's all.' *Ib.* p. 450.

Mrs. Whiteway wrote to him on Dec. 2, 1735:—'The Drapier's birthday was celebrated by Mr. Laud

with a dinner... two bowls of punch and three bottles of claret. At night Mr. Kenrick [the verger] gave a supper with an ocean of punch. Their houses were illuminated, and the bells rung. Several other houses followed their example.' *Ib.* xviii. 393. On Nov. 27, 1738, Swift wrote to her, when she had been kept from visiting him by her son's illness:—'I hope at least things will be better on Thursday [his birthday], else I shall be full of the spleen, because it is a day you seem to regard, although I detest it, and I read the third chapter of *Job* that morning.' *Ib.* xix. 167.

³ Swift on his birthday constantly read the third chapter of *Job*, and during the whole day appeared oppressed with the deepest melancholy.' G. M. Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, Preface, p. liii.

³ He died on Oct. 19, 1745, six weeks short of seventy-eight. For his death see *Orrery*, p. 247. For his epitaph, composed by himself, see his *Works*, i. 427. In Lockhart's *Scott*, viii. 18, it is told how 'Sir Walter hung long over the famous

110 WHEN Swift is considered as an author¹ it is just to estimate his powers by their effects. In the reign of Queen Anne he turned the stream of popularity against the Whigs, and must be confessed to have dictated for a time the political opinions of the English nation². In the succeeding reign he delivered Ireland from plunder and oppression, and shewed that wit, confederated with truth, had such force as authority was unable to resist. He said truly of himself that Ireland 'was his debtor'³. It was from the time when he first began to patronize the Irish that they may date their riches and prosperity. He taught them first to know their own interest, their weight, and their strength, and gave them spirit to assert that equality with their fellow-subjects to which they have ever since been making vigorous advances, and to claim those rights which they have at last established⁴. Nor can they be charged with ingratitude to their benefactor, for they revered him as a guardian and obeyed him as a dictator⁵.

inscription,' when he visited St. Patrick's.

¹ Swift scorned the author who lived by his pen. In 1732 he wrote: —'The taste of England is infamously corrupted by shoals of wretches who write for their bread.' *Works*, xvii. 398.

He only twice was paid for his writings. *Ante*, SWIFT, 85 n. He wrote of himself and his *Examiners*: —'It seems the author is too proud to have them printed by subscription, though his friends offered, they say, to make it worth £500 to him.' *Ib.* ii. 390. Pope made enough money to be above scorn; moreover he could have lived without writing. Gay indeed wrote for bread, and Gay Swift loved.

How much money he could have made by his pen is shown by what Chesterfield wrote in 1760:—'Whosoever in the three kingdoms has any books at all has Swift.' *Misc. Works*, iv. App. p. 86.

² *Ante*, SWIFT, 45, 47. Johnson passes over the part Sacheverell had borne in turning the stream. Swift recorded on Aug. 24, 1711:—'Sacheverell hates the new ministry mortally, and they hate him, and pretend to

despise him too. They will not allow him to have been the occasion of the late change; at least some of them will not; but my Lord-Keeper owned it to me t'other day.' *Works*, ii. 328.

³ 'That kingdom he hath left his debtor;

I wish it soon may have a better.'

Ib. xiv. 336.

'Let Ireland tell how wit upheld her cause,

Her trade supported, and supplied her laws;

And leave on Swift this grateful verse engrav'd,

"The rights a Court attack'd, a poet sav'd."

POPE, *Imit. Hor., Epis.* ii. 1. 221.

See also Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 132.

⁴ On Dec. 13, 1779, were carried two resolutions by Lord North for repealing laws prohibiting the exportation of Irish woollen manufacture and glass, and a third resolution suffering Ireland to carry on a trade of export and import to and from the British colonies. Bills founded on these resolutions were passed. *Ann. Reg.* 1780, i. 77; *Parl. Hist.* xx. 1272.

⁵ *Orrery*, pp. 49, 73.

In his works he has given very different specimens both of sentiment and expression. His *Tale of a Tub* has little resemblance to his other pieces. It exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and vivacity of diction such as he afterwards never possessed or never exerted. It is of a mode so distinct and peculiar that it must be considered by itself; what is true of that is not true of any thing else which he has written¹.

In his other works is found an equable tenour of easy language, which rather trickles than flows. His delight was in simplicity. That he has in his works no metaphor, as has been said², is not true; but his few metaphors seem to be received rather by necessity than choice³. He studied purity; and though perhaps

¹ *Ante*, SWIFT, 26. Congreve wrote to a friend in Ireland in 1704:—'I am of your mind as to *The Tale of a Tub*. I am not alone in the opinion, as you are there; but I am pretty near it, having but very few on my side; but those few are worth a million. However I have never spoke my sentiments, not caring to contradict a multitude. . . . I confess I was diverted with several passages, but I should not care to read it again.' G. M. Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, p. 341.

Voltaire wrote of it in 1759:—'Pascal n'amuse qu'aux dépens des jésuites; Swift divertit et instruit aux dépens du genre humain.' *Œuvres*, I. 211. In 1767 he wrote:—'Swift était bien moins savant que Rabelais, mais son esprit est plus fin et plus délié; c'est le Rabelais de la bonne compagnie.' *Ib.* xlii. 195. See also *ib.* xxiv. 133, xlii. 194, 430, and Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi*, iii. 17.

² 'Swift was *Anima Rabelaisii habitans in sicco*—the soul of Rabelais dwelling in a dry place.' COLERIDGE, *Table Talk*, 1884, p. 100.

³ [*Biog. Brit.* p. 3879; but Melmoth in *The Fitzosborne Letters*, 1748, who is quoted as the authority, states (ii. 56) that Swift, 'who does not seem in general very fond of the figurative manner, is not always free from censure in his management of the metaphysical language.' He gives an instance from *A discourse of the*

Contests and Dissentions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome. 'Their earthly devotion is seldom paid to above one idol at a time . . . whose oar they pull with less murmuring and much more skill, than when they share the lading or even hold the helm.' Scott's *Swift*, 1824, iii. 238.]

¹ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 223 n.

'Johnson,' writes Warton, 'said to me, speaking of the simplicity of Swift's style:—"The Rogue never hazards a figure."' Pope's *Works*, 1822, ix. 76.

Within twenty-three lines in *An Argument against Abolishing Christianity* he hazards a good many. He writes:—'There is one darling inclination of mankind which usually affects to be a retainer to religion, though she be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend. . . . Does the gospel anywhere prescribe a starched, squeezed countenance? . . . Yet if Christianity did not lend its name to stand in the gap . . . there is a portion of enthusiasm assigned to every nation which, if it has not proper objects to work on, will burst out, and set all in a flame. If the quiet of a state can be bought by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchase no wise man would refuse.' *Works*, viii. 72.

In *The Tale of a Tub*, after writing of 'the satirical itch,' he adds that—'the world is insensible to the lashes

all his structures are not exact, yet it is not often that solecisms can be found: and whoever depends on his authority may generally conclude himself safe¹. His sentences are never too much dilated or contracted; and it will not be easy to find any embarrassment in the complication of his clauses, any inconsequence in his connections, or abruptness in his transitions.

- 113 His style was well suited to his thoughts, which are never subtilised by nice disquisitions, decorated by sparkling conceits, elevated by ambitious sentences, or variegated by far-sought learning. He pays no court to the passions; he excites neither surprise nor admiration; he always understands himself, and his reader always understands him: the peruser of Swift wants little previous knowledge; it will be sufficient that he is acquainted with common words and common things; he is neither required to mount elevations nor to explore profundities; his passage is always on a level, along solid ground, without asperities, without obstruction.
- 114 This easy and safe conveyance of meaning it was Swift's desire to attain, and for having attained he deserves praise, though perhaps not the highest praise². For purposes merely didactic, when something is to be told that was not known before, it is the best mode, but against that inattention by which known truths are suffered to lie neglected it makes no provision; it instructs, but does not persuade³.
- 115 By his political education⁴ he was associated with the Whigs,

of it.' *Works*, x. 57. In writing about his scheme for an Academy (*ante*, SWIFT, 40) he says:—'The ministers are now too busy to think of anything beside what they have upon the anvil.' *Ib.* xvi. 5. Such passages are rare.

¹ *Post*, SWIFT, 139.

² For Swift's 'good neat style' see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 191. 'It has,' said Hume, 'no harmony, no eloquence, no ornament, and not much correctness, whatever the English may imagine.' Burton's *Hume*, ii. 413. Hume, perhaps, was no judge. 'His style,' said Johnson, 'is not English; the structure of his sentences is French.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 439. 'Swift is the best writer that ever was in his peculiar style.' MACKINTOSH, *Life*, ii. 476.

⁴ Defoe, and perhaps also Swift,

produced Franklin. Paine was the follower of Franklin and the master of Cobbett.' *Ib.* ii. 92.

³ In his sermon *On Sleeping in Church* he says:—'Nor are preachers justly blamed for neglecting human oratory to move the passions, which is not the business of a Christian orator, whose office it is only to work upon faith and reason.' *Works*, viii. 22. In *A Letter to a Young Clergyman* he writes:—'Beware of letting the pathetic part [of a sermon] swallow up the rational.' *Ib.* p. 206. He says of the Broddingnags:—'Their style is clear, masculine and smooth, but not florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary words, or using various expressions.' *Ib.* xi. 167.

⁴ Under Temple. *Ante*, SWIFT, 8.

but he deserted them when they deserted their principles, yet without running into the contrary extreme¹; he continued throughout his life to retain the disposition which he assigns to the 'Church-of-England Man,' of thinking commonly with the Whigs of the State, and with the Tories of the Church².

He was a churchman rationally zealous; he desired the prosperity and maintained the honour of the Clergy; of the Dissenters he did not wish to infringe the toleration, but he opposed their encroachments³.

To his duty as Dean he was very attentive. He managed the revenues of his church with exact œconomy; and it is said by Delany that more money was, under his direction, laid out in repairs than had ever been in the same time since its first erection⁴. Of his choir he was eminently careful; and, though he neither loved nor understood musick, took care that all the singers were well qualified, admitting none without the testimony of skilful judges⁵.

In his church he restored the practice of weekly communion, and distributed the sacramental elements in the most solemn and devout manner with his own hand⁶. He came to church

¹ *Ante*, SWIFT, 36, 39.

² In his *Sentiments of a Church of England Man* (*ante*, SWIFT, 31) he writes:—'I should think that, in order to preserve the constitution entire in Church and State, whoever has a true value for both would be sure to avoid the extremes of Whig, for the sake of the former, and the extremes of Tory, on account of the latter.' *Works*, viii. 270.

³ *Ante*, SWIFT, 32 n. In 1736 he wrote:—'All wise Christian governments always had some established religion, leaving at best a toleration to others.' *Works*, xviii. 406. The same year he wrote to Alderman Barber:—'Long may you live a bridle to the insolence of dissenters, who, with their pupils the atheists, are now wholly employed in ruining the Church.' *Ib.* xix. 22.

⁴ *Delany*, pp. 201, 207.

⁵ *Delany*, who reports him as saying: 'I know nothing of music; I would not give a farthing for all the music in the universe,' testifies to his

care for the choir. *Ib.* p. 192.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 46. He was not a High Churchman in the modern sense of the term. On March 5, 1711-12, he wrote to Stella:—'I wish you a merry Lent. I hate Lent; I hate different diets, . . . and sour devout faces of people who only put on religion for seven weeks.' *Works*, ii. 496. On Saturday, April 4, 1713, he wrote:—'This Passion-week people are so demure, especially this last day, that I told Dilly I would dine with him, and so I did, faith; and had a small shoulder of mutton of my own bespeaking.' *Ib.* iii. 141. See also *ante*, ADDISON, 122. He thus translates a French epigram (*Works*, xiv. 358):—

'Who can believe with common sense
A bacon slice gives God offence;
Or how a herring has a charm
Almighty vengeance to disarm?
Wrapp'd up in majesty divine,
Does He regard on what we dine?'

every morning, preached commonly in his turn, and attended the evening anthem, that it might not be negligently performed¹.

- 119 He read the service 'rather with a strong nervous voice than in a graceful manner; his voice was sharp and high-toned, rather than harmonious².'
- 120 He entered upon the clerical state with hope to excel in preaching, but complained that, from the time of his political controversies, 'he could only preach pamphlets³.' This censure of himself, if judgement be made from those sermons which have been published, was unreasonably severe.
- 121 The suspicions of his irreligion⁴ proceeded in a great measure from his dread of hypocrisy: instead of wishing to seem better, he delighted in seeming worse than he was. He went in London to early prayers lest he should be seen at church⁵; he read

¹ 'St. Patrick's Church is subject to the inundation of a little dirty river, and is almost perpetually damp the whole winter. His physicians pressed him to forbear attending; nevertheless he continued his old practice until he found by repeated colds that he could bear it no longer.' *Deane Swift*, p. 370. In Sept. 1735 he wrote:—'I very seldom go to church for fear of being seized with a fit of giddiness in the midst of the service.' *Works*, xviii. 328.

² *Delany*, p. 42; *Orrery*, p. 5. Swift wrote to St. John:—'I will read verses in your presence until you snatch them out of my hands.' *Works*, xv. 426. He wrote to Stella:—'Mr. Harley made me read a paper of verses of Prior's. I read them plain, without any fine manner, and Prior swore I should never read any of his again . . . I said I was famous for reading verses the worst in the world.' *Ib.* ii. 127. For bad readers among the poets see *ante*, CONGREVE, 7 n.

³ 'He could, he said, never rise higher than preaching pamphlets.' *Delany*, p. 42. 'His sermon *On Doing Good* (*Works*, viii. 41) contains perhaps the best motives to patriotism that were ever delivered within so small a compass.' BURKE, [*Annual Register*, 1765, pt. 2, p. 304].

⁴ Voltaire says of Rabelais and

Swift:—'Tous deux lancèrent plus de sarcasmes contre le christianisme que Molière n'en a prodigué contre la médecine.' *Œuvres*, xlii. 193. See also *ib.* xxiv. 132.

⁵ Of course any man is welcome to believe as he likes for me *except* a parson; and I can't help looking upon Swift and Sterne as a couple of traitors and renegades . . . with a scornful pity for them, in spite of all their genius and greatness.' THACKERAY, *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 34,619, f. 233.

Bishop Berkeley's grandson wrote:—'I have from my cradle been taught to consider Swift as a man in whom were united . . . inviolable integrity and a belief in Revelation that was his rule of conduct here, and his source of hope hereafter.' G. M. Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, Pref. p. liii.

Thackeray's condemnation seems to me unjust. Swift was much such a Christian as South, whose orthodoxy is generally admitted. He believed, that is to say, with his head, and not with his heart. Christianity was summed up for both of them, not in the Sermon on the Mount, but in the Articles of the Church. Those Articles they accepted without difficulty.

⁵ *Delany*, p. 44. On Christmas

prayers to his servants every morning with such dexterous secrecy that Dr. Delany was six months in his house before he knew it¹. He was not only careful to hide the good which he did, but willingly incurred the suspicion of evil which he did not. He forgot what himself had formerly asserted, that hypocrisy is less mischievous than open impiety². Dr. Delany, with all his zeal for his honour, has justly condemned this part of his character³.

The person of Swift had not many recommendations. He 122 had a kind of muddy complexion, which, though he washed himself with oriental scrupulosity, did not look clear⁴. He had a countenance sour and severe⁵, which he seldom softened by

Day, 1710, he wrote:—'I was at church to-day by eight and received the sacrament. . . . Went to Court at two; but the Queen stayed so long at sacrament that I came back.' *Works*, ii. 121.

¹ 'He read them at a fixed hour every night in his bed-chamber. To which the servants silently resorted at the time appointed; without any notice except the striking of the clock.' *Delany*, p. 44.

'Whilst the power of speech remained he continued constant in his private devotions; as his memory failed they were gradually shortened, till at last he could only repeat the Lord's Prayer. That, however, he continued to do till the power of utterance for ever ceased. This information I had from the servant who attended him.' G. M. Berkeley's *Lit. Relics*, Preface, p. xxvii.

For *An Evening Prayer*, in MS., by Swift see *Works*, ix. 294.

² 'Hypocrisy is much more eligible than open infidelity and vice; it wears the livery of religion; it acknowledges her authority, and is cautious of giving scandal. . . . I believe it is often with religion as it is with love, which, by much dissembling, at last grows real.' *Works*, viii. 97. 'Bolingbroke summed up Swift's character in this respect by saying that he was a hypocrite reversed.' *Works*, 1803, i. 66.

Don Quixote says:—'Even at the worst, the hypocrite who feigns him-

self good does much less injury than the undisguised and bold-faced sinner.' Jervas's *Don Quixote*, 1820, iii. 257.

Lamb quotes Fuller's saying about a Bishop, that he was 'a good hypocrite, and far more humble than he appeared.' Lamb's *Poems*, &c., 1888, p. 264.

³ *Delany*, p. 45. See also *ib.* pp. 204, 287.

⁴ 'He was one of the cleanliest men that ever lived . . . to even feminine nicety. . . . As he walked much, he rarely dressed himself without a bason of water by his side, in which he dipt a towel, and cleansed his feet with the utmost exactness.' *ib.* p. 173. He wrote to Miss Waryng (Varina), whom he had wished to marry, that, provided she had certain qualities, he would not regard 'whether your person be beautiful, or your fortune large. Cleanliness in the first and competency in the other is all I look for.' *Works*, xv. 265.

For *scrupulosity* see *ante*, ADDISON, 144; Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 5; Johnson's *Letters*, ii. 144.

⁵ ['That picture of Dr. Swift (by Jervas) is very like him; though his face has a look of dulness in it, he has very particular eyes; they are quite azure as the heavens, and there is a very uncommon archness in them.' POPE, 1735, Spence's *Anec.* ed. Malone, p. 135. Jervas's portrait of Swift in his prime (now in the Bodleian), painted in 1708 but retouched two years later, hardly bears out Johnson's description.]

any appearance of gaiety¹. He stubbornly resisted any tendency to laughter².

- 123 To his domesticks he was naturally rough; and a man of a rigorous temper, with that vigilance of minute attention which his works discover, must have been a master that few could bear. That he was disposed to do his servants good on important occasions is no great mitigation; benefaction can be but rare, and tyrannick peevishness is perpetual³. He did not spare the servants of others. Once, when he dined alone with the Earl of Orrery, he said, of one that waited in the room, 'That man has, since we sat to the table, committed fifteen faults.' What the faults were Lord Orrery, from whom I heard the story, had not been attentive enough to discover. My number may perhaps not be exact.

¹ 'He was sour and severe, but not absolutely ill-natured.' *Orrery*, p. 4. 'That sourness of temper which his disappointments first created in him.' *Delany*, p. 144. That it was not inborn in him is shown by the following entries:—'June 30, 1711. Pox of these speculations! they give me the spleen; and that is a disease I was not born to.' *Works*, ii. 290. 'Sept. 18, 1712. If I had not a spirit naturally cheerful I should be very much discontented at a thousand things.' *Ib.* iii. 50.

Berkeley wrote on March 27, 1712-3:—'I think Dr. Swift one of the best-natured and agreeable men in the world.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. App. p. 238.

Mrs. Delany (*Auto.* ii. 398) wrote just after his death:—'He was in his person a very venerable figure, with long silver hair and a comely countenance; for being grown fat, the hard lines which gave him a harsh look before were filled up.'

² I do not know Johnson's authority for this. [In *The Journal to Stella* there are many passages of 'gaiety,' and laughter is several times mentioned.—Oct. 28, 1710, 'We were very merry talking of old things'; Dec. 31, 1710, 'So we laughed'; Feb. 25, 1711, 'So we laughed.... And we were so merry: I vow they are pure good company.'] For Pope's never being 'excited to laughter' see

post, POPE, 266.

³ Johnson is replying to Delany, who (p. 185) tries to show that Swift was 'churlish only in appearance, for he was, in truth, one of the best masters in the world.' He certainly bore long with an Irish servant in England. On Aug. 1, 1711, he recorded:—'I have been now five days at Windsor, and Patrick has been drunk three times that I have seen, and oftener I believe.' *Works*, ii. 312. On the following March 29 the man's hand shook so from drinking that he could not shave his master. *Ib.* iii. 22. Nevertheless he was not turned off, but left of his own accord—'to my great satisfaction,' wrote Swift. *Ib.* 29.

For Swift's attack on Irish servants in a sermon see *ib.* viii. 8; *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 11. For his epitaph on a servant—'the first good one I ever had, and I am sure will be the last'—see *ib.* pp. 122, 125.

[On the tomb of this servant is the following inscription—'Here lieth the body of Alexander Magee, servant to Doctor Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. His grateful master caused this monument to be erected in memory of his discretion, fidelity, and diligence in that humble station.' The original draft in Swift's handwriting ran—'His grateful friend and master.' *Delany*, p. 194.]

⁴ Swift wrote to Chetwode:—'Did

In his oeconomy he practised a peculiar and offensive parsimony, without disguise or apology. The practice of saving being once necessary, became habitual, and grew first ridiculous, and at last detestable¹. But his avarice, though it might exclude pleasure, was never suffered to encroach upon his virtue². He was frugal by inclination, but liberal by principle³; and if the purpose to which he destined his little accumulations be remembered, with his distribution of occasional charity, it will perhaps appear that he only liked one mode of expence better than another, and saved merely that he might have something to give⁴. He did not grow rich by injuring his successors, but left both Laracor and the Deanery more valuable than he found them.

With all this talk of his covetousness and generosity it should be remembered that he was never rich. The revenue of his Deanery was not much more than seven hundred a year⁵.

His beneficence was not graced with tenderness or civility⁶; 126

he tell you how I pulled Tom's locks the wrong way, for holding a plate under his arm-pit?' *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 52.

¹ *Ante*, SWIFT, 14. 'His true character prior to this [decline of life] was a mixture of a regular, exact, and well-judged economy and frugality, with a very distinguished generosity.' *Delany*, p. 4.

In 1721 Bolingbroke wrote to him:—'I am sorry to hear you confess that the love of money has got into your head. Take care, or it will ere long sink into your heart.' *Works*, xvi. 359. In 1729 he wrote to Bolingbroke:—'I have made a maxim that should be writ in letters of diamond, that a wise man ought to have money in his head, but not in his heart.' *Ib.* xvii. 239. The same year he wrote:—'I want only to be rich, for I am hard to be pleased; and for want of riches people grow every day less solicitous to please me.' *Ib.* p. 221. 'I have no other notion of economy than that it is the parent of liberty and ease.' *Ib.* p. 239. See also *ib.* pp. 191, 250, 261.

² 'He would not suffer a shilling of the money of his Cathedral to be alienated from its proper use, even for the purposes of charity. . . . Turn-

ing to the person that made the proposal he would say:—"My deanery is worth £700 a year; your prebend worth £200; if you will give two shillings to this charity I will give seven; or any greater sum in the same proportion."'" *Delany*, p. 200.

³ 'He was early sensible of his propensity to avarice, and therefore diligently laid himself out to cheat it by charity in every way that he could devise.' *Ib.* p. 12. See also *ib.* p. 259.

About 1733 he wrote:—"When I ride to a friend a few miles off, if he be not richer than I, I carry my bottle, my bread and chicken, that he may be no loser." Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 206.

⁴ In 1729 Pope wrote to him:—"I can afford to give away £100 a year." *Works*, xvii. 256. He replied:—"I thought myself as great a giver as ever was of my ability, and yet in proportion you exceed." *Ib.* p. 259.

⁵ *Delany*, p. 200. The *Jury de lunatico inquirendo* (*ante*, SWIFT, 106 n. 2) found that he was 'seized and possessed of lands, tythes and tenements of the clear yearly value of £800, and also possessed of goods and chattels to the value of £10,000.'

⁶ On Christmas Day, 1737, he wrote

he relieved without pity, and assisted without kindness, so that those who were fed by him could hardly love him.

- 127 He made a rule to himself to give but one piece at a time, and therefore always stored his pocket with coins of different value¹.
- 128 Whatever he did, he seemed willing to do in a manner peculiar to himself, without sufficiently considering that singularity, as it implies a contempt of the general practice, is a kind of defiance which justly provokes the hostility of ridicule; he therefore who indulges peculiar habits is worse than others, if he be not better².
- 129 Of his humour a story told by Pope³ may afford a specimen :

'Dr. Swift has an odd, blunt way that is mistaken by strangers for ill-nature.—'Tis so odd, that there's no describing it but by facts⁴. I'll tell you one that first comes into my head. One evening Gay and I went to see him: you know how intimately we were all acquainted. On our coming in, "Heyday, gentlemen (says the Doctor), what's the meaning of this visit? How came you to leave all the great Lords, that you are so fond of, to come hither to see a poor Dean?"—Because we would rather see you than any of them.—"Ay, any one that did not know [you] so well as I do, might believe you. But since you are come I must get some supper for you, I suppose." No, Doctor, we have supped already.—"Supped already? that's impossible! why, 'tis not eight o'clock yet.—That's very strange; but, if you had not supped, I must have got something for you.—Let me see, what should I have had? A couple of lobsters;

to a poor blind gentleman :—'I send you a small present in such gold as will not give you trouble to change.' In a footnote it is stated that 'the largest piece did not exceed the value of five shillings.' *Works*, xix. 109. Among the eighteen gold coins circulating in Ireland in 1737 two—the Spanish or French quarter-pistole and the Portuguese sixteenth—were worth respectively 4s. 7d. and 4s. 11d. J. Simon's *Irish Coins*, 1810, p. 74.

¹ *Delany*, p. 13.

² 'However slightly men may regard these particularities and little follies in dress and behaviour, they lead to greater evils. The bearing to be laughed at for such singularities teaches us insensibly an impertinent fortitude, and enables us to bear public censure for things which more

substantially deserve it.' ADDISON, *The Tatler*, No. 103.

For Johnson's dislike of singularity see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 74; *John. Misc.* i. 221.

³ Spence's *Anec.* p. 19. On Pope's line in *Moral Essays*, i. 62 :—

'While one there is who charms us with his spleen,'

Warton writes in a note :—'It is a compliment to Swift.' Swift's recognition of Pope's genius is shown in his desire, twice expressed, that he would inscribe an Epistle to him. *Works*, xviii. 422, xix. 16.

⁴ Swift wrote to Mrs. Howard in 1727 :—'A lady told me that, talking with the Queen about me, her Majesty said, "I was an odd sort of a man." But I forgive her; for it is an odd thing to speak freely to princes.' *ib.* xvii. 132.

ay, that would have done very well; two shillings—tarts, a shilling: but you will drink a glass of wine with me, though you supped so much before your usual time only to spare your pocket?"—No, we had rather talk with you than drink with you.—"But if you had supped with me, as in all reason you ought to have done, you must then have drunk with me.—A bottle of wine, two shillings¹—two and two is four, and one is five: just two-and-six-pence a-piece. There, Pope, there's half a crown for you, and there's another for you, Sir; for I won't save any thing by you, I am determined²."—This was all said and done with his usual seriousness on such occasions; and, in spite of every thing we could say to the contrary, he actually obliged us to take the money³.

In the intercourse of familiar life he indulged his disposition 180 to petulance and sarcasm, and thought himself injured if the licentiousness of his raillery, the freedom of his censures, or the petulance of his frolics were resented or repressed⁴. He predominated over his companions with very high ascendancy, and probably would bear none over whom he could not predominate⁵. To give him advice was, in the style of his friend Delany, 'to venture to speak to him.' This customary superiority soon grew

¹ Hearne, describing a feast given in 1706 by the Lord Mayor to Marlborough, says:—"The claret cost 1s. 6d. per bottle." Hearne's *Remains*, i. 121.

² Swift wrote to Pope in 1729:—"I give my Vicar a supper and his wife a shilling to play with me an hour at backgammon once a fortnight." *Works*, xvii. 221. The shilling was, no doubt, the equivalent of the supper. See also *ib.* xviii. 230 for his daily allowance to a Prebendary whom he was going to visit.

³ Bolingbroke, in 1716, thus describes another of his peculiarities:—"If I could have half an hour's conversation with you, you would stare, haul your wig, and bite paper more than ever you did in your life." *ib.* xvi. 256.

⁴ He wrote to Archbishop King from London in 1711:—"I can rally much safer here with a great minister of state or a duchess than I durst do there [in Ireland] with an attorney or his wife. . . . I say things every day at the best tables which I should be turned out of company for, if I were

in Ireland." *ib.* xv. 410.

⁵ "Swift kept every friend, and I believe every man living that he conversed with, in some degree of awe." *Delany*, p. 18. He wrote to Pope in 1723:—"I choose my companions among those of least consequence, and most compliance." *Works*, xvi. 411. Nine years later he wrote to Gay:—"I differ from you, for I would have society if I could get what I like, people of middle understanding and middle rank, very complying, and consequently such as I can govern." Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 268.

This had not always been his habit. In 1713 Steele wrote to him of 'the agreeable qualities I once so passionately delighted in in you.' *Works*, xvi. 45. In 1714 Arbuthnot wrote to him:—"That hearty, sincere friendship, that plain and open ingenuity in all your commerce, is what I am sure I never can find in another." *ib.* p. 192. In 1718 Addison wrote to him:—"I always honoured you for your good nature." *ib.* p. 293.

too delicate for truth; and Swift, with all his penetration, allowed himself to be delighted with low flattery¹.

- 131 On all common occasions he habitually affects a style of arrogance, and dictates rather than persuades. This authoritative and magisterial language he expected to be received as his peculiar mode of jocularly; but he apparently flattered his own arrogance² by an assumed imperiousness, in which he was ironical only to the resentful, and to the submissive sufficiently serious.
- 132 He told stories with great felicity, and delighted in doing what he knew himself to do well. He was therefore captivated by the respectful silence of a steady listener, and told the same tales too often³.
- 133 He did not, however, claim the right of talking alone; for it was his rule, when he had spoken a minute, to give room by a pause for any other speaker⁴. Of time, on all occasions, he was an exact computer, and knew the minutes required to every common operation⁵.

¹ *Orrery*, p. 5. 'I verily think he might have said with Ramsay's Cyrus:—"I hated flattery, but was not insensible to delicate praise."' *Delany*, p. 15.

² 'Dr. Swift does not hate praise; he only dislikes it when 'tis extravagant or coarse.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 256. See *ante*, SWIFT, 101.

³ Johnson at first wrote:—"assumes a style of superiority." Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 63.

⁴ 'Swift had a mixture of insolence in his conversation.' YOUNG, Spence's *Anec.* p. 334.

⁵ 'He told a story admirably well, and the most effectual way of paying court to him was to listen with attention, although he sometimes told them too often.' *Delany*, p. 218.

Among Swift's 'Resolutions when I come to be old, written in 1699' is the following:—"Not to tell the same story over and over to the same people." *Works*, ix. 215. In 1719 he wrote:—"I have gone the round of all my stories three or four times with the younger people, and begin them again." *Ib.* xvi. 326.

⁴ *Deane Swift*, p. 366. See also in *Lines to a Lady* (*Works*, xiv. 270)

the passage beginning:—

'Conversation is but carving.'

'Swift would not interrupt any body while speaking.' YOUNG, Spence's *Anec.* p. 375.

Perhaps he wrote *The Tatler*, No. 264, where the writer proposes that at a club 'a watch, which divides the minute into twelve parts . . . , shall lie upon the table, as an hour-glass is often placed near the pulpit to measure out the length of a discourse. I shall be willing to allow a man one round of my watch, that is a whole minute to speak in; but if he exceeds that time it shall be lawful for any of the company to look upon the watch, or to call him down to order.' If he wrote this paper he did not act up to the part where he says:—"The life of man is too short for a story-teller."

For Johnson's respect for the rights of others in conversation see *John. Misc.* i. 169, ii. 166.

⁵ 'His hours of walking and reading never varied. His motions were guided by his watch, which was held in his hand, or placed before him upon his table.' *Orrery*, p. 68. For Johnson's love of computation see *John. Letters*, ii. 321.

It may be justly supposed that there was in his conversation, 134 what appears so frequently in his letters, an affectation of familiarity with the Great, an ambition of momentary equality sought and enjoyed by the neglect of those ceremonies which custom has established as the barriers between one order of society and another¹. This transgression of regularity was by himself and his admirers termed greatness of soul. But a great mind disdains to hold any thing by courtesy, and therefore never usurps what a lawful claimant may take away. He that encroaches on another's dignity puts himself in his power: he is either repelled with helpless indignity, or endured by clemency and condescension².

Of Swift's general habits of thinking, if his letters can be sup- 135 posed to afford any evidence, he was not a man to be either loved or envied³. He seems to have wasted life in discontent, by the rage of neglected pride and the languishment of unsatisfied desire. He is querulous and fastidious, arrogant and malignant; he scarcely speaks of himself but with indignant lamentations, or of others but with insolent superiority when he is gay, and with angry contempt when he is gloomy. From the letters that pass between him and Pope it might be inferred that they, with Arbuthnot and Gay, had engrossed all the understanding and virtue of mankind, that their merits filled the world; or that there was no hope of more⁴. They shew the

¹ *Ante*, SWIFT, 52; *post*, GRAY, 3. 'My Lord Oxford desired Swift to introduce Dr. Parnell to him; which he refused upon this principle:—That a man of genius was a character superior to that of a Lord in high station.' *Delany*, p. 29. For Oxford's going 'to inquire for Parnell' see *ante*, PARNELL, 5.

Swift wrote in 1726:—'I have a cloud of witnesses, with my Lord Bolingbroke at their head, to prove I never practised or possessed such a talent as civility.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 85.

² 'Swift has been justly blamed for this fault by his two illustrious biographers, both of them men of spirit at least as independent as his, Samuel Johnson and Walter Scott.' MACAULAY, *Hist. of Eng.* vii. 72. For Scott's criticism see Swift's *Works*, i. 122.

³ Steele wrote of him in *The Englishman*, Feb. 15, 1714, No. 57:—'I forbear giving him what he deserves; for no other reason but that I know his sensibility of reproach is such as that he would be unable to bear life itself under half the ill language he has given me.'

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 172, 284. Pope, writing to Swift in 1725, describes Arbuthnot as 'reviewing a world he has long despised every part of, but what is made up of a few men like yourself.' *Works*, xvii. 7.

Gay wrote to Swift in 1730:—'I do not hate the world, but I laugh at it; for none but fools can be in earnest about such a trifle.' *Ib.* p. 277.

'In all Pope's letters, as well as in those of Swift, there runs a strain of pride, as if the world talked of nothing but themselves.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 85.

age involved in darkness, and shade the picture with sullen emulation¹.

- 136 When the Queen's death drove him into Ireland he might be allowed to regret for a time the interception of his views, the extinction of his hopes, and his ejection from gay scenes, important employment, and splendid friendships²; but when time had enabled reason to prevail over vexation the complaints, which at first were natural, became ridiculous because they were useless. But querulousness was now grown habitual, and he cried out when he probably had ceased to feel. His reiterated wailings persuaded Bolingbroke that he was really willing to quit his deanery for an English parish; and Bolingbroke procured an exchange, which was rejected³, and Swift still retained the pleasure of complaining.

- 137 The greatest difficulty that occurs, in analysing his character, is to discover by what depravity of intellect he took delight in revolving ideas from which almost every other mind shrinks with disgust. The ideas of pleasure, even when criminal, may solicit the imagination; but what has disease, deformity, and filth upon which the thoughts can be allured to dwell? Delany is willing to think that Swift's mind was not much tainted with this gross corruption before his long visit to Pope⁴. He does not consider

¹ Richter, writing of 'the letters of the friendship between a Swift, an Arbuthnot, and a Pope,' continues:— 'Have not many others felt themselves, like me, warmed and encouraged by the touching quiet love of these manly hearts, which, though cold, cutting, and sharp to the outer world, yet laboured and throbbed in their common inner world warmly and tenderly for one another?' Richter's *Flower, Fruit and Thorn Pieces*, translated by E. H. Noel, 1871, i. 53.

² *Ante*, SWIFT, 66 n.

³ Bolingbroke, in July, 1732, informed him that the Rector of Burghfield, Berkshire, a few miles from his Lordship's seat at Buckleberry, a living worth £400 a year, 'over and above a curate paid,' with an 'extremely good parsonage house,' was willing to change preferments, if it could be effected. *Works*, xviii. 15. See also Warton's *Pope*, vi. 15. 'The living,' Swift answered, 'is just

too short by £300 a year.' *Works*, xviii. 28. A year later he wrote to Pope:— 'Neither can I have conveniences in the country for three horses and two servants, and many others, which I have here at hand. I am one of the governors of all the hackney coaches, carts and carriages round this town, who dare not insult me, like your rascally waggons or coachmen, but give me the way; nor is there one lord or squire for a hundred of yours to turn me out of the road, or run over me with their coaches and six. Then I walk the streets in peace, without being jostled, nor even without a thousand blessings from my friends the vulgar.' *Ib.* p. 123.

⁴ 'The defilement became much more conspicuous upon his return from his first long visit to Mr. Pope. Before this era I had found his ideas and his style remarkably delicate and pure. I remember his falling into a

how he degrades his hero by making him at fifty-nine the pupil of turpitude, and liable to the malignant influence of an ascendant mind. But the truth is that Gulliver had described his Yahoos before the visit, and he that had formed those images had nothing filthy to learn¹.

I have here given the character of Swift as he exhibits himself 138 to my perception; but now let another be heard who knew him better. Dr. Delany, after long acquaintance, describes him to Lord Orrery in these terms²:

‘My Lord, when you consider Swift’s singular, peculiar, and most variegated vein of wit³, always rightly intended (although not always so rightly directed), delightful in many instances, and salutary, even where it is most offensive; when you consider his strict truth, his fortitude in resisting oppression and arbitrary power; his fidelity in friendship, his sincere love and zeal for religion, his uprightness in making right resolutions, and his steadiness in adhering to them; his care of his church, its choir,

furious resentment with Mrs. Johnston [*sic*] for a very small failure of delicacy. [In his *Journal to Stella* there were at times very large failures.] It must be owned that he set out very ill, and that his *Salamander* is the vilest production of the most defiled muse. But I think it will appear from his works that, as if he had taken a surfeit of pollution, he abstained from it for many years together. Unhappily, he relapsed about 1723, and from that time became I dare not say what.’ *Delany*, p. 75. Delany is not consistent. It was in 1726 that Swift visited Pope. *Ante*, SWIFT, 83. For Pope’s corruption see *post*, POPE, 360.

The Salamander was written in 1705. *Works*, xiv. 63. Swift wrote to Stella in 1711:—‘You remember *The Salamander*; it is printed in the *Miscellany*.’ *Ib.* ii. 383. He wrote to her the same year of a dinner at St. John’s:—‘I give no man liberty to swear or talk b—dy, and I found some of them were in constraint, so I left them to themselves.’ *Ib.* p. 260. In his *Hints towards an Essay on Conversation* he speaks of ‘those odious topics of immodesty and indecencies.’ *Ib.* ix. 177.

The petition in his *Evening Prayer* [*ante*, SWIFT, 121 n. 1], ‘Cleanse, we beseech Thee, the thoughts of our

hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit’ (*ib.* ix. 294), was never answered.

¹ Miss Byron, in *Sir Charles Grandison*, 1754, ii. 83, says:—‘Swift, for often painting a dunghill, and for his abominable Yahoo story, was complimented with a knowledge of human nature; but I hope that the character of human nature, the character of creatures made in the image of the Deity, is not to be taken from the overflowings of such dirty imaginations.’

² *Delany*, p. 289.

³ ‘JOHNSON. Swift is clear, but he is shallow. In coarse humour, he is inferior to Arbuthnot; in delicate humour, he is inferior to Addison. So he is inferior to his contemporaries; without putting him against the whole world.’ Boswell’s *Johnson*, v. 44.

Thackeray, with strange exaggeration, calls Swift ‘the greatest wit of all times.’ *English Humourists*, ed. Phelps, 1900, p. 175.

Fielding, speaking of ‘those great masters who have sent their satire (if I may use the expression) laughing into the world,’ continues:—‘Such are that great triumvirate Lucian, Cervantes, and Swift.’ Fielding’s *Works*, ed. 1806, x. 25.

its œconomy, and its income; his attention to all those that preached in his cathedral, in order to their amendment in pronunciation and style¹; as also his remarkable attention to the interest of his successors, preferably to his own present emoluments; [his] invincible patriotism, even to a country which he did not love; his very various, well-devised, well-judged, and extensive charities, throughout his life, and his whole fortune (to say nothing of his wife's²) conveyed to the same Christian purposes at his death—charities from which he could enjoy no honour, advantage or satisfaction of any kind in this world. When you consider his ironical and humorous, as well as his serious schemes, for the promotion of true religion and virtue; his success in soliciting for the First Fruits and Twentieths, to the unspeakable benefit of the established Church of Ireland³; and his felicity (to rate it no higher) in giving occasion to the building of fifty new churches in London⁴.

'All this considered, the character of his life will appear like that of his writings; they will both bear to be re-considered and re-examined with the utmost attention, and always discover new beauties and excellences upon every examination.

'They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever petulant ignorance, pride, malice, malignity, or envy interposes to cloud

¹ 'As soon as anyone got up into the pulpit he pulled out his pencil and a piece of paper, and carefully noted every wrong pronunciation or expression. . . . Of these he never failed to admonish the preacher as soon as he came into the Chapter House.' *Delany*, p. 206.

² According to T. Sheridan, Stella 'bequeathed her fortune to charitable uses' in indignation at Swift's cruelty in not owning their marriage. *Works*, 1803, ii. 62; *ante*, SWIFT, 92. There are strong reasons for the belief that the will was written under Swift's advice. *Craik*, p. 547. He left his money for the foundation of 'an hospital for idiots and lunatics to be called St. Patrick's Hospital.' *Works*, i. 487; *ante*, SWIFT, 100 n. It was opened in 1757. 'Like the Bedlam of London it was formerly open to the public.' *Works*, i. 496. In other words the lunatics were made a show. See Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 374. Till 1815 it was the only Lunatic Asylum in Ireland. There are at present in it (Aug. 1901), as I learn from Mr.

R. R. Leeper, the Medical Superintendent, ninety-four patients, sixty-one of whom do not pay sufficiently to cover cost of maintenance. 'They are from the educated and professional classes, whose removal to the County Asylum would be a great hardship and injury to them. Such cases only are received as give hope of cure.' The Hospital stands in pleasant grounds of more than eight acres—a noble memorial of its founder. Were its funds larger its benefits could be extended.

³ *Ante*, SWIFT, 36.

⁴ In his *Project for the Advancement of Religion* (*ante*, SWIFT, 34) he pointed out that 'in London a single minister, with one or two sorry curates, has the care sometimes of above 20,000 souls incumbent on him.' *Works*, viii. 102. 'This paragraph,' writes Hawkesworth, 'is known to have given the first hint to certain Bishops to procure a fund for building fifty new churches in London.' *Works* (1803), iv. 172 n.

or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce that the eclipse will not last long.

'To conclude—no man ever deserved better of any country than Swift did of his. A steady, persevering, inflexible friend; a wise, a watchful, and a faithful counsellor, under many severe trials and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard both of his liberty and fortune'.

'He lived a blessing, he died a benefactor, and his name will ever live an honour to Ireland'.

IN the Poetical Works of Dr. Swift there is not much upon 189 which the critick can exercise his powers³. They are often humorous, almost always light, and have the qualities which recommend such compositions, easiness and gaiety. They are, for the most part, what their author intended. The diction is correct, the numbers are smooth, and the rhymes exact⁴. There seldom occurs a hard-laboured expression or a redundant epithet; all his verses exemplify his own definition of a good style, they consist of 'proper words in proper places'⁵.

¹ He boasted with some exaggeration:—

'Fair Liberty was all his cry;
For her he stood prepared to die;
For her he boldly stood alone;
For her he oft exposed his own.'

Works, xiv. 330.

² Deane Swift, in drawing his character, says:—'He was chaste, sober, and temperate. I remember he once told me that he never had been drunk in his life. In his general behaviour he was open, free, disengaged, and cheerful; in his dealings with the world he was honest and sincere; in relieving the poor and the distressed he was liberal to profusion, if throwing upon the waters above a third part of his income will entitle him to the character of being generous. With regard to his faith he was truly orthodox. . . . Moreover he was exceedingly regular in all his duties to God.' *Deane Swift*, p. 372.

³ Adam Smith wrote in 1759:—'Mr. Pope and Dr. Swift have each of them introduced a manner different from what was practised before into all works that are written in rhyme, the one in long verses, the other in short. The quaintness of Butler has given place to the plainness of Swift.

The rambling freedom of Dryden and the correct but often tedious and prosaic language of Addison are no longer the objects of imitation, but all long verses are now written after the manner of the nervous precision of Mr. Pope.' *Theory of Moral Sentiment*, 1801, ii. 9.

'Swift perceived that there was a spirit of romance mixed with all the works of the poets who preceded him; or, in other words, that they had drawn nature on the most pleasing side. There still therefore was a place left for him who, careless of censure, should describe it just as it was with all its deformities; he therefore owes much of his fame, not so much to the greatness of his genius, as to the boldness of it.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 432. This criticism suits Crabbe.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 375. 'He mentioned that in *Baucis and Philemon* Mr. Addison made him blot out fourscore lines, add fourscore and alter fourscore.' *Delany*, p. 19.

⁵ 'Proper words in proper places make the true definition of a style. . . . When a man's thoughts are clear the properest words will generally offer themselves first, and his own judgment will direct him in what

- 140 To divide this Collection into classes, and shew how some pieces are gross, and some are trifling, would be to tell the reader what he knows already, and to find faults of which the author could not be ignorant, who certainly wrote often not to his judgement, but his humour¹.
- 141 It was said, in a Preface to one of the Irish editions, that Swift had never been known to take a single thought from any writer, ancient or modern. This is not literally true; but perhaps no writer can easily be found that has borrowed so little, or that in all his excellences and all his defects has so well maintained his claim to be considered as original².

order to place them, so as they may be best understood.' *Works*, viii. 199, 203. *Ante*, SWIFT, 114.

The definition of a style in the present age would be 'pretty words in pretty places.'

¹ He wrote in 1732:—'I have been only a man of rhymes, and that upon trifles; never having written serious couplets in my life; yet never any without a moral view.' *Works*, xvii. 396.

'Nous avons des vers de lui d'une élégance et d'une naïveté dignes d'Horace.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xlii. 431.

² 'I am not perhaps the only one who has derived an innocent amusement from the riddles, conundrums, trisyllable lines and the like of Swift and his correspondents in hours of languor.' COLERIDGE, *Biog. Lit.* i. 59.

³ 'I am for every man's working upon his own materials, and producing only what he can find within himself, which is commonly a better stock than the owner knows it to be.' SWIFT, *Works*, ix. 186.

'To steal a hint was never known, But what he writ was all his own.'

Ib. xiv. 329.

The last line is from Denham's elegy on Cowley:—

'To him no author was unknown,
Yet what he wrote was all his own.'
Ante, COWLEY, 172.

For the dislike of Swift and Gay 'to write upon other folks' hints' see *ante*, GAY, 19 n.

Swift says of himself in *The Author's Apology*:—'He insists upon it that through the whole book [*The Tale of a Tub*] he has not borrowed one single hint from any writer in the world.' *Ib.* x. 25. He read, no doubt, the letter to Mrs. White-way in which Dr. King mentioned 'that short character which Cardinal Polignac gave the Dean in speaking to me—"Il a l'esprit créateur."' *Works*, xix. 176.

For the originality of Cowley and Milton see *ante*, COWLEY, 175; MILTON, 277.

'The greatest is he who has been oftenest aided; and if the attainments of all human minds could be traced to their real sources, it would be found out that the world had been laid most under contribution by the men of most original powers, and that every day of their existence deepened their debt to their race, while it enlarged their gifts to it.' RUSKIN, quoted in Holmes's *Emerson*, ed. 1885, p. 384.

APPENDIX A (PAGE I)

'In 1752 Dr. Hawkesworth, who was Johnson's warm admirer and a studious imitator of his style, and then lived in great intimacy with him, began *The Adventurer*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 233. 'When he had become elated by having risen into some degree of consequence, he, in a conversation with me, had the provoking effrontery to say he was not sensible of it [the imitation].' *Ib.* p. 252. According to Malone 'he had no literature whatever.' By editing Cook's *Voyages* he made £6,000. *Ib.* ii. 247 n., v. 282 n.; Prior's *Malone*, p. 441. Miss Burney recorded of him in 1769:—'Papa calls his talking book-language—for I never heard a man speak in a style which so much resembles writing.' *Early Diary of F. Burney*, i. 43.

His *Life of Swift*, published in 1755, is founded on the fragment of Swift's *Autobiography*; Lord Orrery's *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift*, 1751; Dr. Delany's *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, 1754; Deane Swift's *Essay upon the Life, &c., of Dr. Swift*, 1755. Of Orrery's *Remarks* Mrs. Delany wrote in 1751 (*Auto.* iii. 64):—'I fear there are too many truths in the book, but they do not become my Lord Orrery to publish them, who saw him in his most unguarded moments.' 'Lord Orrery,' writes G. Monck Berkeley in his *Literary Relics*, Preface, pp. xv-xvii, 'was the most assiduous of Swift's visitors, and the most servile of his flatterers. . . Having one day gained admission to his library, he discovered a letter of his own, written several years before, lying still unopened, on which Swift had written, "This will keep cool." . . Bishop Berkeley said of him:—"My Lord Orrery would be a man of genius, if he knew how to set about it."'

'M'Leod asked if it was not wrong in Orrery to expose the defects of a man with whom he lived in intimacy. JOHNSON. Why no, Sir, after the man is dead; for then it is done historically.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 238. For Orrery's affectation see *ib.* Lady M. W. Montagu (*Letters*, iii. 16) described him as 'one of those dangles after wit who, like those after beauty, spend their time in humbly admiring it.' For Scott's criticism of him see Swift's *Works*, i. 415. See also *ante*, DORSET, 6.

Of Delany's *Observations* T. Sheridan wrote in 1784, that 'while Orrery's book went through several editions, it, incomparably superior, still remains unsold.' Swift's *Works*, 1803, i. 73. Swift in 1733 described Delany as 'absolutely the most hopeful young gentleman I ever saw.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 198, 304. W. G. Carroll, in his *Succession of Clergy in St. Bride's, Dublin*, p. 47, says that Delany, in his Dedication of *The Life of David* to the Countess Granville and Lord Hertford, 'called on "all the host of heaven to say Amen to his prayer that Lord and Lady Hertford might increase and multiply."' For Deane Swift's criticism of Delany and Hawkesworth see Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* v. 375.

Thomas Sheridan's *Life of Swift* was published in the year of Johnson's death. 'He was paid more for it,' says Nichols, 'than Dr. Johnson received for *The Lives*.' Swift's *Works*, 1803, i. 76 n.

APPENDIX B (PAGES 2, 11)

Table of Swift's Residences in England :—

1668-71 ('almost three years')	. <i>Craik</i> , p. 513.
End of 1688—May, 1690	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 26, 27, 514.
Aug. 1691—June, 1694	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 27, 47, 515.
May, 1696—Summer, 1699	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 53, 77, 515.
April, 1702—Oct. 1702	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 94, 96.
(Swift says that 'he spent near a year there.' <i>Ib.</i> p. 516.)	
Nov. 13, 1703—May 29, 1704	. <i>Forster</i> , p. 131.
April, 1705—Autumn, 1705	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 141, 174.
Nov. 30, 1707—June 29, 1709	. <i>Craik</i> , p. 516.
Sept. 1, 1710—June 8, 1713	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 194, 264, 516.
Sept. 1, 1713—Aug. 1714	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 272, 516.
March 18, 1725-6—Aug. 20, 1726	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 370, 386.
April 9, 1727—Oct. 1, 1727	. <i>Ib.</i> pp. 396, 398.

In all he spent eighteen years in England, of which fourteen were between the ages of twenty-one and forty-six.

APPENDIX C (PAGE 10)

On March 4, 1710-1, Swift wrote that he had warned his friends of the Duchess who 'was endeavouring to play the same game' against the Tory ministers 'that has been played' by Mrs. Masham against the Whigs. *Works*, ii. 189.

'Dec. 8, 1711. The Whigs are all in triumph . . . this is all your d—d Duchess of Somerset's doings.' *Ib.* p. 426.

'Dec. 23. I have written a Prophecy [*The Windsor Prophecy*], which I design to print.' *Ib.* p. 436. In it he grossly attacked her under the name of Carrots. She had red hair. *Ib.* xii. 286. This poem finally lost him his bishopric.

'Dec. 24. My prophecy is printed.' *Ib.* ii. 436.

'Dec. 26. Mrs. Masham desired me not to let the Prophecy be published, for fear of angering the Queen about the Duchess; so I writ to the printer to stop them. They have been given about, but not sold.' *Ib.* p. 438.

'April 13, 1713. Mr. Lewis [*ante*, GAY, 13] showed me an order for a warrant for three deaneries; but none of them to me . . . I told him I had nothing to do but go to Ireland immediately.' *Ib.* iii. 147.

'April 18. Lord Treasurer told me the Queen was at last resolved that I should be Dean of St. Patrick's.' *Ib.* p. 150.

'April 22. I am not sure of the Queen, my enemies being busy.' *Ib.* p. 151.

'April 25. I heard the warrants were gone over.' *Ib.* p. 153.

'April 26. I was at Court to-day, and a thousand people gave me joy.' *Ib.* p. 154.

On Aug. 3, 1714, John Barber [see Swift's *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 180] wrote to him on the Queen's death:—'Lord Bolingbroke told me last Friday that he would reconcile you to Lady Somerset, and then it would be easy to set you right with the Queen; and that you should be made easy here, and not go over.' *Works*, xvi. 174.

The Archbishop—'a very pious man' Burnet calls him—was one of the preachers suspended by James II. Burnet's *Hist.* ii. 297.

Swift wrote:—'April 23, 1713. The Archbishop, my mortal enemy, has sent me, by a third hand, that he would be glad to see me. . . . April 26. He says he will never more speak against me.' *Works*, iii. 152, 154.

The same year Swift attacked him, the Queen, and the Duchess in *The Author upon Himself*. It begins:—

'By an old — pursued,
A crazy prelate and a royal prude.'

It continues:—

'Poor York! the harmless tool of others' hate;
He sues for pardon, and repents too late.' *Ib.* xii. 302.

APPENDIX D (PAGE 30)

Deane Swift was persuaded of the marriage (*Essay*, p. 92); so was Delany (*Observations*, p. 52), and Orrery (*Remarks*, p. 22). G. M. Berkeley (*Lit. Relics*, Preface, p. xxxvi) says 'the Bishop [Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher] related the circumstance to Bishop Berkeley, by whose relict the story was communicated to me.' (For the difficulty in believing this story see *Craig*, p. 526.) Mr. Sheridan also asserts the marriage. Swift's *Works*, 1803, ii. 29. On the other hand, it is not easy to believe that Swift, in the three prayers written by him for her in her last sickness, written evidently with deep feeling and a strong sense of religion, would have kept hidden, as it were, from his God that he and the poor sufferer were husband and wife. Nor would she, for whom he prayed that God would 'grant to her such a true sincere repentance as is not to be repented of,' have in her last will described herself as spinster. For the prayers see *Works*, ix. 289, and for the will see *Craig*, p. 546. See also *N. & Q.* 8 S. ii. 302, for 'two memorials of assignment executed by her in favour of Swift,' one in 1718, the other in 1721, in which she is styled 'spinster.' It is not perhaps of great importance that Swift wrote in 1730:—'Those who have been married may form juster ideas of that estate than I can pretend to do,' and that in 1739 he called himself an 'old bachelor.' *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 237; *Works*, xix. 192.

Of Swift's later biographers Scott believed in the marriage. *Ib.* i. 217. Mr. Forster (*Life of Swift*, p. 140) 'could find no evidence of a marriage that is at all reasonably sufficient.' Mr. Leslie Stephen writes:—'On the whole, though the evidence has weight, it can hardly be regarded as conclusive.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Sir Henry Craik, who examines the question at length (*Life of Swift*, pp. 523-33), sides with Johnson and Scott. My opinion inclines the other way.

APPENDIX E (PAGE 32)

In her will, dated May 1, 1723, and proved on June 6 (*Works*, xix. 372), this order is not given. Sheridan says that 'she had laid a strong injunction on her executors that they should publish all the letters that passed between Swift and her, with the poem. They were put to the press,' but Dr. Sheridan got 'the printed copy cancelled. The poem was, however, sent abroad [in MS.].' *Works*, 1803, ii. 36. Some extracts from the letters 'found their way to the public' (*Works*, xix. 310); but none, I think, in Swift's lifetime. The correspondence was first published in full by Scott. *Ib.* xix. 311-69. *Cadenus and Vanessa* was first published in 1726. The earliest edition in the British Museum is of that year. It had been previously circulated in MS. Swift wrote to Chetwode on April 19, 1726 (*Letters*, p. 189):—'Printing cannot make it more common than it is.' He adds that 'by the baseness of particular malice it is made public.' See also *Works*, xix. 283.

Horace Walpole, who read one of these letters in 1766 (in Hawkesworth's *Swift Letters*, ii. 214), but does not quote it accurately, drew from it a certain proof of guilty intimacy between Swift and Vanessa. 'He says he can drink coffee but once a week, and I think you will see very clearly what he means by coffee.' Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 505. The references to coffee in Swift's part of the correspondence are numerous—*Works*, xix. 313, 314, 315, 322, 343, 351 (thrice), 355 (twice), 361, 362, 363, and 365 (twice) (see also p. 369 for 'the Sluttery,' and compare it with pp. 313, 315); once also in a letter to Mrs. Vanhomrigh, p. 320. 'Coffee' certainly in all the letters to the daughter had a hidden meaning. For instance he wrote on June 1, 1722:—'Remember that riches are nine parts in ten of all that is good in life, and health is the tenth; drinking coffee comes long after, and yet it is the eleventh; but without the two former you cannot drink it right.' *Ib.* p. 363. On the other hand it is worth noticing that after the three earliest mentions of 'coffee' he wrote to Stella:—'I don't sleep well, and therefore never dare to drink coffee or tea after dinner.' *Ib.* iii. 71.

In the following lines in *Cadenus and Vanessa* (*ib.* xiv. 452) he covers himself with suspicion:—

'But what success Vanessa met,
Is to the world a secret yet.
Whether the nymph, to please her swain,
Talks in a high romantic strain;
Or whether he at last descends
To act with less seraphic ends;
Or to compound the business, whether
They temper love and books together;
Must never to mankind be told,
Nor shall the conscious Muse unfold.'

APPENDIX F (PAGE 34)

Wood surrendered his patent in 1725. His halfpence might have been better than the scarcity of coin and bad money which, as the Primate Boulter's letters show, continued for some time.

Thus he wrote on April 21, 1731:—'The ordinary people here are under the last distress for want of copper money. Tradesmen that retail, and poor people, are forced to pay for getting their little silver changed into copper, and are forced to take *raps*, or counterfeit halfpence, of little more than a quarter of the value of an English halfpenny, which has encouraged several coiners.' On March 26, 1737, he wrote:—'Two tons of our copper halfpence are arrived.' On May 16 he added:—'Notwithstanding all the clamours of Dean Swift, the papists, and other discontented or whimsical people, our new copper halfpence circulate, and are most greedily received.' *Letters of Archbishop Boulter*, quoted in Swift's *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 228.

'The Drapier,' addressing 'the poorer sort of tradesmen,' says:—'You seldom see any silver, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but brass, which you likewise find hard to be got.' *Works*, vi. 350. For the way change was given by means of 'French three-pences, fourpence-halfpennies, and eightpence-farthings, the Scotch five-pences and tenpences, besides their twenty-pences and three-and-four-pences' see *ib.* p. 392.

In 1712 the Lord Lieutenant and his Council fixed by proclamation the value of eight gold and eleven silver foreign coins, and in 1737 of eighteen gold coins varying in value from £3 17s. 8d. to 4s. 7d., all circulating in Ireland. Simon's *Irish Coins*, 1810, pp. 68, 74.

APPENDIX G (PAGE 34)

In the *Report of the Committee of the Privy Council in relation to Mr. Wood's Halfpence and Farthings*, dated July 24, 1724, given in Swift's *Works*, vi. 367, it is stated that by his patent 'a pound weight of copper was to be coined into two shillings and six pence,' i. e. into sixty halfpence. *ib.* p. 372.

1 lb. avoirdupois = 7,000 grs., which ÷ 60 = 116 $\frac{2}{3}$ grs., the average weight prescribed for each halfpenny. The assay showed that '60 halfpence weighed 14 oz. troy, 18 dwts. . . which is above the weight required by the patent.' *ib.* p. 370. 14 oz. 18 dwts. = 7,152 grs., which ÷ 60 gives 119 $\frac{1}{3}$ grs. as the actual weight of each halfpenny.

Two coins in the British Museum weigh respectively 121 grs., 123 grs. *Catalogue of the Handbook of Coins in Brit. Mus. (Irish Coins)*, p. 244, where it is stated—erroneously—that 'the weight prescribed is 128 grs. to the halfpenny.' It is added that no copper money had been issued since 1696. There were two varieties of Wood's halfpence, 'consisting of a slight change in the reverse type.' They are dated 1722, 1723, 1724. 'The workmanship is far superior to the English copper money, and they were made of the best metal that had as yet been

used for Ireland.' For an engraving of the halfpenny see *Works*, vi. 327.

James Simon, in his *Irish Coins*, published in 1749, says (ed. 1810, p. 70) that, 'on several parcels of these halfpence being sent over at different times, a small number out of each parcel were taken at random and weighed, and divided into four sorts.' In the four sorts the halfpenny weighed 120, 111, 103, and 96¹ grs. respectively. He does not say by whom the assay was made, and therefore no trust can be put in it. Swift tried to discredit the English assay. 'Wood,' he writes, 'takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good metal, sends them to the Tower, and they are approved.' *Works*, vi. 356. He did not stick at a lie, however gross. The English halfpence, he says, were of such good metal that a brazier would not lose much more than a penny in a shilling if he beat them to pieces and used them as copper; whereas 'Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brasier would not give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his.' *Ib.* p. 341.

If Swift's lies can be justified by usage, so can the job. It was an age of jobbery. Wood's job, however, was done in a way to provoke the Irish. 'No project,' wrote the Irish Chancellor Middleton, 'was ever carried on so sillily as this hath been. The patent was concealed, and made a great secret here.' Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 370. Neither the Lord Lieutenant nor his Privy Council was 'formally consulted.' Wood by his threats increased the difficulty. *Ib.* i. 223. The Irish Houses of Parliament presented addresses against the patent. *Ib.* ii. 368. 'Is not their Parliament,' asks Swift, 'as fair a representative of the people as that of England?' *Works*, vi. 382. Nevertheless he scorned the Parliament. He described the members as 'those wretches here who call themselves a Parliament. . . . They imitate the English Parliament after the same manner as a monkey does a human creature.' *Ib.* xviii. 283, 308.

Whether he did more good by defeating a dishonest project, or more harm by keeping on the old currency, may be questioned. As at length he comes out of his 'obscurity' we seem to hear him saying:—

'What though the field be lost?
All is not lost, th' unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield.'

Paradise Lost, i. 105.

We see him 'with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his old adversaries.' SWIFT, 62 n.

APPENDIX H (PAGE 38)

The book appeared in Nov. 1726. He had planned it, if not begun it, as early as Jan. 1, 1721-2, when Bolingbroke wrote to him:— 'I long to see your *Travels*.' *Works*, xvi. 378. He was finishing it in the autumn of 1725. On Sept. 29 of that year he wrote:— 'The chief end I propose to myself in all my labours is to vex the world rather
¹ In the text 196. The average given of the four shows that it should be 96.

than divert it.' *Works*, xvii. 4. In November he described himself as 'sitting like a toad in a corner of his great house, with a perfect hatred of all public actions and persons.' *Ib.* p. 17. On Nov. 8, 1726, Arbuthnot wrote to him from London:—'*Gulliver's Travels*, I believe, will have as great a run as John Bunyan.' *Ib.* p. 70. On Nov. 17 Gay wrote:—'The whole impression sold in a week.' *Ib.* p. 81. On Feb. 14, 1726-7, Swift wrote (*Letters to Chetwode*, p. 202):—'I hear it hath made a bookseller almost rich enough to be an alderman.' He complained that 'it hath been mangled in the press.' He had not found 'a printer brave enough to venture his ears' by printing it complete. *Works*, xvii. 3. For the 'mangling' see *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 205.

It was the only book (except Temple's *Works*) by which he 'got a farthing; and that was by Mr. Pope's prudent management for me.' *Ib.* p. 204; *Works*, xviii. 285, xix. 230; SWIFT, 110 n. He sold the copyright for £200. *N. & Q.* 1 S. xii. 198. For the early editions see *ib.* 6 S. xii. 198, 350, 398, 473. Des Fontaines, who translated it into French, wrote to Swift on July 4, 1727, that it had reached its third edition. *Works*, xvii. 120. See also *ib.* i. 320.

APPENDIX I (PAGE 39)

In Sept. 1726, on his return to Ireland, he sent Mrs. Howard 'a piece of Irish plaid. . . My real design is that when the Princess asks you where you got that fine nightgown, you are to say that it is an Irish plaid sent you by the Dean of St. Patrick's; who, with his most humble duty, is ready to make her such another present, if she will descend to honour Ireland with receiving and wearing it.' *Works*, xvii. p. 53. Mrs. Howard, replying that the Princess would like some for herself and daughters, added:—'I shall take all particular precautions to have the money ready.' *Ib.* p. 75. Swift rejoined:—'The weaver has read Gulliver's book, and has no conception what you mean by returning money; and as to myself, I am so highly offended with such a base proposal,' &c. *Ib.* p. 78. On his return from his English visit of the following year he wrote to her:—'I shall pass the remainder of my life with the utmost gratitude for her Majesty's favours.' *Ib.* p. 141. On Nov. 10, 1730, he wrote to Gay:—'I made a present [to the Queen], or rather it was begged from me, of about £35. The trifle promised me, worth about £15, was never remembered.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 205. On Nov. 21 he wrote to Mrs. Howard that on his leaving England in 1726 the Queen promised to send him a medal. 'Yet this was never done.' *Works*, xvii. 311. On Aug. 12, 1732, he wrote to Gay:—'They will not give me the medals they promised me; yet wheedled me out of a present that cost me £40.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 282. In his *Lines on the Death of Dr. Swift* he wrote:—

'The Queen, so gracious, mild and good,
Cries, "Is he gone! 'tis time he should.
He's dead you say; then let him rot;
I'm glad the medals were forgot."' *Ib.* xiv. 323.

These lines he 'durst not insert' at first. *Works*, xix. 174. The present he made grew in value from £35 to £40, while 'a medal' became 'the medals.' See also *ib.* xvii. 43, 86, 102, 221, 287. For the editions of this poem see *N. & Q.* 6 S. iii. 109, xii. 395.

Mrs. Barber was a Dublin woollen-draper by trade, 'poetically given,' writes Swift; 'for a woman she had a sort of genius that way.' *Works*, xvii. 367.

Of Johnson's criticism of Swift Scott writes:—'It is unpleasant to observe one man of genius pass such harsh and undeserved censures on another.' After quoting Swift's letter to Pope on the subject (*Works*, xvii. 368), he continues:—'Can this be fairly termed shuffling?' and adds that probably Mrs. Barber or a friend was the forger. *ib.* i. 355. The same indirect denial Swift made also to the Countess of Suffolk. *ib.* xvii. 371. Deane Swift wrote to Nichols in 1778:—'The original letter, which was given by the Queen to the Countess, who gave it to Mr. Pope to enclose to the Doctor, is still in my possession.' *Lit. Hist.* v. 378. It is endorsed by Swift:—'Counterfeit letter from me to the Queen, sent to me by Mr. Pope; dated June 22, 1731; received July 19, 1731; given by the Countess of Suffolk.' *Works*, xvii. 358.

It is unlikely that Mrs. Barber forged the letter. On Oct. 26, 1731, Swift described her to the Countess as 'a woman of piety and genius.' Two years later, in his Dedication of her Poems to Lord Orrery, he spoke of 'her good sense, her humility and many other virtues.' *ib.* x. 381. In 1736 he gave her the copyright of some of his writings. *ib.* xix. 8. It seems not unlikely that he wrote the letter as a jest, and that it was copied and sent to the Queen.

APPENDIX J (PAGE 9)

Malone asks:—'How does it appear that Stella's father was steward to Sir William Temple?' Johnson's *Works*, viii. 197 n. There is no mention in Temple's will of her father. The bequest runs thus:—'I leave a lease of some lands in Monistone in the County of Wicklow, in Ireland, to Esther Johnson, servant to my sister Giffard.' Courtenay's *Life of Temple*, ii. 484. *Servant* had then a more extended meaning. Orrery, who states that Stella was 'the daughter of Temple's steward' (*Remarks*, p. 22), perhaps confused Mrs. Johnson's first husband, an unsuccessful merchant (*Gent. Mag.* 1757, p. 488), who, according to Forster (*Life of Swift*, p. 85), had been 'closely in the confidence of Temple,' with her second husband Mosse, who was his agent. For the difficult question of Stella's parentage see Wilde's *Closing Years of Dean Swift*, p. 108.

BROOME

WILLIAM BROOME was born in Cheshire, as is said, of ¹very mean parents. Of the place of his birth or the first part of his life I have not been able to gain any intelligence ¹. He was educated upon the foundation at Eaton, and was captain of the school a whole year without any vacancy by which he might have obtained a scholarship at King's College ². Being by this delay, such as is said to have happened very rarely, superannuated ³, he was sent to St. John's College by the contributions of his friends, where he obtained a small exhibition ⁴.

At his College he lived for some time in the same chamber ² with the well-known Ford ⁵, by whom I have formerly heard him described as a contracted scholar and a mere versifyer, unacquainted with life, and unskilful in conversation. His addiction to metre was then such that his companions familiarly called him 'Poet.' When he had opportunities of mingling with mankind he cleared himself, as Ford likewise owned, from great part of his scholastick rust.

He appeared early in the world as a translator of the *Iliads* ³

¹ He was the son of a farmer at Haslington in Cheshire, and was baptized May 3, 1689. [Barlow's *Memoir of Broome*, App. and p. 6.]

² *Post*, COLLINS, 3; YOUNG, 5. Nichols, in 1780, called his failure 'the almost unheard-of misfortune, as it has happened but four times in 160 years, viz. in 1619, 1653, 1707, 1756.' *Select Collection of Poems*, iv. 283.

³ *Post*, COLLINS, 3; YOUNG, 5.

⁴ Johnson wrote, on May 25, 1780, to Dr. Farmer, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, asking him 'to

procure from College or University registers all the dates, or other informations which they can supply relating to Ambrose Philips, Broome and Gray, who were all of Cambridge.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 427.

Three weeks later he told Nichols that he had no answer. *Johnson Letters*, ii. 180. Broome entered St. John's College in 1708 as a subsizar—half scholar, half servant. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 30.

⁵ *Ante*, FENTON, 13.

into prose¹ in conjunction with Ozell² and Oldisworth³. How their several parts were distributed is not known. This is the translation of which Ozell boasted as superior, in Toland's opinion, to that of Pope⁴: it has long since vanished, and is now in no danger from the criticks.

4 He was introduced to Mr. Pope, who was then visiting Sir John Cotton at Madingley near Cambridge⁵, and gained so much of his esteem that he was employed, I believe, to make extracts from Eustathius for the notes to the translation of the *Iliad*⁶; and in the volumes of poetry published by Lintot, commonly called *Pope's Miscellanies*⁷, many of his early pieces were inserted.

5 Pope and Broome were to be yet more closely connected. When the success of the *Iliad* gave encouragement to a version of the *Odyssey* Pope, weary of the toil, called Fenton and Broome to his assistance, and, taking only half the work upon

¹ [Into blank verse. It was published in 1712 in 5 vols. 12mo. Johnson may well call it prose, for the translation is printed as prose, no regard being paid to lines. Ozell, moreover, in his preface to the first volume, after stating that 'blank verse seems to be the only proper measure for an English translation of Homer,' continues:—'The translator may end his line with long words of two, three, and sometimes four syllables, which is one of Homer's beauties.' Ozell's version of *Iliad* i begins (reproducing it as it is printed):—'Sing, Goddess, the Resentment of Achilles, the Son of Peleus; that accurs'd Resentment.'

The first volume of a second edition appeared in 1714—*The Iliad of Homer Translated from the Greek into Blank Verse*. Broome translated Books x–xv, contained in vol. iii. Other editions were published in 1722 and 1734. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]

² 'Mr. Ozell has obliged the world with a great many valuable translations.' Jacob's *Poet. Reg.* i. 198.

³ *Ante*, SMITH, 2. According to Pope Lintot exclaimed:—'I'll say that for Oldisworth (though I lost by his Timothy's), he translates an ode of Horace the quickest of any man in England.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 207. 'His

Timothy's' was A Dialogue between *Timothy and Philatheus*, 1709, 8vo.

⁴ Pope, in a note on *The Dunciad*, i. 286, quotes the following from 'an advertisement' signed 'John Ozell,' in the *Weekly Medley*, Sept. 20, 1729:—'As to my learning, this envious wretch knew, and every body knows, that the whole bench of Bishops, not long ago, were pleased to give me a purse of guineas for discovering the erroneous translations of the Common-prayer in Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, &c. . . . And Mr. Toland and Mr. Gildon publicly declared Ozell's translation of Homer to be, as it was prior, so likewise superior to Pope's.'

Broome published also versions of parts of the *Iliad* 'in the style of Milton.' *Eng. Poets*, xlv. 198, 238. [These are a great improvement on the prose-like doggerel of his rendering of the same passages in his translation of the complete books in 1712.]

⁵ 'He married [1716] a sister of Pope's friend Craggs [*post*, POPE, 404].' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 30; *post*, BROOME, 11.

⁶ *Post*, POPE, 87; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 32, 35.

⁷ Published in Lintot's *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*. By several Hands, 1712.

himself, divided the other half between his partners, giving four books to Fenton, and eight to Broome. Fenton's books I have enumerated in his *Life*¹; to the lot of Broome fell the second, sixth, eighth, eleventh, twelfth, sixteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-third, together with the burthen of writing all the notes².

As this translation is a very important event in poetical history, the reader has a right to know upon what grounds I establish my narration. That the version was not wholly Pope's was always known³; he had mentioned the assistance of two friends in his proposals⁴, and at the end of the work some account is given by Broome of their different parts, which however mentions only five books as written by the coadjutors: the fourth and twentieth by Fenton, the sixth, the eleventh, and the eighteenth by himself; though Pope, in an advertisement prefixed afterwards to a new volume of his works, claimed only twelve⁵. A natural curiosity, after the real conduct of so great an undertaking, incited me once to enquire of Dr. Warburton, who told me, in his warm language, that he thought the relation given in the note 'a lie'⁶; but that he was not

¹ *Ante*, FENTON, 10; *post*, POPE, 129.

² *Post*, POPE, 133, 355. Broome wrote to Fenton in 1722:—'Pray consider what a weight lies upon my shoulders who, besides eight books of translation, am to write twenty-four of annotations.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 54. In 1726 he wrote to Pope:—'Huzza! I have finished the notes on the *Odyssey*.' *Ib.* p. 110. For the trouble Pope had in correcting Broome's version see *post*, POPE, 134.

Broome was not paid for his work on the *Iliad*. He wrote to Pope in 1735:—'I was so easy in my fortunes that I was grown above taking any reward.' *Ib.* p. 177.

³ Pope, in 1722, at the beginning of the undertaking wrote to Broome:—'I must once more put you in mind that the whole success of this affair will depend upon your secrecy.' *Ib.* p. 49. See also *ib.* p. 68.

Broome says in his note at the end of the *Odyssey*, speaking for himself and Fenton:—'It was our particular

request that our several parts might not be made known to the world till the end of it.' *Odyssey*, ed. 1760, iv. 266. This note, false in many particulars, written without Fenton's knowledge, and to his annoyance, professed to be in his name as well as Broome's. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 121. Broome, as Mr. Elwin says, was both 'the tool of Pope and the dupe.' *Ib.* p. 127 n. See also *ib.* pp. 135, 148, 160, 169; *ante*, FENTON, 17 n.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 130.

⁵ In Appendix vii to *The Dunciad*, 1729, p. 220, in 'A List of all our Author's Genuine Works' is 'Twelve Books of the *Odyssey*, with some parts of other books; and the Dissertation by way of Postscript at the end.'

⁶ 'It is remarkable, that in the *Life of Broome*, Johnson takes notice of Dr. Warburton using a mode of expression which he himself used, and that not seldom, to the great offence of those who did not know him. . . . Johnson had accustomed himself to use the word *lie*, to express

able to ascertain the several shares. The intelligence which Dr. Warburton could not afford me, I obtained from Mr. Langton, to whom Mr. Spence had imparted it¹.

7 The price at which Pope purchased this assistance was three hundred pounds paid to Fenton, and five hundred to Broome, with as many copies as he wanted for his friends, which amounted to one hundred more. The payment made to Fenton I know but by hearsay; Broome's is very distinctly told by Pope, in the notes to *The Dunciad*.

8 It is evident that, according to Pope's own estimate, Broome was unkindly treated. If four books could merit three hundred pounds, eight and all the notes, equivalent at least to four, had certainly a right to more than six².

9 Broome probably considered himself as injured, and there was for some time more than coldness between him and his employer. He always spoke of Pope as too much a lover of money³, and Pope pursued him with avowed hostility, for he not only named him disrespectfully in *The Dunciad*⁴, but quoted him

a mistake or an error in relation; in short, when the *thing was not so as told*, though the relator did not mean to deceive. When he thought there was intentional falsehood in the relator, his expression was, "He lies, and he knows he lies."⁵ Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 49. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 91, 94, 102, 122, 125-8, 148.

¹ Spence's *Anec.* p. 270. For an anecdote of Pope, 'when on a visit to Spence at Oxford,' see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 9. See also *Johnson Letters*, ii. 156, on the shares in the *Odyssey*.

² 'Broome and Fenton had £770 for half the translation and the whole of the notes, and Pope retained for his half of the translation and his general revision £3,767, or, with all deductions, upwards of £3,500.' He kept his brother poets waiting a whole year before he paid them. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 129, 175.

³ In 1725 Broome compared himself and Fenton to the animals in the fable who hunted with the lion. *Ib.* p. 105. In 1728 he wrote:—'Now tell me, dear Fenton, am I unjust if

I call him false and ungrateful?' *Ib.* p. 150.

⁴ In *The Dunciad*, iii. 331, the following couplet:—

'Hibernian Politics, O Swift! thy fate;

And Pope's, ten years to comment and translate.'

had stood in earlier editions:—

'Hibernian Politics, O Swift! thy doom,

And Pope's, translating three whole years with Broome.'

'On which was the following note:—

"He concludes his irony with a stroke upon himself: for whoever imagines this a sarcasm on the other ingenious person is surely mistaken. The opinion our Author had of him was sufficiently shown by his joining him in the undertaking of the *Odyssey*; in which Mr. Broome, having engaged without any previous agreement, discharged his part so much to Mr. Pope's satisfaction, that he gratified him with the full sum of *five hundred pounds*, and a present of all those books for which his own interest could procure him subscribers, to the value of *one hundred more*. The author only seems to lament that he

more than once in *The Bathos*¹, as a proficient in the Art of Sinking²; and in his enumeration of the different kinds of poets distinguished for the profound, he reckons Broome among 'the Parrots who repeat another's words in such a hoarse odd tone as makes them seem their own³.' I have been told that they were afterwards reconciled; but I am afraid their peace was without friendship⁴.

He afterwards published a *Miscellany of Poems*⁵, which is 10 inserted, with corrections, in the late compilation.

He never rose to very high dignity in the church. He was 11 some time rector of Sturston in Suffolk, where he married a wealthy widow⁶; and afterwards, when the King visited Cambridge (1728), became Doctor of Laws⁷. He was (in August

was employed in translation at all." *The Dunciad*, 4to ed. 1729, iii. 327. For the falsity of this statement see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 158. [The change was made in 1736.]

Spence (p. 326) records on the authority of 'Mr. Blount of Twickenham that Broome asked five hundred, and upon Mr. Pope's saying that was too little, and Broome naming seven; "Well then (says Pope), let's split the difference; there's six hundred for you."'

¹ Only once, in ch. vii.

² Fenton wrote to Broome:—'He has indeed discovered a keen appetite to quarrel with you.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 144. Pope tried to wriggle out of the authorship. *Ib.* pp. 159, 162.

Broome suffered also with Fenton from Pope's enemies for their share in the *Odyssey*. Fenton wrote to Broome in 1725:—'We have been but coarsely used this last summer, both in print and conversation.' *Ib.* p. 103.

³ Ch. vi.

⁴ Pope wrote to Broome in 1725:—'I am going to print your verses in a *Miscellany*. I wish you altered the strength of that extravagant compliment, "what Heav'n created, and what you have wrote."' Mr. Elwin says that 'Pope changed it himself to:—

"What Heav'n created, and what Heav'n inspires."

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 104.

The quotation is from Broome's lines *To Mr. Pope, upon the Edition of his Works*, 1725. Pope's *Miscellany*, 1726, 1727, vol. i. Pref. p. xxxvi. In his poem *To Mr. Pope, who corrected my Verses* (*ib.* p. 246) he writes:—

'So when Luke drew the rudiments of man,
An angel finish'd what the saint began.'

In 1735 he wrote to Pope:—'I think it is about six years since I wrote to you.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 171. Pope replied:—'I sincerely embrace the pleasures of reconciliation.' *Ib.* p. 173. Broome was timid; otherwise he would never have been reconciled with a man who had used him so ill.

⁵ 'In Bernard Lintot's Book of Accounts, under the name Broome, is the following entry:—"Feb. 22, 1726-7. *Misc. Poems*, £35.'" Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 213.

There is no copy of this edition in the British Museum. A second edition appeared in 1739.

⁶ Elizabeth Clarke, a widow, on July 22, 1716. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 40; Barlow's *Memoir*, p. 11.

⁷ 'My friends told me,' he wrote, 'they could ask with a better grace for a doctor than a common clergyman.' *Ib.* p. 147.

1728) presented by the Crown¹ to the rectory of Pulham in Norfolk², which he held with Oakley Magna in Suffolk, given him by the Lord Cornwallis, to whom he was chaplain, and who added the vicarage of Eye in Suffolk; he then resigned Pulham³, and retained the other two.

- 12 Towards the close of his life he grew again poetical, and amused himself in translating Odes of Anacreon, which he published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, under the name of Chester⁴.
- 13 He died at Bath, November 16, 1745⁵, and was buried in the Abbey Church.
- 14 Of Broome, though it cannot be said that he was a great poet, it would be unjust to deny that he was an excellent versifier⁶; his lines are smooth and sonorous, and his diction is select and elegant. His rhymes are sometimes unsuitable: in his *Melancholy* he makes *breath* rhyme to *birth* in one place, and to *earth* in another⁷. Those faults occur but seldom; and he had such power of words and numbers as fitted him for translation, but, in his original works, recollection seems to have been his business more than invention. His imitations are so apparent that it is part of his reader's employment to recall the verses of some former poet. Sometimes he copies the most popular writers, for he seems scarcely to endeavour at concealment; and sometimes he picks up fragments in obscure corners. His lines to Fenton:

¹ Broome flattered Walpole in his *Epistle to Mr. Fenton*. *Eng. Poets*, xlv. 170. Fenton wrote to him in 1726:—'I hope you intend to fill up the vacancy where a character of eloquence is intended with Sir T. Hanmer's name. Whatever name is intended, I can never consent to have it begin with a W.' Broome thus filled the blank:—

'O Compton, when this breath we
once resign
My dust shall be as eloquent as
thine.'

Nevertheless 'he introduced into another part of the *Epistle*' the following:—

'Why flames the star on Walpole's
gen'rous breast?

Not that he's highest, but because
he's best,

Fond to oblige, in blessing others
blest.'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 131.

For Compton see *post*, THOMSON, 9.

² *Ante*, FENTON, 27.

³ He died Vicar of Pulham. [See his Will given in Barlow's *Memoir*, p. 16.]

⁴ 'Charles Chester, M.D.' Broome was born in Cheshire. *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1739 to June, 1740; *Eng. Poets*, xlv. 292.

⁵ *Gent. Mag.* 1745, p. 614.

⁶ Dr. Warton had justly described him as 'a mere versifier.' *Essay on Pope*, Preface, p. 12.

⁷ 'With cries we usher in our birth,
With groans resign our transient
breath.' *Eng. Poets*, xlv. 160.

'What art thou, gold, but shining
earth?

Thou, common fame, but common
breath?' *Ib.* p. 161.

'Serene, the sting of pain thy thoughts beguile,
And make afflictions objects of a smile'';

brought to my mind some lines on the death of Queen Mary, written by Barnes, of whom I should not have expected to find an imitator :

'But [Yet] thou, O Muse, whose sweet nepenthean tongue
Can charm the pangs of death with deathless song ;
Canst [Can] *stinging plagues* with *easy thoughts beguile*,
Make pains and tortures [flames and torments] *objects of*
a smile?'

To detect his imitations were tedious and useless. What he 15 takes he seldom makes worse ; and he cannot be justly thought a mean man whom Pope chose for an associate, and whose co-operation was considered by Pope's enemies as so important, that he was attacked by Henley with this ludicrous distich :

'Pope came off clean with Homer ; but they say
Broome went before, and kindly swept the way'.

¹ *Eng. Poets*, xli. 253. The author explains in a note that the pain is the gout—a disease of which Fenton died. *Ante*, FENTON, 18.

² [*Lines on the Untimely Death of the Queen*, by Joshua Barnes, then Senior Fellow of Emmanuel, Cambridge; afterwards Professor of Greek at Cambridge. They are among the English poems in *Lacrymae Cantabrigienses in obitum Reginae Mariae*, Cantab. 1694-5.]

³ 'Henley's joke was borrowed. In a copy of verses entitled *The Time Poets*, preserved in a Miscellany called *Choice Drollery*, 1656, are these lines:

"Sent by Ben Jonson, as some authors say,

Broom went before and kindly swept the way."

JAMES BOSWELL, JUN., *Johnson's Works*, viii. 232.

[Richard Broome, the amanuensis or attendant of Jonson, is the author of several comedies. Randolph in *An Answer to Mr. Ben Jonson's Ode, to persuade him not to leave the stage*, has the following lines :

'And let those things in plush
Till they be taught to blush,
Like what they will, and more contented be

With what Broome swept from thee.'
ISAAC D'ISRAELI, *Curiosities of Literature*, 1834, ii. 197.]

POPE¹

¹ ALEXANDER POPE was born in London, May 22, 1688², of parents whose rank or station was never ascertained: we are informed that they were of 'gentle blood'³; that his father was of a family of which the Earl of Downe was the head⁴, and that his mother was the daughter of William Turner, Esquire, of York, who had likewise three sons, one of whom had the honour of being killed, and the other of dying, in the service of Charles the First; the third was made a general officer in Spain⁵,

² The *Life of Pope* was the last written of the *Lives*. On Sept. 18, 1780, Johnson recorded:—'I have Swift and Pope yet to write, Swift is just begun.' *John. Misc.* i. 94. On April 13, 1781, he recorded:—'Sometime in March I finished the *Lives of the Poets*.' *Ib.* i. 96. See also *ib.* ii. 193. 'Mr. Nichols,' he wrote, 'is entreated to save the proof sheets of Pope, because they are promised to a lady who desires to have them.' *John. Letters*, ii. 197. The lady was Miss Burney. They are in the possession of Mr. R. B. Adam of Buffalo, who has allowed me to examine them.

On April 14, 1781, Horace Walpole wrote:—'Dr. Johnson's *Life of Pope* is a most trumpery performance, and stuffed with all his crabbed phrases and vulgarisms, and much trash as anecdotes.' *Letters*, viii. 26.

'Johnson's *Life of Pope* is a very important piece of criticism. Since Sam. Johnson we have been knocked about by critics of more brilliancy than authority, and I feel the want of an authority.' W. CORY, *Letters*, &c., p. 547.

³ Spence records, on Pope's authority, that he was born in Lombard Street on May 21, 1688. Spence's *Anec.* pp. 203, 259. According to

Curll he was born on June 8. Pope, in reproducing this statement, does not correct it. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 440.

⁴ 'Of gentle blood (part shed in honour's cause
While yet in Britain honour had applause)
Each parent sprung.'

Prol. Sat. l. 388.

⁵ Pope states this in a note on these lines. See also T. Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons*, 1747, ii. 55. One of his relations, 'a great genealogist, who was always talking of her family, never mentioned this descent.' WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 326. Mr. Courthope thinks it fabulous. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 4.

⁶ Johnson here also follows Pope's note. In the notice of the death of his mother in *Gent. Mag.* 1733, p. 326, probably written by him, it is stated that two of the sons 'died in the King's service in the Civil War.'

'The Turners were small land-owners in Yorkshire. William Turner married Thomasine Newton, a member of a good family at Thorpe, in Yorkshire.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 5. One of their daughters married Samuel Cooper, the painter. *Ante*, BUTLER, 5.

from whom the sister inherited what sequestrations and forfeitures had left in the family.

This, and this only, is told by Pope; who is more willing, as ² I have heard observed, to shew what his father was not, than what he was. It is allowed that he grew rich by trade; but whether in a shop or on the Exchange was never discovered, till Mr. Tyers told, on the authority of Mrs. Racket, that he was a linen-draper in the Strand ¹. Both parents were papists ².

Pope was from his birth of a constitution tender and delicate; ³ but is said to have shewn remarkable gentleness and sweetness of disposition ³. The weakness of his body continued through his life ⁴, but the mildness of his mind perhaps ended with his childhood. His voice, when he was young, was so pleasing that he was called in fondness the 'little Nightingale' ⁵.

Being not sent early to school ⁶ he was taught to read by an ⁴ aunt, and when he was seven or eight years old became a lover

¹ In the first edition the sentence ends at 'discovered.' Pope, in his will, described Mrs. Magdalen Racket as 'my sister-in-law.' Warton's *Pope's Works*, ed. 1822, ix. 417. She was his father's daughter by his first wife. In the register of St. Benet Fink is the following:—'1679. 12 Aug. Buried Magdalen, the wife of Allix-ander Pope.' He was then living in Broad Street. *N. & Q.* 2 S. iii. 461, iv. 381, 406. The poet was born in Lombard Street. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 6.

For Thomas Tyers see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 308; *John. Misc.* ii. 335.

² Mrs. Pope described her husband as 'an honest merchant, who dealt in Hollands wholesale.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 8. According to a note in Warton, iv. 51, Pope's grandfather 'was a clergyman in Hampshire. He placed his son with a merchant at Lisbon, where he became a convert to Popery.' This clergyman was 'not improbably Alexander Pope, Rector of Thruxton, in Hampshire, who died in 1645.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 5.

³ Ruffhead's *Life of Pope*, p. 10; Spence's *Anec.* p. 26.

⁴ 'This weakness was so great that he wore stays, as I have been assured

by a waterman at Twickenham, who, in lifting him into his boat, had often felt them. He had a sedan-chair in the boat, in which he sat with the glasses down.' HAWKINS, *Johnson's Works*, 1787, iv. 2; *post*, POPE, 257.

⁵ 'His voice was so musical that I remember honest Tom Southerne used always to call him "the little nightingale."' ORRERY, *Remarks*, &c., p. 207. Thomson, speaking of him, calls the nightingale 'his sister of the cospes green.' *Post*, POPE, 255 n. 'Some called Pope little nightingale—all sound and no sense.' LADY M. W. MONTAGU, *Letters*, Preface, p. 41.

⁶ Johnson's authorities for Pope's school-days are Birch's *Heads*, &c., ii. 55, Warburton's *Pope's Works*, ed. 1757, iv. 205, and Spence's *Anec.* pp. 192, 206, 259, 276, 283, who do not always agree. Warburton (Preface, p. 7) said that he intended to write Pope's Life. Not much has been lost by his neglect. In the note in which he gives his account of Pope's education he writes:—'Though much more would be too trifling to enter into a just volume of his life, it may do no dishonour to one of these cursory notes.'

of books. He first learned to write by imitating printed books ; a species of penmanship in which he retained great excellence ¹ through his whole life, though his ordinary hand was not elegant.

5 When he was about eight he was placed in Hampshire under Taverner, a Romish priest, who, by a method very rarely practised, taught him the Greek and Latin rudiments together ². He was now first regularly initiated in poetry by the perusal of Ogylby's *Homer*, and Sandys's *Ovid*: Ogylby's assistance he never repaid with any praise ³; but of Sandys he declared, in his notes to the *Iliad*, that English poetry owed much of its present beauty to his translations⁴. Sandys very rarely attempted original composition.

6 From the care of Taverner, under whom his proficiency was considerable, he was removed to a school at Twyford near Winchester⁵, and again to another school about Hyde-park Corner; from which he used sometimes to stroll to the play-house, and was so delighted with theatrical exhibitions that he formed a kind of play from Ogylby's *Iliad*, with some verses of his own intermixed, which he persuaded his schoolfellows to act, with the addition of his master's gardener, who personated Ajax⁶.

¹ The title-page to *Acis and Galatea*, translated by Pope when fourteen, 'is so like print that it requires a good eye to distinguish it.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 283.

² 'It is customary in the schools of the Jesuits. Mr. Pope seemed to think it a good way.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 259. His teacher, according to Spence, was one 'Banister, their [the Popes'] family priest.' Birch and Warburton are the authorities for Taverner. For a most improbable tradition that Pope was once at Abingdon School see Maclean's *Pembroke College*, p. 200.

³ 'Hespoke of the pleasure Ogilby's *Homer* then gave him with a sort of rapture, only in reflecting on it. "I was then about eight years old."' Spence's *Anec.* p. 276. See also *Birch*, ii. 55; *Warburton*, iv. 18. He twice mentions Ogilby in *The Dunciad*, i. 141, 328. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 307; *post*, POPE, 85.

⁴ 'The English versification owes

much of its improvement to his translations.' *The Iliad*, xxii. 196 n.

'Sandys's *Ovid*,' he said, 'I liked extremely.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 276. For the influence Sandys had on his versification see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 18-20. 'Dryden called Sandys the best versifier of the last age.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 223. See also DRYDEN, 107. In his epitaph he is 'poetarum Anglorum sui saeculi facile princeps.' *Athenae Oxon.* iii. 100. As he was born in 1577 and died in 1644 he had Shakespeare and Milton for inferiors.

⁵ Dr. Warton, Head Master of Winchester College, says that 'this used frequently to be mentioned by the scholars of the College in their youthful compositions.' Warton's *Pope's Works*, Preface, p. 2.

For a third school, which Pope was said to have attended in Devonshire Street, see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 440.

⁶ *Warburton*, iv. 18. Warburton

At the two last schools he used to represent himself as having ⁷ lost part of what Taverner had taught him ¹, and on his master at Twyford he had already exercised his poetry in a lampoon ². Yet under those masters he translated more than a fourth part of the *Metamorphoses* ³. If he kept the same proportion in his other exercises it cannot be thought that his loss was great.

He tells of himself in his poems that 'he lisp'd in numbers' ⁴, ⁸ and used to say that he could not remember the time when he began to make verses ⁵. In the style of fiction it might have been said of him as of Pindar, that when he lay in his cradle, 'the bees swarmed about his mouth.'

About the time of the Revolution his father, who was un- ⁹ doubtedly disappointed by the sudden blast of popish prosperity, quitted his trade, and retired to Binfield in Windsor Forest, with about twenty thousand pounds, for which, being conscientiously determined not to entrust it to the government, he found no better use than that of locking it up in a chest, and taking from it what his expences required; and his life was long enough to consume a great part of it, before his son came to the inheritance ⁶.

adds that 'he contrived to have all the actors dressed after the pictures in his favourite *Ogilby*.'

¹ Warburton, iv. 205. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 192.

² His sister said that 'he was whipped and ill-used at Twyford for his satire, and taken thence on that account.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 206.

³ 'In the scattered lessons I used to set myself I translated above a quarter of the *Metamorphoses*.' *Ib.* p. 278.

⁴ 'As yet a child, nor yet a fool to fame,

I lisp'd in numbers, for the numbers came.' *Prol. Sat.* l. 127.

'Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos,

Et quod tentabam dicere versus erat.' OVID, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 25.

⁵ 'If now and then I curse, my curses chime,
Nor can I pray unless I pray in rhyme.'

CHURCHILL, *Poems*, 1766, ii. 325.

⁶ Warburton, iv. 18; Spence's *Anec.* p. 276.

⁶ Birch puts the fortune of Pope's father at 'between 15 and 20,000*l.* Being incapable as a Roman Catholic of purchasing, or putting his money to interest on real security, and his attachment to the abdicated King and his family restraining him from lending it to the new Government, he kept it in his chest and lived upon the principal, till it was near spent when his son came to the succession.' T. Birch, *Heads*, &c., 1747, ii. 55. See also Warburton, iv. 208; *post*, POPE, 71, 121.

He must have bought land before the disabling Act of 11 & 12 Will. III, c. 4 was passed, as he owned a freehold at Binfield. *Post*, POPE, 117.

Martha Blount (*post*, POPE, 243) told Spence that he was worth £10,000 at the Revolution. The son, she added, 'had about £3,000 or £4,000 from his father, as I have heard him say.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 357.

The Papists paid a double land-tax. Pope writes of his father:—
'For right hereditary taxed and fined,

- 10 To Binfield Pope was called by his father when he was about twelve years old; and there he had for a few months the assistance of one Deane, another priest, of whom he learned only to construe a little of Tully's *Offices*¹. How Mr. Deane could spend, with a boy who had translated so much of *Ovid*, some months over a small part of Tully's *Offices*, it is now vain to enquire.
- 11 Of a youth so successfully employed, and so conspicuously improved, a minute account must be naturally desired; but curiosity must be contented with confused, imperfect, and sometimes improbable intelligence. Pope, finding little advantage from external help, resolved thenceforward to direct himself, and at twelve formed a plan of study which he completed with little other incitement than the desire of excellence².
- 12 His primary and principal purpose was to be a poet, with which his father accidentally concurred, by proposing subjects, and obliging him to correct his performances by many revisals; after which the old gentleman, when he was satisfied, would say, 'these are good rhymes'³.

He stuck to poverty with peace of mind;
And me the Muses helped to undergo it,
Convict a Papist he, and I a Poet.'

Imit. Hor., Epis. ii. 2. 64.

Jeremy Bentham's father, a Protestant Jacobite, from his aversion to the reigning family and doubts of the stability of the funds, hoarded his money. 'When Jereeny was a boy, twenty or thirty guineas fell out of a place' where he kept his toys. Bentham's *Works*, x. 2. See *post*, POPE, 131 n.

¹ Birch (ii. 55) and Warburton (iv. 205) mention his being under a priest in the Forest, and so does Spence (*Anec.* p. 193). Deane, according to Spence (*ib.* p. 259), kept 'a seminary,' first at Marylebone, and next at Hyde Park Corner. 'When,' said Pope, 'I came from the last of these little schools, all the acquisition I had made was to be able to construe a little of Tully's *Offices*.' *Ib.* p. 270.

Deane had been a Roman Catholic Fellow of University College, Oxford,

who, at the Revolution, 'withdrew himself privately before break of day' from Oxford. WOOD, *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 348.

² 'I did not follow the grammar, but rather hunted in the authors for a syntax of my own; and then began translating any parts that pleased me particularly in the Greek and Latin poets; and by that means formed my taste, which, I think verily, about sixteen was very near as good as it is now. . . . I continued in this close pursuit of pleasure and languages till nineteen or twenty. . . . These five or six years I still look upon as the happiest part of my life.' Spence's *Anec.* pp. 193, 259, 270.

³ 'When Mr. Pope was yet a child his father, though no poet, would set him to make English verses. He was pretty difficult to please, and would often send the boy back to new turn them. When they were to his mind he took great pleasure in them, and would say, "*These are good rhymes*."' Warburton, iv. 19. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 8, who adds

In his perusal of the English poets he soon distinguished the 13 versification of Dryden¹, which he considered as the model to be studied, and was impressed with such veneration for his instructor that he persuaded some friends to take him to the coffee-house which Dryden frequented, and pleased himself with having seen him².

Dryden died May 1, 1701³, some days before Pope was 14 twelve: so early must he therefore have felt the power of harmony, and the zeal of genius. Who does not wish that Dryden could have known the value of the homage that was paid him, and foreseen the greatness of his young admirer?

The earliest of Pope's productions is his *Ode on Solitude*⁴, 15 written before he was twelve, in which there is nothing more than other forward boys have attained, and which is not equal to Cowley's performances at the same age⁵.

that Pope's mother said, 'Rhymes was my husband's word for verses.' So Milton uses the word in *Lycidas*—'Build the lofty rhyme.'

¹ 'He got first acquainted with the writings of Waller, Spenser and Dryden; in the order I have named them. On the first sight of Dryden he found he had what he wanted. His poems were never out of his hands; they became his model, and from them alone he learnt the whole magic of his versification.' *Warburton*, iv. 19. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 8.

Not long before his death he said to Spence (*ib.* p. 296):—'I read *The Faerie Queene* when I was about twelve with infinite delight; and I think it gave me as much when I read it over about a year or two ago.' See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 222; *post*, POPE, 348, 374.

² 'Virgilium tantum vidi,' he wrote to Wycherley on Dec. 26, 1704. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 15. Warburton says in a note:—'When a very young boy, he prevailed with a friend to carry him to a coffee-house which Dryden frequented.' *Warburton*, vii. 2. 'I remember his face well,' he told Spence, 'for I looked upon him even then with the greatest veneration, and observed him very particularly.' Spence's *Anec.*

p. 332. For the coffee-house see *ante*, DRYDEN, 190.

'Virgilium vidi tantum.' OVID, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 51.

³ Dryden had seen Milton. 'Milton,' he wrote, 'has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original.' Dryden's *Works*, xi. 210. Johnson never saw Pope, though he came to London seven years before his death. *John. Misc.* i. 373 n. 5. Reynolds, when a youth, had touched his hand in a great crowd. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 377 n. For the chain that stretches from Milton, through Dryden, Pope, Reynolds and Northcote, to Ruskin see *ib.* i. 377 n.

⁴ Dryden died on May 1, 1700. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 152 n. 2.

⁵ Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 407.

⁶ In July, 1709, when he was twenty-one, he says he found this Ode. 'I find by the date it was written when I was not twelve years old.' How much he revised it cannot be known. In the version of 1735 'it was once more retouched.' *ib.* vi. 82.

'Pope in the *Ode to Solitude* and in his *Essay on Criticism* has furnished proofs that at one period of his life he felt the charm of a sober and subdued style.' WORDSWORTH, *Memoirs*, 1851, ii. 221.

For Cowley see *ante*, COWLEY, 6.

- 16 His time was now spent wholly in reading and writing¹. As he read the Classicks he amused himself with translating them; and at fourteen made a version of the first book of the *Thebais*, which, with some revision, he afterwards published². He must have been at this time, if he had no help, a considerable proficient in the Latin tongue.
- 17 By Dryden's *Fables*, which had then been not long published³, and were much in the hands of poetical readers, he was tempted to try his own skill in giving Chaucer a more fashionable appearance, and put *January and May*, and the *Prologue of the Wife of Bath*, into modern English⁴. He translated likewise the *Epistle of Sappho to Phaon* from Ovid⁵, to complete the version, which was before imperfect⁶, and wrote some other small pieces, which he afterwards printed.
- 18 He sometimes imitated the English poets, and professed to have written at fourteen his poem upon *Silence*⁷, after Rochester's *Nothing*. He had now formed his versification, and in the smoothness of his numbers surpassed his original; but this is a small part of his praise: he discovers such acquaintance both with human life and public affairs as is not easily conceived to have been attainable by a boy of fourteen in Windsor Forest.
- 19 Next year he was desirous of opening to himself new sources of knowledge, by making himself acquainted with modern languages, and removed for a time to London that he might study French and Italian, which, as he desired nothing more than to read them, were by diligent application soon

¹ For the injury to his health by overstudy see *post*, POPE, 255.

² Mr. Elwin points out that all Pope's unrevised poems were suppressed. From those revised we learn nothing of his skill at fourteen.

The first translation he printed was *Sarpedon*. It and the *Pastorals* appeared in 1709, when he was twenty-one. In 1712 he published the first book of the *Thebais*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 45, 46.

³ Pope, in the Advertisement to his translations 'prefixed to vol. iii of his *Works*, 8vo, 1736,' writes:—'Mr. Dryden's *Fables* . . . occasioned the translations from Chaucer.' Pope's

Works (E. & C.), i. 39. The *Fables* were published early in March, 1699–1700. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 149.

⁴ *January and May* was published in 1709, and *The Wife of Bath* in 1714. *Ib.* i. 120, 158.

⁵ 'Pope records in his MS. that it was "written first 1707."' He published it in 1712, when he was twenty-four. *Ib.* i. 90.

⁶ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 107.

⁷ 'Done at fourteen years old.' POPE, *Warburton*, vii. 79 n. It first appeared in *Lintot's Misc.* in 1712. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 423. See *ante*, ROCHESTER, 20.

despatched¹. Of Italian learning he does not appear to have ever made much use in his subsequent studies².

He then returned to Binfield, and delighted himself with his 20 own poetry. He tried all styles, and many subjects. He wrote a comedy, a tragedy, an epick poem, with panegyrics on all the princes of Europe; and, as he confesses, 'thought himself the greatest genius that ever was³.' Self-confidence is the first requisite to great undertakings⁴; he, indeed, who forms his opinion of himself in solitude, without knowing the powers of other men, is very liable to error: but it was the felicity of Pope to rate himself at his real value.

Most of his puerile productions were by his maturer judge- 21 ment afterwards destroyed; *Alcander*, the epick poem, was burnt by the persuasion of Atterbury⁵. The tragedy was founded on the legend of St. Genevieve⁶. Of the comedy there is no account⁷.

Concerning his studies it is related that he translated Tully *On* 22 *old Age*⁸; and that, besides his books of poetry and criticism, he

¹ Warburton, iv. 206. His cousin, Mannick, said of this removal:—'We in the family looked upon it as a wildish sort of resolution.' Spence adds in a footnote:—'What his sister, Mrs. Racket, said—"For you know, to speak plain with you, my brother has a maddish way with him." Little people mistook the excess of his genius for madness. "I gad, that young fellow will either be a madman or make a very great poet." Rag Smith after being in Mr. Pope's company when about fourteen.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 25. See also *ib.* p. 193. For 'Rag Smith' see *ante*, SMITH, 43.

² Like Addison in this. Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 310.

³ Warburton, Preface, p. 19.

⁴ For 'the high opinion of their own powers' held by Milton and Dryden see *ante*, MILTON, 47; DRYDEN, 162, and for Addison's 'very high opinion of his own merit' see *ante*, ADDISON, 109.

⁵ 'My epic was about two years in hand, from thirteen to fifteen. . . . I wrote four books towards it of about a thousand verses each; and had the copy by me till I burnt it by the

advice of the Bishop of Rochester, a little before he went abroad.' Spence's *Anec.* pp. 276, 279. See also *ib.* pp. 24, 197-8. The Bishop went abroad in June, 1723. He wrote to Pope more than six years earlier:—'I am not sorry your *Alcander* is burnt.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 8.

Warton, in a note on a quotation in *The Art of Sinking*, says:—'Mr. Spence informed me that this passage, and many other ridiculous ones in this treatise, were quoted from our poet's own early pieces, particularly *Alcander*.' Warton's *Pope*, vi. 207. See Spence's *Anec.* p. 277.

⁶ Spence's *Anec.* p. 197; where Pope said that, though he was 'solicited to write for the stage,' yet he would not, as he saw 'how much everybody that did write for it was obliged to subject themselves to the players and the town.' See *ante*, SAVAGE, 38 n.

⁷ Warburton, iv. 19.

⁸ 'There is a copy of it,' said Pope, 'in Lord Oxford's library.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 278. For Denham's imitation of Cicero's book see *ante*, DENHAM, 33.

read Temple's *Essays* and Locke *On human Understanding*¹. His reading, though his favourite authors are not known, appears to have been sufficiently extensive and multifarious; for his early pieces shew, with sufficient evidence, his knowledge of books.

- 23 He that is pleased with himself easily imagines that he shall please others. Sir William Trumbal², who had been ambassador at Constantinople, and secretary of state, when he retired from business fixed his residence in the neighbourhood of Binfield. Pope, not yet sixteen, was introduced to the statesman of sixty, and so distinguished himself that their interviews ended in friendship and correspondence³. Pope was through his whole life ambitious of splendid acquaintance, and he seems to have wanted neither diligence nor success in attracting the notice of the great; for from his first entrance into the world, and his entrance was very early, he was admitted to familiarity with those whose rank or station made them most conspicuous⁴.
- 24 From the age of sixteen the life of Pope as an author may be properly computed⁵. He now wrote his *Pastorals*, which were shewn to the poets and criticks of that time⁶; as they well deserved they were read with admiration, and many praises were bestowed upon them and upon the Preface, which is both elegant

¹ 'As drives the storm, at any door
I knock;

And house with Montaigne now,
or now with Locke.'

POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* i. 1. 25.

"I met with Locke," Pope said;
'he was quite insipid to me. I
read Temple's *Essays* too then;
but whenever there was anything
political in them, I had no manner
of feeling for it.'" Spence's *Anec.*
p. 199.

'Locke's reasoning,' writes Mr.
Courthope, 'may indeed be said to
pervade every part of the *Essay on*
Criticism.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and
Courthope), v. 52.

² 'James II in 1587 [1687] sent
him ambassador to Constantinople,
to which city, Mr. Ruffhead informs
us, he went through the continent on
foot. He died in Dec. 1716.' Malone's
Dryden, iii. 560. Pope dedicated to
him his first *Pastoral*, and celebrated
him in a ridiculous couplet in *Windsor*
Forest, l. 257:—

'Such was the life great Scipio once
admir'd,

Thus Atticus, and Trumbal thus re-
tir'd.'

He wrote also his epitaph. *Post*,
POPE, 395.

For 'the slippery trick' which
Pope, as he complained, served him,
see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-
hope), i. 324. See also Spence's
Anec. p. 194; Pope's *Works* (Elwin
and Courthope), v. 26; and *ante*,
FENTON, 16. For Dryden's flattery
of him see Dryden's *Works*, xv. 190.

³ Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-
hope), vi. 1.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 270.

⁵ 'His existence in the Forest,'
writes Mr. Courthope, 'was undis-
turbed by the quarrels and vexations
of his later years, and the character
of all his early poetry is pastoral,
pathetic, ardent and fanciful.' *Ib.*
iii. 27.

⁶ For his list of these 'poets and
criticks' see *ib.* i. 239.

and learned in a high degree: they were, however, not published till five years afterwards¹.

Cowley, Milton, and Pope are distinguished among the English 25 Poets by the early exertion of their powers; but the works of Cowley alone were published in his childhood, and therefore of him only can it be certain that his puerile performances received no improvement from his maturer studies².

At this time began his acquaintance with Wycherley, a man 26 who seems to have had among his contemporaries his full share of reputation³, to have been esteemed without virtue, and caressed without good-humour. Pope was proud of his notice; Wycherley wrote verses in his praise, which he was charged by Dennis with writing to himself⁴, and they agreed for a while to flatter one another. It is pleasant to remark how soon Pope learned the cant of an author⁵, and began to treat critics with contempt, though he had yet suffered nothing from them.

¹ The *Pastorals* were published in 1709, in *Tonson's Miscellany*. *Post*, POPE, 33, 314. The 'Preface,' entitled *A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, first appeared in his collected works in 1717. *Post*, POPE, 120.

'It was,' writes Mr. Elwin, 'avowedly compiled from two or three recent essayists [Fontenelle, Rapin, and Heinsius], and demanded nothing from the poet to which the term learning could be properly applied.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 241. See also *ib.* v. 27.

² *Ante*, COWLEY, 6; MILTON, 8, 152.

³ 'Mr. Wycherley, when we read *Esther* together, was of my opinion in this, or rather I of his; for it becomes me so to speak of so excellent a poet and so great a judge.' DRYDEN, *Works*, xvii. 323.

⁴ See *Warburton*, vii. 26. For the verses see *ib.* Preface, p. 22.

⁵ In the fifth edition of *Lintot's Misc.*, 1727, the poem of Wycherley, who was then dead, is prefixed to Pope's pieces, and bears the title, "To Mr. Pope at sixteen years old, on account of his *Pastorals*." This was untrue. The lines were not addressed to him till he was twenty. The mannerism of both authors can

be clearly traced in them. They have the stamp of Wycherley improved by Pope.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 22.

⁵ Johnson refers to Pope's first published letter to Wycherley, dated Dec. 26, 1704. *ib.* vi. 15. Mr. Elwin suspects that 'Wycherley's premature compliment and Pope's premature cant both belonged to a subsequent period, or perhaps were fabricated for the press.' *ib.* Preface, p. 130. In 1708 Pope undoubtedly wrote of critics with contempt. *Post*, POPE, 383. In 1737, recommending Walter Harte as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, he wrote:—'I think it a condescension in one who practises the art of poetry so well to stoop to be a critic.' *ib.* x. 226.

For 'cant' see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 221 n. Johnson himself in *The Rambler*, No. 3, attacked critics as men 'who stand as sentinels in the avenues of fame, and value themselves upon giving ignorance and envy the first notice of a prey.'

Gray wrote of them:—'I own it is an impertinence in these gentry to talk of one at all either in good or in bad.' Gray's *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i. 302.

'I have never affected,' wrote Gibbon, 'indeed I have never under-

- 27 But the fondness of Wycherley was too violent to last. His esteem of Pope was such that he submitted some poems to his revision; and when Pope, perhaps proud of such confidence, was sufficiently bold in his criticisms and liberal in his alterations, the old scribbler was angry to see his pages defaced, and felt more pain from the detection than content from the amendment of his faults¹. They parted; but Pope always considered him with kindness, and visited him a little time before he died².
- 28 Another of his early correspondents was Mr. Cromwell, of whom I have learned nothing particular but that he used to ride a-hunting in a tye-wig³. He was fond, and perhaps vain, of amusing himself with poetry and criticism, and sometimes sent his performances to Pope, who did not forbear such remarks as were now and then unwelcome⁴. Pope, in his turn, put the juvenile version of Statius into his hands for correction⁵.

stood, the proud contempt of criticism which some authors have publicly professed.' *Misc. Works*, iv. 517.

'Good critics,' said Tennyson, 'are rarer than good authors.' *Life*, ii. 423.

¹ Spence's *Anec.* pp. 25, 150, 160. 'All the ridicule,' says Mr. Elwin, 'heaped upon Wycherley's irritable vanity and literary dotage was founded upon the adulterated correspondence, which was published [by Pope] to "render justice to his memory."' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 259. See also *ib.* Preface, p. 134; and *ib.* v. 387-407 for Wycherley's genuine letters. He used to address Pope as 'My Deare Little Infallible,' or 'My Dear Little Great Friend.' *Ib.* pp. 388, 393.

'Several of Mr. Pope's lines, very easy to be distinguished, may be found in the posthumous editions of Wycherley's *Poems*, particularly in those *On Solitude*, *On the Public*, and *On the Mixed Life*.' Warburton, vii. 17 n.

² Spence's *Anec.* p. 17.

³ 'Honest, hatless Cromwell, with red breeches.'

GAY, *Mr. Pope's Welcome*, Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 176.

'He was of the same family as

the Protector. *The Country Journal* says:—"June 29, 1728, died Mr. Henry Cromwell, a noted critic and poet, in his 70th year." *Ib.* v. 75. See also *post*, POPE, 142. For the correspondence see *ib.* vi. 61.

⁴ *Ib.* vii. 408.

⁵ Pope, if we can trust the date of his letter, sent *Statius* to Cromwell on Jan. 22, 1708-9. It was published, he says, in 1711, with an Advertisement, stating that 'it was done when he was but fourteen.' Warburton, vii. 59.

'It was not published till 1712. It represents the powers of the man who completed the task, not of the boy who began it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 47. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 274.

'Gray's first attempt in English verse,' Mason believed, was a translation from Statius. Mason's *Gray*, i. 136. 'It were to be wished that no youth of genius were suffered ever to look into Statius, Lucan, Claudian, or Seneca the tragedian.' WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 84. 'I have read Statius again, and thought him as bad as ever.' MACAULAY, *Life*, i. 461. For Dante's admiration of Statius see the *Purgatorio*, canto xxi. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 205; Dryden's *Works*, xvii. 330; and Warton's *Pope*, vii. 96.

Their correspondence afforded the publick its first knowledge 29 of Pope's epistolary powers; for his letters were given by Cromwell to one Mrs. Thomas, and she many years afterwards sold them to Curll, who inserted them in a volume of his *Miscellanies*¹.

Walsh, a name yet preserved among the minor poets, was one 80 of his first encouragers². His regard was gained by the *Pastorals*, and from him Pope received the counsel by which he seems to have regulated his studies. Walsh advised him to correctness, which, as he told him, the English poets had hitherto neglected³, and which therefore was left to him as a basis of fame; and, being delighted with rural poems, recommended to him to write a pastoral comedy, like those which are read so eagerly in Italy⁴; a design which Pope probably did not approve, as he did not follow it.

Pope had now declared himself a poet; and, thinking himself 81 entitled to poetical conversation, began at seventeen to frequent Will's, a coffee-house on the north side of Russel-street in Covent-garden, where the wits of that time used to assemble, and where Dryden had, when he lived, been accustomed to preside⁵.

¹ *Post*, POPE, 142, 163 n. The letters were published in 1727. Cromwell had given them to his mistress, Elizabeth Thomas, many years earlier. She sold them to Curll, as she sold the narrative of Dryden's funeral (*ante*, DRYDEN, 153 n. 6). Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 131, 419; *The Dunciad*, ii. 70 n. 'The favourable reception of Pope's correspondence,' writes Mr. Elwin, 'originated the desire to give some further specimens to the world, and led him into the miserable series of falsehoods and frauds by which he endeavoured to accomplish his design without seeming to be privy to it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), Preface, p. 28; *post*, POPE, 162.

He lied when he said to Spence (*Anec.* p. 167):—'My letters to Cromwell were written with a design that does not generally appear; they were not written in sober sadness.'

² *Ante*, WALSH, 5.

³ 'Though we had several great poets (Walsh said) we never had any

one great poet that was correct.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 280. By 'correctness' Walsh meant (writes Mr. Courthope) not only 'accuracy of expression, but also propriety of design, and justice of thought and taste.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 24. See also *ib.* ii. 28. Dryden had taught Walsh correctness. Dryden's *Works*, xviii. 181. See also *ante*, ROSCOMMON, 24; ADDISON, 157; PRIOR, 70.

⁴ It is more likely that the perception of this virtue in the poetical intellect of Pope drew out the remark from Walsh than that the remark suggested to the poet the pursuit of the virtue.' JOHN WILSON, *Blackwood*, 1845, lvii. 392.

⁵ See Walsh's letter of June 24, 1706, and Pope's answer of July 2. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), vi. 50-53. See also *ante*, GAY, 32 n., for the neglect of pastoral plays in Italy.

⁶ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 190; ADDISON, 116. Sir Charles Wogan wrote to Swift on Feb. 27, 1732-3:—'I had

- 82 During this period of his life he was indefatigably diligent, and insatiably curious; wanting health for violent, and money for expensive pleasures, and having certainly excited in himself very strong desires of intellectual eminence, he spent much of his time over his books: but he read only to store his mind with facts and images, seizing all that his authors presented with undistinguishing voracity, and with an appetite for knowledge too eager to be nice¹. In a mind like his, however, all the faculties were at once involuntarily improving. Judgement is forced upon us by experience². He that reads many books must compare one opinion or one style with another; and when he compares, must necessarily distinguish, reject, and prefer. But the account given by himself of his studies was that from fourteen to twenty he read only for amusement, from twenty to twenty-seven for improvement and instruction; that in the first part of this time he desired only to know, and in the second he endeavoured to judge³.
- 88 The *Pastorals*, which had been for some time handed about among poets and criticks, were at last printed (1709) in *Tonson's Miscellany*, in a volume which began with the *Pastorals* of Philips, and ended with those of Pope⁴.
- 84 The same year was written the *Essay on Criticism*⁵, a work which displays such extent of comprehension, such nicety of distinction, such acquaintance with mankind, and such knowledge both of ancient and modern learning⁶ as are not often attained by the maturest age and longest experience. It was published

the honour to bring my friend, Mr. Pope, up to London from our retreat in the forest of Windsor, to dress *à la mode*, and introduce at Will's.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 433.

¹ *Post*, POPE, 291. 'Pope had read a vast number of books, yet he was very ignorant—ignorant, that is, of everything but the one thing which he laboured to acquire, the art of happy expression. He read books to find ready-made images, and to feel for the best collocations of words.' PATTISON, *Essays*, ii. 375.

² 'JOHNSON. Sir, in my early years I read very hard. It is a sad reflection, but a true one, that I knew almost as much at eighteen as I do now. My judgment, to be sure, was

not so good; but I had all the facts.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 445.

³ Johnson's chief authority here is Warburton, iv. 206.

⁴ *Ante*, ADDISON, 14; POPE, 24; *post*, POPE, 314; A. PHILIPS, 18. For Tonson's letter of April 20, 1706, about one of Pope's *Pastorals* see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 545.

⁵ *Ante*, DENHAM, 11; *post*, POPE, 328. For *Essay* see *ante*, ROSCOMMON, 25 n. 4.

⁶ *Post*, POPE, 291. 'All the classical information embodied in the *Essay*,' writes Mr. Elwin, 'might have been picked up from his French manuals in a single morning.' *Ib.* ii. 20.

about two years afterwards¹, and being praised by Addison in *The Spectator*² with sufficient liberality, met with so much favour as enraged Dennis, 'who,' he says, 'found himself attacked, without any manner of provocation on his side, and attacked³ in his person, instead of his writings, by one who was wholly a stranger to him, at a time when all the world knew he was persecuted by fortune; and not only saw that this was attempted in a clandestine manner, with the utmost falsehood and calumny, but found that all this was done by a little affected hypocrite, who had nothing in his mouth at the same time but truth, candour, friendship, goodness, humanity, and magnanimity⁴.'

How the attack was clandestine is not easily perceived⁵, nor ³⁵ how his person is depreciated⁶; but he seems to have known

¹ 'It was written in 1709, and published in 1711; which is as little time as ever I let anything of mine lay [sic] by me.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 170. 'It was first advertised in *The Spectator*, No. 65, May 15, 1711.' Warton's *Pope*, i. 223.

² No. 253, Dec. 20, 1711. Addison, after stating that 'in our own country a man seldom sets up for a poet without attacking the reputation of all his brothers in the art,' continues:—'I am sorry to find that an author who is very justly esteemed among the best judges has admitted some strokes of this nature into a very fine poem.' Pope, in the belief that this *Spectator* was by Steele, wrote to him:—'I am obliged to you for your candour and frankness in acquainting me with the error I have been guilty of in speaking too freely of my brother moderns.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 389. See *ib.* p. 410, for his forged letter to Addison, where he says:—'This period is the only one I could wish omitted of all you have written.'

³ *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 269, 584.

⁴ *Reflections Critical and Satyrical upon a Late Rhapsody; Call'd An Essay upon Criticism.* n.d. Preface. The passage quoted is in the first person. Part of this attack Pope quotes in Scriblerus's *Prolegomena*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 67. For the 'perpetual

and unclouded effulgence of general benevolence and particular fondness' in Pope's letters, see *post*, POPE, 273.

⁵ 'The *Essay* was anonymous, and his assailant concealed.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 13.

⁶ Pope describes how Dennis, under the name of Appius, 'reddens at each word you speak, And stares tremendous, with a threat'ning eye, Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry.'

Essay on Criticism, l. 585.

Pope, who had tried to get subscribers to an edition of Dennis's *Works*, who was in distress in his old age, wrote to Hill on Feb. 5, 1730-1:—'Mr. Dennis did, in print, lately represent my poor, undesigning subscriptions to him, to be the effect of fear.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 18. Hill replied:—'I have seen that low turn which Mr. Dennis gave to your good-nature.' Hill's *Works*, ed. 1754, i. 78. In 1733 Pope wrote *A Prologue to a Play for Mr. Dennis's Benefit*, 'when he was old, blind, and in great distress.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 417. Mr. Tovey, in Thomson's *Works*, 1897, Preface, p. 47, points out that even in this Prologue Pope's 'malignity' is seen. See also *ante*, ADDISON, 64, 138; SAVAGE, 111; *post*, POPE, 60, 152.

something of Pope's character, in whom may be discovered an appetite to talk too frequently of his own virtues.

- 86 The pamphlet is such as rage might be expected to dictate. He supposes himself to be asked two questions: whether the *Essay* will succeed, and who or what is the author.
- 87 Its success he admits to be secured by the false opinions then prevalent; the author he concludes to be 'young and raw'.¹

'First, because he discovers a sufficiency beyond his little ability, and hath rashly undertaken a task infinitely above his force. Secondly, while this little author struts, and affects the dictatorial air, he plainly shews that at the same time he is under the rod; and while he pretends to give law to others, is a pedantick slave to authority and opinion. Thirdly, he hath, like schoolboys, borrowed both from living and dead. Fourthly, he knows not his own mind, and frequently contradicts himself. Fifthly, he is almost perpetually in the wrong'.²

- 88 All these positions he attempts to prove by quotations and remarks; but his desire to do mischief is greater than his power. He has, however, justly criticised some passages: in these lines,

'There are whom heaven has bless'd with store of wit,
Yet want as much again to manage it;
For wit and judgement ever are at strife'³:

it is apparent that *wit* has two meanings, and that what is wanted, though called *wit*, is truly judgement⁴. So far Dennis is undoubtedly right; but, not content with argument, he will have a little mirth, and triumphs over the first couplet in terms too elegant to be forgotten. 'By the way, what rare numbers are here! Would not one swear that this youngster had espoused some antiquated Muse, who had sued out a divorce on account of impotence from some superannuated sinner⁵, and, having been

¹ 'It was writ by some young or some raw author.' *Reflections*, &c., p. 1.

² *Ib.* pp. 1, 2, 6, 7. The various quotations from Dennis are not exact.

³ In the edition of 1743 the first couplet was thus amended:—

'Some, to whom heav'n in wit has been profuse,
Want as much more, to turn it to its use.'

In the last of the three lines *ever* was changed into *often*. *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 80-2. Pope's *Works*

(Elwin and Courthope), ii. 38 n.

⁴ 'A wit with Pope was now a jester, now an author, now a poet, and now, again, was contradistinguished from poets. Wit was the intellect, the judgment, the antithesis to judgment, a joke, and poetry. The word does duty, with a perplexing want of precision, throughout the *Essay*, and furnishes a dozen rhymes alone.' *Ib.* ii. 25.

⁵ Wycherley. Part of this attack Pope quotes in *Scriblerus's Prolegomena*. *Ib.* iv. 55.

p—xed by her former spouse, has got the gout in her decrepit age, which makes her hobble so damnably¹.’ This was the man who would reform a nation sinking into barbarity.

In another place Pope himself allowed that Dennis had detected 39 one of those blunders which are called *bulls*². The first edition had this line:

‘What is this wit . . . ?

Where wanted, scorn’d; and envied where acquir’d³.’

‘How,’ says the critick, ‘can wit be *scorn’d* where it is not? Is not this a figure frequently employed in Hibernian land? The person that wants this wit may indeed be scorned, but the scorn shews the honour which the contemner has for wit⁴.’ Of this remark Pope made the proper use, by correcting the passage.

I have preserved, I think, all that is reasonable in Dennis’s 40 criticism; it remains that justice be done to his delicacy.

‘For his acquaintance (says Dennis) he names Mr. Walsh⁵, who had by no means the qualification which this author reckons absolutely necessary to a critick, it being very certain that he was, like this Essayer, a very indifferent poet; he loved to be well-dressed; and I remember a little young gentleman whom Mr. Walsh used to take into his company, as a double foil to his person and capacity.—Enquire between Sunninghill and Oakingham⁶ for a young, short, squab gentleman, the very bow of the God of Love, and tell me whether he be a proper author to make personal reflections.—He may extol the antients, but he has reason to thank the gods that he was born a modern; for had he been born of Grecian parents, and his father consequently had by law had the absolute disposal of him, his life had been no longer than that of one of his poems, the life of half a day.—Let the person of a gentleman of his parts be never so contemptible, his inward man is ten times more ridiculous; it being impossible that his outward form, though it be that of downright monkey, should differ so much from

¹ *Reflections*, &c., p. 11.

² Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), vi. 147.

³ ‘The more his trouble as the more admir’d,

Where wanted, scorn’d; and envied where acquir’d.’

First edition, l. 502.

Pope twice corrected the couplet, and left it:—

‘Then most our trouble still when most admir’d,

And still the more we give, the more requir’d.’

Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), ii. 64.

⁴ *Reflections*, &c., p. 20.

⁵ *Essay on Criticism*, l. 729; *ante*, POPE, 30.

⁶ Dennis’s pamphlet is addressed to ‘Mr. — at Sunning-Hill, Berks.’ Oakingham is near Binfield, Pope’s home.

human shape, as his unthinking immaterial part does from human understanding¹.

Thus began the hostility between Pope and Dennis, which, though it was suspended for a short time, never was appeased. Pope seems, at first, to have attacked him wantonly; but though he always professed to despise him, he discovers, by mentioning him very often, that he felt his force or his venom.

- 41 Of this *Essay* Pope declared that he did not expect the sale to be quick, because 'not one gentleman in sixty, even of liberal education, could understand it.' The gentlemen, and the education of that time, seem to have been of a lower character than they are of this. He mentioned a thousand copies as a numerous impression².

- 42 Dennis was not his only censor; the zealous papists thought the monks treated with too much contempt, and Erasmus too studiously praised³; but to these objections he had not much regard⁴.

¹ *Reflections*, &c., p. 28.

² Pope, writing to Caryll on July 19, 1711, about a second edition, continues:—'which I yet think the book *will never arrive at*, for Tonson's* printer told me he drew off a thousand copies in his first impression, and I fancy a treatise of this nature, which not one gentleman in three score even of a liberal education can understand, will hardly exceed the vent of that number.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 152. In the version of the letter published by Pope the words italicized are printed 'will not so soon arrive at.' Warton's *Pope*, vii. 235.

* Old Mr. [William] Lewis, the bookseller in Russell Street, who printed the first edition of this *Essay* in quarto [1711], without Pope's name, informed me (writes Warton, Preface, p. 9) that it lay many days in his shop unnoticed; and that, piqued with this neglect, the author came one day, and packed up and directed twenty copies to several great men, and that, in consequence of these presents and his name being known, the book began to be called for.

[Lewis was a schoolfellow and early friend of Pope. Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* iii. 646, viii. 168.]

It was either Lewis or his father who introduced Gibbon to the priest 'at whose feet he abjured the errors of heresy.' Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 72.

The second edition was published in the winter of 1712-13; the third and fourth in 1713. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 4. Johnson, referring to the age of Pope, said:—'We have now more knowledge generally diffused; all our ladies read now, which is a great extension.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 333.

³ 'At length Erasmus, that great injur'd name,

(The glory of the Priesthood and the shame!)

Stemm'd the wild torrent of a barb'rous age,

And drove those holy Vandals off the stage.' *Essay on Crit.* l. 693.

⁴ Johnson refers to Pope's three *Letters to the Hon. J. C. Esq.* [John Caryll]. Warton, vii. 223-36. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 141, 163.

* See Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 152 n., for the name of the printer.

The *Essay* has been translated into French by Hamilton, 43 author of the *Comte de Grammont*, whose version was never printed, by Robotham, secretary to the King for Hanover, and by Resnel¹; and commented by Dr. Warburton², who has discovered in it such order and connection as was not perceived by Addison³, nor, as is said, intended by the author.

Almost every poem, consisting of precepts, is so far arbitrary and immethodical, that many of the paragraphs may change places with no apparent inconvenience; for of two or more positions, depending upon some remote and general principle, there is seldom any cogent reason why one should precede the other. But for the order in which they stand, whatever it be, a little ingenuity may easily give a reason. 'It is possible,' says Hooker, 'that by long circumduction, from any one truth all truth may be inferred'.⁴ Of all homogeneous truths at least, of all truths respecting the same general end, in whatever series they may be produced, a concatenation by intermediate ideas may be formed, such as, when it is once shewn, shall appear natural; but if this order be reversed, another mode of connection equally specious may be found or made. Aristotle is praised for naming fortitude first of the cardinal virtues, as that without which no other virtue can steadily be practised⁵; but he might, with equal propriety, have placed prudence and justice before it, since without prudence fortitude is mad; without justice, it is mischievous.

As the end of method is perspicuity, that series is sufficiently 45 regular that avoids obscurity; and where there is no obscurity it will not be difficult to discover method.

¹ Pope, in 1735, published a letter, dated Oct. 10, 1713, from himself to Hamilton about his translation. In a note he adds that it was never printed. The version by Robotham, he says, 'was printed in quarto at Amsterdam and at London, 1717. The other by the Abbé Resnel in octavo at Paris, 1730.' *Ib.* x. 104.

For Resnel see *ante*, GARTH, 17; *post*, POPE, 181.

² His Commentary is given in footnotes. *Warburton*, i. 89-161. It is reprinted in Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 85-102.

³ 'The observations follow one an-

other like those in Horace's *Art of Poetry*, without that methodical regularity which would have been requisite in a prose author.' *Spectator*, No. 253.

Jon. Richardson says that Pope 'spoke of it as "an irregular collection of thoughts—written in imitation of the irregularity in Horace's *Art of Poetry*, which he said was beautiful."⁴ *Richardsoniana*, 1776, p. 264.

⁴ 'By long circuit of deduction it may be that even all truth out of any truth may be concluded.' *Eccles. Pol.* Bk. ii. ch. i. sec. 2.

⁵ [*ἀνδρεία*. *Nic. Ethic.* Bk. iii. ch. vi. 'Courage' is the more modern

- 46 In *The Spectator*¹ was published *The Messiah*², which he first submitted to the perusal of Steele, and corrected in compliance with his criticisms³.
- 47 It is reasonable to infer, from his letters, that the verses on *The Unfortunate Lady* were written about the time when his *Essay* was published. The lady's name and adventures I have sought with fruitless enquiry.
- 48 I can therefore tell no more than I have learned from Mr. Ruffhead, who writes with the confidence of one who could trust his information⁴. She was a woman of eminent rank and large fortune, the ward of an uncle⁵, who, having given her a proper education, expected like other guardians that she should make at least an equal match⁶; and such he proposed to her, but found it rejected in favour of a young gentleman of inferior condition.
- 49 Having discovered the correspondence between the two lovers, and finding the young lady determined to abide by her own

rendering. See Prof. J. A. Stewart's *Notes on the N. E.*, Clarendon Press, 1892, i. 282.]

¹ No. 378. Pope says he had 'written a few *Spectators* and *Guardians*.' For *The Guardians* see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 498. '*The Spectators* have not been identified.' *Ib.* i. 15 n.

² *Post*, POPE, 318.

³ Steele wrote to Pope from 'a solitude, an house between Hampstead and London' (a tavern, bearing his name, is close to the site):— 'There is but one line which I think below the original—

"He wipes the tears for ever from our eyes."

You have expressed it with a good and pious, but not so exalted and poetical a spirit as the prophet—"The Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces." *Ib.* vi. 389.

Pope, who had borrowed the line from *Lycidas* (l. 181), changed it into:—

'From ev'ry face he wipes off ev'ry tear.' *The Messiah*, l. 46.

Warton points out that 'this repetition of the word *every* is a quaint and pretty modernism, unsuited to the subject.' *Warton*, vii. 248. See also *post*, POPE, 289 n. 1, 318.

⁴ *Ruffhead*, p. 133. Ruffhead,

writes Mr. Elwin, followed W. Ayre's *Memoirs of Pope* [i. 75], 'a miserable compilation.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 201. 'Pope adopted the common 'incident' of a girl's suicide, 'and he wished to have it believed that he had a personal interest in her fate.' *Ib.* p. 204. See also *ib.* v. 130. The account by Warton (*Essay*, i. 247; Pope's *Works*, i. 386) and in Johnson's *Works*, viii. 327 n., is a legend. 'Ruffhead,' said Johnson, 'knew nothing of Pope and nothing of poetry.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 166. His book is worthless except for a few anecdotes by Warburton.

Horace Walpole, on Dec. 9, 1784, mentions 'the pretended discovery of the lady's name' in *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1784, p. 807. 'The writer,' he adds, 'corroborates the circumstance of the sword. . . . My Lady Hervey, who was acquainted with Pope, and who lived at the time, gave me a very different name, and told me the exit was made in a less dignified manner—by the rope.' *Letters*, viii. 534. See also *post*, POPE, 319, and *Gent. Mag.* 1781, p. 314.

⁵ Johnson gives this spelling in his *Dictionary*:—'Uncle, see Uncle.'

⁶ For Johnson on equal matches see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 328.

choice, he supposed that separation might do what can rarely be done by arguments, and sent her into a foreign country, where she was obliged to converse only with those from whom her uncle had nothing to fear.

Her lover took care to repeat his vows ; but his letters were 50 intercepted and carried to her guardian, who directed her to be watched with still greater vigilance ; till of this restraint she grew so impatient, that she bribed a woman-servant to procure her a sword, which she directed to her heart.

From this account, given with evident intention to raise the 51 lady's character, it does not appear that she had any claim to praise, nor much to compassion. She seems to have been impatient, violent, and ungovernable. Her uncle's power could not have lasted long ; the hour of liberty and choice would have come in time. But her desires were too hot for delay, and she liked self-murder better than suspense.

Nor is it discovered that the uncle, whoever he was, is with 52 much justice delivered to posterity as a 'false Guardian' ; he seems to have done only that for which a guardian is appointed ; he endeavoured to direct his niece till she should be able to direct herself. Poetry has not often been worse employed than in dignifying the amorous fury of a raving girl.

Not long after, he wrote *The Rape of the Lock*, the most airy, 53 the most ingenious, and the most delightful of all his compositions, occasioned by a frolick of gallantry, rather too familiar, in which Lord Petre cut off a lock of Mrs. Arabella Fermor's hair². This,

¹ 'But thou, false guardian of a charge
too good,
Thou, mean deserter of thy
brother's blood.'

Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, l. 29.

² 'The original sketch came out in 1712 in *Lintot's Misc.* ; the machinery was added in 1713, and the enlarged poem was not published till the spring of 1714.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 114, 120. For the sketch Lintot paid Pope £7, and for the enlarged poem £15. *Ib.* p. 114. Pope wrote to Caryll on March 12, 1714 :—'It has in four days' time sold to the number of three thousand.' *Ib.* vi. 204. For a reprint of the sketch see *ib.* ii. 185, and for the characters see *Warton*, i. 335. See

also *post*, POPE, 335.

Lord Petre married Miss Walmesley in 1712, and died of small-pox the year after. *Burke's Peerage*. The Petre family suffered greatly from that disease. In *Ann. Reg.* 1762, i. 78, it is recorded that 'the Hon. John Petre, who died lately aged twenty-four, is said to be the eighteenth person of that family that has died of it in twenty-seven years.' Miss Fermor, in 1714, married Mr. Perkins, of Ufton Court, near Reading. She died in 1738. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 146. The title of 'Mrs.' was still applied to young unmarried ladies. 'Miss' was often used of courtesans. See *Boswell's Johnson*, v. 185, n. 1.

whether stealth or violence, was so much resented, that the commerce of the two families, before very friendly, was interrupted. Mr. Caryl, a gentleman who, being secretary to King James's Queen, had followed his Mistress into France, and who being the author of *Sir Solomon Single*, a comedy, and some translations, was entitled to the notice of a wit, solicited Pope to endeavour a reconciliation by a ludicrous poem, which might bring both the parties to a better temper¹. In compliance with Caryl's request, though his name was for a long time marked only by the first and last letter, C—l², a poem of two cantos was written (1711), as is said, in a fortnight³, and sent to the offended lady, who liked it well enough to shew it; and, with the usual process of literary transactions, the author, dreading a surreptitious edition, was forced to publish it⁴.

- 54 The event is said to have been such as was desired; the pacification and diversion of all to whom it related, except Sir George Brown, who complained with some bitterness that, in the character of Sir Plume, he was made to talk nonsense⁵. Whether

¹ *Warburton*, i. 167. 'It was not Mr. Secretary [John] Caryl, but his nephew, the Sussex squire, for years the correspondent of Pope, who solicited him.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 120. 'The uncle followed James II into exile, became his Secretary of State, and was created a peer. The nephew, as next in succession, was styled Honourable by the Jacobites.' *Ib.* vi. 136. He is the 'Hon. J. C.' of the correspondence published by Pope. Warton's *Pope*, vii. 223. A few months after his death Pope slandered him. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 299. The uncle published *Sir Solomon Single* in 1671. See also *post*, POPE, 395 n. Macaulay falls therefore into Johnson's mistake, when, speaking of the uncle, he says:—'Half a line in *The Rape of the Lock* [i. 3] has made his name immortal.' *Hist. of Eng.* ii. 331.

² It was marked C— or C—l in all the impressions in Pope's lifetime. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 145.

³ 'The first sketch of this poem was written in less than a fortnight's time.' [POPE, *Works*, ed. 1736, vol. i.

p. 141]; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 115. 'The things,' said Pope, 'that I have written fastest have always pleased the most. I wrote the *Essay on Criticism* fast. . . . *The Rape of the Lock* was written fast.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 142.

⁴ Pope, in dedicating the second edition to Mrs. Fermor, wrote:—'An imperfect copy having been offered to a bookseller, you had the good-nature, for my sake, to consent to the publication of one more correct.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 143. Mr. Elwin describes Pope's proceeding as 'a miserable farce.' *Ib.* p. 121. For the verses on Addison 'getting out' see *post*, POPE, 116 n.; and for Pope's letters 'getting out' see *post*, POPE, 166.

⁵ *The Rape of the Lock*, iv. 121–30. 'He was the only one of the party who took the thing seriously. He was angry that the poet should make him talk nothing but nonsense.' *Warburton*, i. 199. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 194. Pope wrote to Caryl:—'Sir Plume blusters, I hear.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 162. See also *ib.* p. 173.

all this be true, I have some doubt ; for at Paris, a few years ago, a niece of Mrs. Fermor, who presided in an English Convent, mentioned Pope's work with very little gratitude, rather as an insult than an honour ; and she may be supposed to have inherited the opinion of her family¹.

At its first appearance it was termed by Addison '*merum sal*.' 55 Pope, however, saw that it was capable of improvement ; and, having luckily contrived to borrow his machinery² from the Rosicrucians³, imparted the scheme with which his head was teeming to Addison, who told him that his work, as it stood, was 'a delicious little thing,' and gave him no encouragement to retouch it⁴.

This has been too hastily considered as an instance of Addison's 56 jealousy⁵ ; for as he could not guess the conduct of the new design, or the possibilities of pleasure comprised in a fiction of which there had been no examples, he might very reasonably and kindly persuade the author to acquiesce in his own prosperity, and forbear an attempt which he considered as an unnecessary hazard⁶.

Addison's counsel was happily rejected. Pope foresaw the 57 future efflorescence of imagery then budding in his mind, and resolved to spare no art or industry of cultivation. The soft

¹ Johnson recorded at Paris on Oct. 16, 1775 :—'Austin Nuns, Grate, Mrs. Fermor, Abbess. She knew Pope, and thought him disagreeable.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 392. She told Mrs. Piozzi in 1784 that 'Mr. Pope's praise made her aunt very troublesome and conceited.' Piozzi's *Journey*, i. 20. See *post*, POPE, 260 n.

² The keen eye of scandal detected one or two passages with a double meaning, which passed the bounds of decency.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 94.

³ *Ante*, MILTON, 222 ; DRYDEN, 207 n.

⁴ For 'the Rosicrucian doctrine of spirits' see the Dedication, Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 143.

⁵ 'Full,' says Warburton, 'of this noble conception he communicated it to Mr. Addison, who, he imagined, would have been equally delighted with the improvement. On the contrary, he had the mortification to see

his friend receive it coldly ; and even to advise him against any alteration, for that the poem in its original state was a delicious little thing, and as he expressed it, *merum sal*. Mr. Pope was shocked for his friend, and then first began to open his eyes to his character.' Warburton, iv. 28.

For *merum sal*, see Lucretius, iv. 1162.

⁶ Dr. Warton, in his *Essay on Pope*, i. 155, adopts as 'certain' all the slanders of Pope exposed by Mr. Elwin. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 122.

Tacitus (*Annal.* i. 11), speaking of the advice of Augustus to his successor not to extend the boundaries of the empire, adds, '*incertum meti an per invidiam*.' 'Why,' asks Gibbon, 'must rational advice be imputed to a base or foolish motive?' *Decline and Fall*, Introd. p. xxxv.

⁶ Macaulay supports Johnson's views. *Essays*, 1874, iv. 238.

luxuriance of his fancy was already shooting, and all the gay varieties of diction were ready at his hand to colour and embellish it.

- 58 His attempt was justified by its success. *The Rape of the Lock* stands forward, in the classes of literature, as the most exquisite example of ludicrous poetry. Berkeley congratulated him upon the display of powers more truly poetical than he had shewn before; with elegance of description and justness of precepts, he had now exhibited boundless fertility of invention¹.
- 59 He always considered the intermixture of the machinery with the action as his most successful exertion of poetical art². He indeed could never afterwards produce any thing of such unexampled excellence. Those performances, which strike with wonder, are combinations of skilful genius with happy casualty; and it is not likely that any felicity, like the discovery of a new race of preternatural agents, should happen twice to the same man.
- 60 Of this poem the author was, I think, allowed to enjoy the praise for a long time without disturbance. Many years afterwards Dennis published some remarks upon it, with very little force, and with no effect³; for the opinion of the publick was already settled, and it was no longer at the mercy of criticism.
- 61 About this time he published *The Temple of Fame*, which, as he tells Steele in their correspondence, he had written two years before; that is, when he was only twenty-two years old, an early time of life for so much learning and so much observation as that work exhibits⁴.

¹ Berkeley wrote from Leghorn on May 1, 1714:—'Style, painting, judgment, spirit, I had already admired in other of your writings; but in this I am charmed with the magic of your invention, with all those images, illusions and inexplicable beauties which you raise so surprisingly, and at the same time so naturally out of a trifle.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 1.

² 'All the machinery,' Pope said, 'was added afterwards; and the making that, and what was published before, hit so well together is, I think, one of the greatest proofs of judgment of anything I ever did.' Spence's

Anec. p. 142. See also Warburton, i. 169, and *post*, POPE, 336.

³ In 1717 Dennis published *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer, with Two Letters concerning Windsor Forest and The Temple of Fame*; and in 1728, *Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the Lock*, written in letters, the first dated May 1, 1714. This last book he had, he said, kept back in *terrorem*, with so good a result that for a time the poet counterfeited a sincere repentance. Now, however, he was 'like a mad Indian that runs amuck.' Preface, p. 4. See *ante*, ADDISON, 65 n. 5; *post*, POPE, 152.

⁴ Pope wrote to Steele on Nov. 16,

On this poem Dennis afterwards published some remarks, of 62 which the most reasonable is, that some of the lines represent *motion* as exhibited by *sculpture*¹.

Of the *Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard*, I do not know the 63 date². His first inclination to attempt a composition of that tender kind arose, as Mr. Savage told me, from his perusal of Prior's *Nut-brown Maid*³. How much he has surpassed Prior's work it is not necessary to mention, when perhaps it may be said with justice, that he has excelled every composition of the same kind. The mixture of religious hope and resignation gives an elevation and dignity to disappointed love, which images merely natural cannot bestow. The gloom of a convent strikes the imagination with far greater force than the solitude of a grove.

This piece was, however, not much his favourite in his latter 64 years, though I never heard upon what principle he slighted it.

In the next year (1713) he published *Windsor Forest*⁴; of 65 which part was, as he relates, written at sixteen, about the same time as his *Pastorals*, and the latter part was added afterwards: where the addition begins, we are not told⁵. The lines relating to the Peace confess their own date⁶. It is dedicated to Lord

1712:—'I was really so diffident of it as to let it lie by me these two years, just as you now see it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 395. He published it in 1715, when he was twenty-six, having carefully revised it. *Ib.* i. 199. Lintot gave £32 5s. for the copyright. *Ib.* i. 186. See *post*, POPE, 317.

¹ 'Neither painting nor sculpture can show local motion.' *Remarks on Pope's Homer*, p. 56. The lines criticized are 83-92. Dante makes sculpture exhibit motion in the *Purgatorio*:

² *Li precedeva al benedetto vaso
Trescando alzato, l'umile Sal-
mista.*

*Intorno a lui pareva calcato e
pieno*

*Di cavalieri, e l'aquile nell'oro
Sop' esso in vista al vento si
movièno.'*

Canto x, ll. 64-5, 79-81.

³ It was published in 1717. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 218. *Post*, POPE, 342.

⁴ *Ante*, PRIOR, 18. Prior, in *Alma*, ii. 289, addressing Abelard, says:—

'But well I weet thy cruel wrong
Adorns a nobler poet's song.'

⁵ *Post*, POPE, 315. Swift wrote on March 9, 1712-13:—'Mr. Pope has published a fine poem called *Windsor Forest*.' Swift's *Works*, iii. 124. This is the earliest mention of Pope by Swift.

⁶ In a note on l. 11 in the edition of 1736 Pope says:—'The first part was written in 1704, at the same time with the *Pastorals*; the latter part was not added till 1710.' In a note on l. 288 he says:—'All the lines that follow were not added till 1710.' Mr. Elwin points out that in the first note Warburton changed 1710 to 1713, but left the second uncorrected. He adds that 'there is no evidence to confirm the statement that the larger portion was produced as early as 1704.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 324; *Warburton*, i. 49, 63.

⁷ The Peace of Utrecht was ratified in April, 1713. The negotiations

Lansdowne¹, who was then high in reputation and influence among the Tories; and it is said that the conclusion of the poem gave great pain to Addison, both as a poet and a politician². Reports like this are often spread with boldness very disproportionate to their evidence. Why should Addison receive any particular disturbance from the last lines of *Windsor Forest*? If contrariety of opinion could poison a politician, he would not live a day; and, as a poet, he must have felt Pope's force of genius much more from many other parts of his works.

66 The pain that Addison might feel it is not likely that he would confess; and it is certain that he so well suppressed his discontent, that Pope now thought himself his favourite; for having been consulted in the revisal of *Cato*³, he introduced it by a Prologue⁴; and, when Dennis published his *Remarks*, undertook not indeed to vindicate but to revenge his friend, by *A Narrative of the Frenzy of John Dennis*⁵.

67 There is reason to believe that Addison gave no encouragement to this disingenuous hostility; for, says Pope, in a letter to him, 'indeed your opinion, that 'tis entirely to be neglected, would be my own in my own case; but I felt more warmth here than I did when I first saw his book against myself (though indeed in two minutes it made me heartily merry)⁶.' Addison was not a man on whom such cant of sensibility could make much impression.

had begun at Utrecht on Jan. 1, 1711-12. *Ante*, PRIOR, 28. Pope's letters to Caryl of Nov. 29 and Dec. 21, 1712, show that the addition had been made by that time. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 168, 175.

¹ *Ante*, GRANVILLE, 17. 'Lord Lansdowne insisted on my publishing my *Windsor Forest*, and the motto (*non iniussa cano* [VIRGIL, *Ecl.* vi. 9]) shows it.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 202.

² 'A person of no small rank has informed me that Mr. Addison was inexpressibly chagrined . . . both as a politician and as a poet. As a politician, because it so highly celebrated that treaty of peace which he deemed so pernicious to the liberties of Europe, and as a poet, because he was deeply conscious that his own *Campaign*, that *Gazette* in rhyme

[*ante*, ADDISON, 130], contained no strokes of such genuine and sublime poetry as the conclusion before us.' WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, i. 29.

Addison, in *The Freeholder*, No. 41, said that it was 'surprising how so bad a treaty came to be made at the end of a glorious and successful war.' For the Peace, see *ante*, SWIFT, 45.

³ There is only Pope's authority for the statement, and that is worthless. *Ante*, ADDISON, 54, 113, 137; *post*, POPE, 104.

⁴ *Ante*, ADDISON, 58.

⁵ *Ante*, ADDISON, 64.

⁶ Johnson quotes Pope's forged letter to Addison, dated July 20, 1713, made out of one to Caryl, dated Nov. 19, 1712. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 164, 398.

He left the pamphlet to itself, having disowned it to Dennis¹, and perhaps did not think Pope to have deserved much by his officiousness.

This year was printed in *The Guardian* the ironical comparison⁶⁸ between the *Pastorals* of Philips and Pope²; a composition of artifice, criticism, and literature, to which nothing equal will easily be found. The superiority of Pope is so ingeniously dissembled, and the feeble lines of Philips so skilfully preferred, that Steele, being deceived, was unwilling to print the paper lest Pope should be offended. Addison immediately saw the writer's design; and, as it seems, had malice enough to conceal his discovery, and to permit a publication which, by making his friend Philips ridiculous, made him for ever an enemy to Pope.

It appears that about this time Pope had a strong inclination⁶⁹ to unite the art of Painting with that of Poetry, and put himself under the tuition of Jervas³. He was near-sighted⁴, and therefore not formed by nature for a painter: he tried, however, how far he could advance, and sometimes persuaded his friends to sit. A picture of Betterton, supposed to be drawn by him, was in the possession of Lord Mansfield: if this was taken from the life, he must have begun to paint earlier; for Betterton was now dead⁵.

¹ *Ante*, ADDISON, 65.

² Written by Pope. *Ante*, GAY, 4; *post*, A. PHILIPS, 20.

³ Mr. Addison did not discover Mr. Pope's style in the *Letter on Pastorals* in *The Guardian* [No. 40]; but then that was a disguised style. Spence's *Anec.* p. 168.

Warburton says (vii. 203) that 'it was taken for a serious criticism by Steele, and indeed by all at Button's [*ante*, ADDISON, 115] except Mr. Addison, who saw into the joke immediately; and the next time he met Mr. Pope told him into what a ridiculous situation he had put his friends, who had declared their dislike of having Philips so extolled at the expense of another of the Club.'

³ He began in the spring of 1713. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 7, 183, 186. 'Which gives you the most pleasure, Sir, poetry or painting?' Spence asked of him. 'I really can't well say; both of them are extremely pleasing.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 23.

In *The Tatler*, No. iv, Jervas is called 'the last great painter Italy has sent us.' Walpole speaks of 'his wretched daubings. Yet he sat at the top of his profession. . . . In general his pictures are a light flimsy kind of fan-painting, as large as the life.' *Anecdotes of Painting*, iv. 23.

According to Pope he valued himself, not on his pictures, where he had merit; but 'on the translation of *Don Quixote* without Spanish.' Warburton, vii. 232 n. The translation has great merit. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 146 n. 1; *post*, POPE, 106, 213 n.

⁴ Writing to Cromwell on July 17, 1709, about a young gentlewoman, who saluted him by name 'in an uneasy stage-coach,' he says:—'I had never more reason to accuse nature for making me short-sighted than now, when I could not recollect I had ever seen those fair eyes which knew me so well.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 80.

⁵ Betterton died in 1710. Pope wrote to Caryll in 1713:—'I find my

Pope's ambition of this new art produced some encomiastick verses to Jervas¹, which certainly shew his power as a poet, but I have been told that they betray his ignorance of painting².

- 70 He appears to have regarded Betterton with kindness and esteem; and after his death published, under his name, a version into modern English of Chaucer's *Prologues*, and one of his *Tales*, which, as was related by Mr. Harte, were believed to have been the performance of Pope himself by Fenton, who made him a gay offer of five pounds, if he would shew them in the hand of Betterton³.
- 71 The next year (1713) produced a bolder attempt, by which profit was sought as well as praise. The poems which he had hitherto written, however they might have diffused his name, had made very little addition to his fortune⁴. The allowance which

hand most successful in drawing of friends, and those I most esteem, inasmuch that my masterpieces have been one of Dr. Swift, and one of Mr. Betterton.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 193.

Hawkins says that Johnson has incorrectly reported the following anecdote which he had from him:—'A picture of Betterton, certainly copied from Kneller by Pope, Lord Mansfield once showed me at Kenwood House, adding that it was the only one he ever finished; for that the weakness of his eyes was an obstruction to the use of the pencil.' Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iv. 90.

Pope designed 'the frontispiece to a small edition of the *Essay on Man*.' Walpole's *Anec.* iv. 25. 'It is the frontispiece to Knapton's edition of 1748.' The plate is inscribed with Pope's name, and Feb. 6, 1744, as the date of publication. *N. & Q.* 6 S. i. 135. See also *ib.* pp. 161, 225. In the *Catalogue of the Goods at Twickenham*, taken after his death, is the following:—'In the Garrets. The room next the leads 17 drawings by Mr. Pope.' *ib.* 6 S. v. 363. For other drawings by him see Spence's *Anec.* p. 336.

¹ In 1716. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 207.

² Reynolds, speaking of ll. 37-8—

'Caracci's strength, Correggio's softer line,

Paulo's free stroke and Titian's warmth divine'—

told Warton 'he did not think these artists exactly characterized.' Warton, ii. 295. He was willing to bid thirty guineas for a fan painted by Pope. He said that 'the skill with which it was painted was such as might be expected from one who only painted for his amusement, like the work of a child.' Gwynn's *Memoirs of an Eighteenth Century Painter*, p. 99.

Johnson described lines 67-8—

'Led by some rule that guides, but not constrains,

And finished more through happiness than pains'—

as 'a union that constituted the ultimate degree of excellence in the fine arts.' Johnson's *Misc.* ii. 254.

³ Part of this anecdote Warton had from Harte. Warton, ii. 158. 'The internal evidence supports the conclusion that Betterton composed the translation, and that Pope merely revised it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 160, vi. 157. For Betterton see Cibber's *Apology*, ch. iv; *The Tatler*, No. 167; and Warton, vii. 119 n.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 9.

Pope began translating the *Iliad* in 1712. *Post*, POPE, 88 n. The following are the payments he received from Lintot down to 1716 for his earlier poems:

his father made him, though, proportioned to what he had, it might be liberal, could not be large¹; his religion hindered him from the occupation of any civil employment², and he complained that he wanted even money to buy books³.

He therefore resolved to try how far the favour of the publick⁷² extended, by soliciting a subscription to a version of the *Iliad*, with large notes⁴.

To print by subscription was, for some time, a practice peculiar⁷³ to the English. The first considerable work for which this expedient was employed is said to have been Dryden's *Virgil*⁵, and it had been tried again with great success when *The Tatlers* were collected into volumes⁶.

There was reason to believe that Pope's attempt would be⁷⁴ successful. He was in the full bloom of reputation, and was personally known to almost all whom dignity of employment or splendour of reputation had made eminent; he conversed indifferently with both parties, and never disturbed the publick with his political opinions; and it might be naturally expected, as each faction then boasted its literary zeal, that the great men, who on other occasions practised all the violence of opposition, would emulate each other in their encouragement of a poet who had delighted all, and by whom none had been offended⁷.

¹ 19th February, 1711-12. Statius, First Book, Vertumnus and Pomona. £16 2s. 6d.

² 21st March, 1711-12. First Edition, Rape of the Lock. £7.

³ 9th April, 1712. To a Lady on presenting Voiture, Upon Silence, To the Author of a Poem called Successio. £3 16s. 6d.

⁴ 23rd February, 1712-13. Windsor Forest. £32 5s. 0d.

⁵ 23rd July, 1713. Ode on St. Cecilia's Day. £15.

⁶ 20th February, 1713-14. Additions to the Rape of the Lock. £15.

⁷ 1st February, 1714-15. Temple of Fame. £32 5s.

⁸ 31st April, 1715. Key to the Lock. £10 15s.

⁹ 17th July, 1716. Essay on Criticism. £15.

[Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* viii. 299.]

¹ His father, in 1713, lost heavily by the partial bankruptcy of the French government, in whose secu-

rities he had invested. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 150.

² 'Lord Oxford used often to express his concern for my continuing incapable of a place; which I could not make myself capable of without giving a great deal of pain to my parents.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 305. See also Warburton, iv. 69; ante, DRYDEN, 136 n.; SWIFT, 32 n.

³ Spence's *Anec.* p. 304.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 345. The proposals were issued in October, 1713. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 199 n.

⁵ In 1697. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 147 n. 4. In 1688 Tonson published a new edition of *Paradise Lost* by subscription (*ante*, MILTON, App. N); and in 1691 'Wood disposed of about 415 copies [out of 500] of his *Athenae Oxon.* by subscription.' Malone's *Dryden*, i. 234.

⁶ *Ante*, ADDISON, 34.

⁷ *Post*, POPE, 217, 271 n. Swift

- 75 With those hopes, he offered an English *Iliad* to subscribers, in six volumes in quarto, for six guineas; a sum, according to the value of money at that time, by no means inconsiderable, and greater than I believe to have been ever asked before. His proposal, however, was very favourably received, and the patrons of literature were busy to recommend his undertaking, and promote his interest¹. Lord Oxford, indeed, lamented that such a genius should be wasted upon a work not original; but proposed no means by which he might live without it²: Addison recommended caution and moderation, and advised him not to be content with the praise of half the nation, when he might be universally favoured³.

wrote to Pope in 1715:—'If your friends the Whigs continue, you may hope for some favour; if the Tories return, you are at least sure of quiet.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 10. Writing to Swift in 1734 he spoke of 'that strict neutrality as to public parties which I have constantly observed in all my writings.' *Ib.* p. 319. He might perhaps more justly have said with Johnson (Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 504):—'I took care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it.'

¹ In the list of subscribers are found the Libraries of ten Oxford Colleges, and the names of six members of Colleges. There is no entry under Cambridge. Cowper, thinking it likely that in his *Homer* he should be patronized by Cambridge, wrote:—'I understand that on whatsoever occasion either of those learned bodies thinks fit to move, the other always makes it a point to sit still, thus proving its superiority.' Southey's *Cowper*, vii. 2.

Of the two-guinea edition of Prior's *Poems*, 1718 (*ante*, PRIOR, 41), thirty-seven copies were subscribed for in Oxford and fifty-nine in Cambridge. See List of Subscribers prefixed.

Of Thyer's *Remains of Butler* (*ante*, BUTLER, 20), 2 vols. 8vo, 1759, sixty-nine copies were subscribed for in Oxford, twenty-three in Cambridge, and fifty-nine in Lisbon. See List prefixed.

Of the edition of Swift's *Works*, 17 vols. 8vo, 1765, 106 copies were

subscribed for in Oxford and thirty in Cambridge. See vol. xv for List.

² *Post*, POPE, 91. 'He affected,' writes Warburton, 'to discourage that design; for so great a genius (he said) ought not to be confined to translation.' Warburton, iv. 69. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 304.

'Our Lord Oxford,' wrote Swift to Pope, 'used to curse the occasions that put you on translations.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 49. Bolingbroke wrote to Pope:—'Prelude with translations, if you please, but after translating what was writ 3,000 years ago it is incumbent upon you that you write, because you are able to write, what will deserve to be translated 3,000 years hence into languages as yet perhaps unformed.' *Ib.* vii. 394.

Bolingbroke perhaps had in mind,
'How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted
o'er
In states unborn and accents yet unknown!'

Julius Caesar, Act iii. sc. 1.
Johnson says of Young:—'To translation he never condescended.' *Post*, YOUNG, 158.

³ Pope told Spence that 'Addison wrote a letter to him when young, in which he desired him not to list himself under either party. "You," says he, "who will deserve the praise of the whole nation, should never content yourself with the half of it."' Spence's *Anec.* p. 9. For the letter, published by Pope as Addison's, see

The greatness of the design, the popularity of the author, and 76 the attention of the literary world, naturally raised such expectations of the future sale, that the booksellers made their offers with great eagerness; but the highest bidder was Bernard Lintot¹, who became proprietor on condition of supplying, at his own expence, all the copies which were to be delivered to subscribers, or presented to friends, and paying two hundred pounds for every volume².

Of the quartos it was, I believe, stipulated that none should be 77 printed but for the author, that the subscription might not be depreciated; but Lintot impressed the same pages upon a small folio, and paper perhaps a little thinner³; and sold exactly at half the price, for half a guinea each volume, books so little inferior to the quartos, that, by a fraud of trade, those folios, being afterwards shortened by cutting away the top and bottom, were sold as copies printed for the subscribers⁴.

Lintot printed two hundred and fifty⁵ on royal paper in folio 78 for two guineas a volume⁶; of the small folio, having printed seventeen hundred and fifty copies of the first volume, he reduced the number in the other volumes to a thousand.

It is unpleasant to relate that the bookseller, after all his hopes 79 and all his liberality, was, by a very unjust and illegal action, defrauded of his profit. An edition of the English *Iliad* was printed in Holland in duodecimo, and imported clandestinely for the gratification of those who were impatient to read what they could not yet afford to buy. This fraud could only be counteracted by an edition equally cheap and more commodious; and Lintot was compelled to contract his folio at once into a duodecimo, and lose the advantage of an intermediate gradation. The notes, which in the Dutch copies were placed at the end of each book, as they had been in the large volumes, were now

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), vi. 401. See also *Warburton*, iv. 27.

¹ *Ante*, SMITH, 48; *post*, POPE, 135.

² *Warton's Essay*, i. 105.

³ 'The folios were printed on paper of two sizes, with the full concurrence of the translator, and with the sanction of a royal patent [*post*, POPE, 130]; the smaller at 12s. a volume,

the royal paper at a guinea.' NICHOLS, *Lit. Anec.* viii. 169.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 238 n.

⁵ In the first edition, 'printed some,' &c.

⁶ In the first edition the sentence continued:—'but of this experiment he repented, and his son sold copies of the first volume, with all their extent of margin, for two shillings.'

subjoined to the text in the same page, and are therefore more easily consulted. Of this edition two thousand five hundred were first printed, and five thousand a few weeks afterwards¹; but indeed great numbers were necessary to produce considerable profit.

- 80 Pope, having now emitted his proposals, and engaged not only his own reputation, but in some degree that of his friends who patronised his subscription, began to be frightened at his own undertaking; and finding himself at first embarrassed with difficulties, which retarded and oppressed him, he was for a time timorous and uneasy; had his nights disturbed by dreams of long journeys through unknown ways, and wished, as he said, 'that somebody would hang him².'
- 81 This misery, however, was not of long continuance; he grew by degrees more acquainted with Homer's images and expressions, and practice increased his facility of versification. In a short time he represents himself as despatching regularly fifty verses a day³, which would shew him by an easy computation the termination of his labour.
- 82 His own diffidence was not his only vexation. He that asks a subscription soon finds that he has enemies⁴. All who do not

¹ In the first edition:—'Of this edition the sale was doubtless very numerous.'

² Spence's *Anec.* pp. 218, 283.

'Did I not see thee when thou first sett'st sail

To seek adventures fair in
Homer's land?

Did I not see thy sinking spirits fail,

And wish thy bark had never left
the strand?

Ev'n in mid ocean often didst thou
quail,

And oft lift up thy holy eye and
hand,

Praying the Virgin dear, and saintly
choir,

Back to the port to bring thy bark
entire.'

GAY, *Mr. Pope's Welcome*, Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 170.

Cowper wrote of translating Homer:—'Had Pope been subject to the same alarming speculations, had he waking and sleeping dreams as I do,

I am inclined to think he would not have been my predecessor in these labours.' Southey's *Cowper*, vi. 76. Cowper was overwhelmed by his engagement to edit Milton. *Ib.* vii. 163.

³ *Post*, POPE, 89, 300. 'I wrote most of the *Iliad* fast; a great deal of it on journeys, from the little pocket Homer on that shelf there; and often forty or fifty verses in a morning in bed.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 142. See also *ib.* p. 218, where he says:—'I translated thirty or forty verses before I got up, and piddled with it the rest of the morning.'

⁴ 'Some persons, . . . to prevent the expense of subscribing to so many authors, invented a method to excuse themselves from all subscriptions whatever; and this was to receive a small sum of money in consideration of giving a large one if ever they subscribed. . . , and this is what they call being tied up from subscribing.' *Joseph Andrews*, Bk. iii. ch. 3.

encourage him defame him. He that wants money will rather be thought angry than poor, and he that wishes to save his money conceals his avarice by his malice. Addison had hinted his suspicion that Pope was too much a Tory¹; and some of the Tories suspected his principles because he had contributed to *The Guardian*, which was carried on by Steele.

To those who censured his politicks were added enemies yet **88** more dangerous, who called in question his knowledge of Greek, and his qualifications for a translator of Homer². To these he made no publick opposition, but in one of his letters escapes from them as well as he can³. At an age like his, for he was not more than twenty-five, with an irregular education, and a course of life of which much seems to have passed in conversation, it is not very likely that he overflowed with Greek⁴.

¹ Johnson refers, I think, to the letter published as Addison's by Pope, dated Nov. 2, 1713, quoted *ante*, POPE, 75, and to Pope's fabricated answer. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 401-3. Pope wrote to Caryll on May 1, 1714:— 'Others have styled me a Whig, because I have been honoured with Mr. Addison's good words, and Mr. Jervas's good deeds, and of late with my Lord Halifax's patronage.' *Ib.* p. 208. When he published this letter as if written to Addison he substituted:— 'some calling me a Whig, because I have been favoured with yours, Mr. Congreve's, and Mr. Craggs's friendship, and of late,' &c. *Ib.* p. 407.

² Dennis wrote of him:— 'The little gentleman, with a most unparalleled assurance, has undertaken to translate Homer from Greek, of which he does not know one word, into English, which he understands almost as little.' *Remarks on Pope's Homer*, p. 12. Quoted by Pope (with variations) in *The Dunciad*, Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 241.

Hearne recorded on July 18, 1729:— 'This Alexander Pope, though he be an English poet, yet he is but an indifferent scholar, mean at Latin and can hardly read Greek.' Hearne's *Remains*, iii. 23. Pope had attacked him in *The Dunciad*, iii. 185.

³ In his forged letter to Addison of Jan. 30, 1713-14. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 407. See also *ib.* p. 207, and *post*, POPE, 383.

⁴ 'Bred up at home, full early I begun

To read in Greek the wrath of Peleus' son.'

Imit. Hor., Epis. ii. 2. 52.

Dr. Blair wrote to Boswell:— 'Lord Bathurst said to me that part of the *Iliad* was translated by Mr. Pope in his house in the country; and that when they assembled at breakfast, Mr. Pope used frequently to repeat, with great rapture, the Greek lines which he had been translating, and then to give them his version of them, and to compare them together.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 403.

[For Wakefield's contempt of these 'sonorous spoutings,' see his *General Observations* prefacing the first volume of his edition of Pope's *Iliad* (ed. 1806), p. cclviii.]

'Dr. Clarke, whose critical exactness is well known, has not been able to point out above three or four mistakes in the sense through the whole *Iliad*.' WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 297.

'Wakefield has cited numerous passages in which errors occur.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 166, viii. 150.

'Mr. Pope, without perceiving it,

But when he felt himself deficient he sought assistance; and what man of learning would refuse to help him¹? Minute enquiries into the force of words are less necessary in translating Homer than other poets, because his positions are general, and his representations natural, with very little dependence on local or temporary customs, on those changeable scenes of artificial life, which, by mingling original with accidental notions, and crowding the mind with images which time effaces, produce ambiguity in diction, and obscurity in books. To this open display of unadulterated nature it must be ascribed, that Homer has fewer passages of doubtful meaning than any other poet either in the learned or in modern languages. I have read of a man, who being, by his ignorance of Greek, compelled to gratify his curiosity with the Latin printed on the opposite page, declared that from the rude simplicity of the lines literally rendered, he formed nobler ideas of the Homerick majesty than from the laboured elegance of polished versions².

- 84 Those literal translations were always at hand, and from them he could easily obtain his author's sense with sufficient certainty; and among the readers of Homer the number is very small of those who find much in the Greek more than in the Latin, except the musick of the numbers.
- 85 If more help was wanting, he had the poetical translation of Eobanus Hessus³, an unwearied writer of Latin verses; he had the French *Homers* of La Valterie⁴ and Dacier⁵, and the English

has improved the theology of Homer.' GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall*, i. 29.

¹ Cowper wrote, when translating the *Iliad*:—'Pope had many aids, and he who follows Pope ought not to walk alone.' Southey's *Cowper*, v. 344.

² RAMSAY. I should like to see a translation of it in poetical prose like the book of Ruth or Job. ROBERTSON. Would you, Dr. Johnson, who are master of the English language, but try your hand upon a part of it. JOHNSON. Sir, you could not read it without the pleasure of verse.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 333.

³ Eobanus Hessus published in 1540 *Homeri Ilias Latino Carmine reddita*. *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* xvi. 97.

Beza represents Charon as claiming him on account of his thefts from the ancients, when Mercury delivers him—

'Extinctis aliis potuit qui reddere vitam,
Ditis in hunc possunt iura severa nihil.'

Bezae, *Poemata*, 1569, p. 84.

⁴ Pope described De La Valterie's translation as 'so elegant that the style of it was evidently the original and model of the famous *Télémaque*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), x. 146.

⁵ 'I have fought under Madame Dacier's banner, and have waged war against all the heretics of the age. And yet it is Madame Dacier who accuses me, and who accuses me of nothing less than betraying

of Chapman, Hobbes, and Ogilby¹. With Chapman, whose work, though now totally neglected², seems to have been popular almost to the end of the last century, he had very frequent consultations, and perhaps never translated any passage till he had read his version, which indeed he has been sometimes suspected of using instead of the original³.

Notes were likewise to be provided; for the six volumes would 86 have been very little more than six pamphlets⁴ without them. What the mere perusal of the text could suggest, Pope wanted no assistance to collect or methodize; but more was necessary; many pages were to be filled, and learning must supply materials to wit and judgement. Something might be gathered from Dacier; but no man loves to be indebted to his contemporaries, and Dacier was accessible to common readers. Eustathius was therefore necessarily consulted. To read Eustathius, of whose work there was then no Latin version, I suspect Pope, if he had been willing, not to have been able⁵; some other was therefore to

our common cause.' POPE, *Post-script to the Odyssey*, Warton, iv. 429. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 145.

¹ 'Hobbes's poetry,' wrote Pope, 'as well as Ogilby's, is too mean for criticism.' Warton, iv. 403. In accounting for 'deviations from the Greek' Pope said:—'I was led into the greater part by Chapman and Hobbes.' *Post*, POPE, 383. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 12. For Ogilby see *ante*, POPE, 6.

² *Ante*, DRYDEN, 207, 344; *post*, POPE, 85 n. 3. 'Chapman's expression is involved in fustian. . . His translation is something like what one might imagine Homer himself would have writ before he arrived at years of discretion.' POPE, *Warton*, iv. 402.

Matthew Arnold says of the latter part of this criticism:—'The remark is excellent: Homer expresses himself like a man of adult reason, Chapman like a man whose reason has not yet cleared itself.' *On Translating Homer*, 1896, p. 26.

About thirty-five years after the publication of *The Lives of the Poets* Keats wrote his fine sonnet *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*.

³ Warton points out that in the first edition Pope translated

Ἰγρή δὲ μὲν εἰκία' (iii. 386),

'In Grea's form—

Grea her favourite maid'

(iii. 476).

This he got from Chapman:—

'She tooke on her the shape

Of beldam Grea.'

Chapman got it from Arthur Hall:—

'In Grea's forme, the good hand-maid.'

Hall got it from a French translator, Sald:—

'C'est de Grea, la bonne chambrière.' Warton, iv. 402.

⁴ 'I happened to say that a pamphlet meant a prose piece. JOHNSON. No, Sir, a few sheets of poetry unbound are a pamphlet as much as a few sheets of prose.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 319. Dr. Franklin (*Memoirs*, 1818, iii. 178) mentions 'the artifices made use of to puff up a paper of verses into a pamphlet.' See *post*, POPE, 353.

⁵ Broome wrote to Fenton in 1728:—'All the crime that I have committed is saying he is no master of Greek; and I am so confident of this, that if he can translate ten lines of Eustathius I will own myself unjust.'

be found, who had leisure as well as abilities, and he was doubtless most readily employed who would do much work for little money.

- 87 The history of the notes has never been traced. Broome, in his preface to his poems, declares himself the commentator¹ 'in part upon the *Iliad*'; and it appears from Fenton's letter, preserved in the Museum², that Broome was at first engaged in consulting Eustathius³; but that after a time, whatever was the reason, he desisted: another man of Cambridge was then employed, who soon grew weary of the work; and a third, that was recommended by Thirlby⁴, is now discovered to have been Jortin, a man since well known to the learned world, who complained that Pope, having accepted and approved his performance, never testified any curiosity to see him⁵, and who professed to have forgotten the terms on which he worked. The terms which Fenton uses are very mercantile: 'I think at first sight that his performance is very commendable⁶, and have sent word for him to finish the 17th book, and to send it with his demands for his trouble. I have here enclosed the specimen; if the rest come before the return, I will keep them till I receive your orders.'

- 88 Broome then offered his service a second time⁷, which was probably accepted, as they had afterwards a closer correspondence. Parnell contributed the *Life of Homer*, which Pope

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 150.

¹ In the original 'the annotator.' *Eng. Poets*, xlv. 138.

² Reprinted in Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 39. It is in the *Homer MS.*, 'Pope having written part of his translation upon the back of it.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 29.

³ Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 32, 149, 177; *ante*, BROOME, 4.

⁴ For Thirlby and Jortin see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 161. Pattison describes Jortin as 'a scholar in every sense of the word.' *Essays*, ii. 131.

⁵ 'When I was a soph at Cambridge,' writes Jortin, 'Mr. Pope sent to Jefferies, a bookseller at Cambridge, to find out a student who would under-

take the task. Jefferies applied to Dr. Thirlby, who was my tutor, and who pitched upon me. . . . I cannot recollect what Mr. Pope allowed for each book of Homer; I have a notion that it was three or four guineas. . . . I was in some hopes in those days (for I was young) that he would make inquiry about his *coadjutor*, and take some civil notice of him. But he did not.' Jortin's *Tracts*, 1790, ii. 519.

⁶ 'Jortin died with the words, "I have had enough of everything."' T. Moore's *Memoirs*, &c., 1854, vi. 207.

⁷ In the first edition the sentence ended here.

⁸ In the original, 'commendable enough.'

⁹ Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 40.

found so harsh, that he took great pains in correcting it¹; and by his own diligence, with such help as kindness or money could procure him, in somewhat more than five years he completed his version of the *Iliad*, with the notes. He began it in 1712, his twenty-fifth year, and concluded it in 1718, his thirtieth year².

When we find him translating fifty lines a day, it is natural to suppose that he would have brought his work to a more speedy conclusion. The *Iliad*, containing less than sixteen thousand verses, might have been despatched in less than three hundred and twenty days by fifty verses in a day³. The notes, compiled with the assistance of his mercenaries, could not be supposed to require more time than the text. According to this calculation, the progress of Pope may seem to have been slow; but the distance is commonly very great between actual performances and speculative possibility. It is natural to suppose, that as much as has been done to-day may be done to-morrow; but on the morrow some difficulty emerges, or some external impediment obstructs. Indolence, interruption, business, and pleasure, all take their turns of retardation; and every long work is lengthened by a thousand causes that can, and ten thousand that cannot, be recounted. Perhaps no extensive and multifarious performance was ever effected within the term originally fixed in the undertaker's mind. He that runs against Time, has an antagonist not subject to casualties⁴.

¹ Pope said of the *Life*:—'It is still stiff, and was written much stiffer. As it is, I think verily it cost me more pains in the correcting than the writing of it would have done.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 138. Writing to Parnell in 1716, about a treatise by Parnell, he says:—'I question not the prose is as excellent in its sort as the *Essay on Homer*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 460. See also *ante*, PARNELL, 5.

² 'I began translating the *Iliad* in my twenty-fifth year (1712), and it took up that and five years more to finish it.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 177. The *Proposals* were issued in Oct. 1713; vol. i was published in 1715; vols. v and vi in May, 1720. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 148, 168, 169. 'An inscription on a pane of glass at Stanton Harcourt

[near Oxford] recorded that, "In the year 1718 Alexander Pope finished here the fifth volume of *Homer*."'
Ib. vi. 265.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 81.

⁴ 'This subtle thief of life, this paltry time,

What will it leave me, if it snatch my rhyme?

If ev'ry wheel of that unwearied mill
That turned ten thousand verses
now stands still.'

Imit. Hor., Epis. ii. 2. 76.

⁵ Cowper's translation [of Homer] was performed by piece-work; he set himself forty lines for his daily task.' Southey's *Cowper*, ii. 189.

⁶ Gibbon wrote in 1786:—'I had some hopes of completing it [*The Decline and Fall*] this year, but let no man who builds a house or writes a book presume to say when he will

- 90 The encouragement given to this translation, though report seems to have over-rated it, was such as the world has not often seen¹. The subscribers were five hundred and seventy-five. The copies for which subscriptions were given were six hundred and fifty-four; and only six hundred and sixty were printed. For those copies Pope had nothing to pay; he therefore received, including the two hundred pounds a volume, five thousand three hundred and twenty pounds four shillings, without deduction, as the books were supplied by Lintot².
- 91 By the success of his subscription Pope was relieved from those pecuniary distresses with which, notwithstanding his popularity, he had hitherto struggled³. Lord Oxford had often lamented his disqualification for publick employment, but never proposed a pension⁴. While the translation of Homer was in its progress, Mr. Craggs, then secretary of state, offered to procure him a pension, which, at least during his ministry, might be enjoyed with secrecy⁵. This was not accepted by Pope, who told him, however, that, if he should be pressed with want of money, he would send to him for occasional supplies. Craggs was not long in power, and was never solicited for money by Pope, who disdained to beg what he did not want⁶.
- 92 With the product of this subscription, which he had too much discretion to squander⁷, he secured his future life from want, by considerable annuities. The estate of the Duke of Buckingham was found to have been charged with five hundred pounds a year,

have finished.' *Gibbon's Corres.* 1896, ii. 143.

See Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 186, 291, 319, for Johnson's long delay with his *Dictionary* and *Shakespeare*.

¹ Robertson was offered 3,000 guineas for his *Charles V.* Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 63 n. Hawkesworth received £6,000 for editing Cook's *Voyages*. *Ib.* ii. 247 n. Dryden, in 1699, contracted to write 10,000 verses for 250 guineas. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 184.

² In the proof-sheets the numbers in this paragraph, which had been left blank, are filled in by another hand than Johnson's.

³ 'But thanks to Homer, since I live and thrive,

Indebted to no prince or peer alive.'

POPE, *Imit. Hor., Epis.* ii. 2. 68.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 71 n. 2, 75. Pope says of himself in *The Dunciad*:—'All he owed, in the whole course of his life, to any Court was a subscription for his *Homer* of £200 from King George I, and £100 from the Prince and Princess.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 74.

⁵ 'He told Mr. Pope that £300 a year were then at his service: he had the management of the secret-service money, and could pay him such a pension without its being known, or even coming to account.' *Warburton*, iv. 69. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 307. For Craggs see *ante*, ADDISON, 103; *post*, POPE, 123 n., 404.

⁶ Spence's *Anec.* p. 307.

⁷ He ventured some of his money in South Sea stocks. *Post*, POPE, 123.

payable to Pope, which doubtless his translation enabled him to purchase¹.

It cannot be unwelcome to literary curiosity, that I deduce⁹³ thus minutely the history of the English *Iliad*. It is certainly the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen²; and its publication must therefore be considered as one of the great events in the annals of learning.

To those who have skill to estimate the excellence and difficulty⁹⁴ of this great work, it must be very desirable to know how it was performed, and by what gradations it advanced to correctness. Of such an intellectual process the knowledge has very rarely been attainable; but happily there remains the original copy of the *Iliad*, which, being obtained by Bolingbroke as a curiosity, descended from him to Mallet³, and is now by the solicitation of the late Dr. Maty⁴ repositied in the Museum.

Between this manuscript, which is written upon accidental⁹⁵ fragments of paper, and the printed edition, there must have been an intermediate copy, that was perhaps destroyed as it returned from the press⁵.

¹ Hawkins, who had been an attorney, mentions 'an annuity of £200 a year, which Pope had purchased either of the last Duke of Buckingham, or the Duchess, his mother, and which was charged on some estate of that family. The deed by which it was granted was some years in my custody.' Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iv. 95. See *ante*, SHEFFIELD, 21 n. 2.

² Johnson at first wrote 'probably,' not 'certainly.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 52. 'I mentioned the vulgar saying that Pope's *Homer* was not a good representation of the original. JOHNSON. Sir, it is the greatest work of the kind that has ever been produced.' *Ib.* iii. 256.

Pope called Dryden's *Virgil* 'the most noble and spirited translation that I know in any language.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 306. See also DRYDEN, 151.

³ When Gray heard Pope's *Iliad* criticized as wanting the simplicity of the original, he always said:—"There would never be another translation of the same poem equal to it." Mitford's *Gray*, v. 37.

⁴ It is the most splendid poetical

version that any language has produced.' GIBBON, *Misc. Works*, v. 583. See also his *Memoirs*, p. 38.

⁵ It has done more than any, or all other books towards the corruption of our poetry.' SOUTHEY, *Corres.* 1881, p. 224. See also Southey's *Cowper*, ii. 141.

Coleridge, after describing the translation of the *Iliad* as 'that astonishing product of matchless talent and ingenuity,' adds that it is 'the main source of our pseudo-poetic diction.' *Biog. Lit.* 1847, i. 17, 39.

Pattison excludes it from the selection which 'will probably form the *Pope's Works* of future generations.' *Essays*, ii. 360. See also *post*, POPE, 285 n. 2, 349.

³ Pope bequeathed his papers to Bolingbroke, who, in his turn, bequeathed his own to Mallet. *Post*, POPE, 249; MALLET, 18.

⁴ Maty was Second Librarian in the British Museum. Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 124 n. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 284.

⁵ The copy sent to the press was made by Thomas Dancastle, of Bin-

For Chryses sought with costly gifts to gain
His captive daughter from the victor's chain ;
Suppliant the venerable father stands,
Apollo's awful ensigns grace his hands,
By these he begs, and, lowly bending down,
Extends the sceptre and the laurel crown.

For Chryses sought by *presents to regain*
costly gifts to gain
His captive daughter from the victor's chain ;
Suppliant the venerable father stands,
Apollo's awful ensigns grac'd his hands,
By these he begs, and, lowly bending down,
The golden scepter and the laurel crown,
Presents the scepter
For these as ensigns of his God he bare,
The God who sends the flying darts afar ;
Then low on earth, the venerable man,
Suppliant before the brother kings began.

He su'd to all, but chief implor'd for grace
The brother kings of Atreus' royal race;
Ye kings and warriors, may your vows be crown'd,
And Troy's proud walls lie level with the ground;
May Jove restore you, when your toils are o'er,
Safe to the pleasures of your native shore.

To all he sued, but chief implor'd for grace
The brother kings of Atreus' royal race.
Ye *sons of Atreus*, may your vows be crown'd,
kings and warriors
Your labours By the Gods be all your labours crown'd,
Till Troy's proud walls lie level with the ground ;
And *laid*
So may the Gods your arms with conquest bless,
And crown your labours with desir'd success ;
May Jove restore you, when your toils are o'er,
Safe to the pleasures of your native shore.

But, oh! relieve a wretched parent's pain,
And give Chryseis to these arms again;
If mercy fail, yet let my present move,
And dread avenging Phœbus, son of Jove.

But, oh! relieve a hapless parent's pain,
And give my daughter to these arms again;
Receive my gifts If mercy fails, yet let these treasures move,
And fear *the God who deals his darts around,*
avenging Phœbus, son of Jove.

The Greeks, in shouts, their joint assent declare
The priest to rev'ence, and release the fair.

(We, wretched mortals! lost in doubts below,
 But guess by rumour, and but boast we know)
 Oh say what heroes, fir'd by thirst of fame,
 Or urg'd by wrongs, to Troy's destruction came!
 To count them all, demands a thousand tongues,
 A throat of brass and adamantine lungs.

Now, Virgin Goddesses, immortal Nine!
 That round Olympus' heavenly summit shine¹,
 Who see through heav'n and earth, and hell profound,
 And all things know, and all things can resound;
 Relate what armies sought the Trojan land,
 What nations follow'd, and what chiefs command;
 (For doubtful Fame distracts mankind below,
 And nothing can we tell, and nothing know)
 Without your aid, to count th' unnumber'd train,
 A thousand mouths, a thousand tongues were vain².

Book V. v. 1.

'But Pallas now Tydides' soul inspires,
 Fills with her force, and warms with all her fires:
 Above the Greeks his deathless fame to raise,
 And crown her hero with distinguish'd praise.
 High on his helm celestial lightnings play,
 His beamy shield emits a living ray;
 Th' unwearied blaze incessant streams supplies,
 Like the red star that fires th' autumnal skies.

But Pallas now Tydides' soul inspires,
 Fills with her *rage*, and warms with all her fires;
 force,

O'er all decrees his glorious fame to raise,
 Above the Greeks *her warrior's* fame to raise,
 his deathless

And crown her hero with *immortal* praise:
 distinguish'd

Bright from his beamy crest the lightnings play,
 High on his helm

High on his helm celestial lightnings play,
From his broad buckler flash'd the living ray,
 His beamy shield emits a living ray.

The Goddess with her breath the flame supplies,
 Her breath divine thick streaming flames supplies,
 Bright as the star *whose fires in Autumn rise*;
 Bright as the star that fires th' autumnal skies³.

[¹ This line is cancelled and over it written:—'Who high above possess your seats divine.']

[² The last six lines are cancelled, and 'We, wretched mortals!' &c., as

in the 1st ed. of Pope's *Iliad*, written in the copy.]

[³ The last two lines of this passage as printed in the *Lives* are omitted. They are not in the MS.]

When fresh he rears his radiant orb to sight,
 And bath'd in ocean shoots a keener light.
 Such glories Pallas on the chief bestow'd,
 Such from his arms the fierce effulgence flow'd;
 Onward she drives him furious to engage,
 Where the fight burns, and where the thickest rage.

Fresh from the deep, and gilds the seas and skies.

When fresh he rears his radiant orb to sight,
 And gilds old Ocean with a blaze of light.
 Such glories Pallas on *her* chief bestow'd,

the

Such sparkling rays from his bright armour flow'd,
 Onward she drives him *headlong* to engage,
 furious

Where the *war bleeds*, and where the *fiercest* rage.
 fight burns, thickest

The sons of Dares first the combat sought,
 A wealthy priest, but rich without a fault;
 In Vulcan's fane the father's days were led,
 The sons to toils of glorious battel bred;

*There liv'd a Trojan, Dares was his name,
 The priest of Vulcan, rich, yet void of blame;*
 The sons of Dares first the combat sought,
 A wealthy priest, but rich without a fault.'

Conclusion of Book VIII. v. 687.

'As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
 O'er heav'n's clear azure sheds her sacred light;
 When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
 And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
 Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
 And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole:
 O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
 And tip with silver ev'ry mountain's head;
 Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
 A flood of glory bursts from all the skies;
 The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
 Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light.
 So many flames before proud Ilion blaze,
 And lighten glimm'ring Xanthus with their rays;
 The long reflections of the distant fires
 Gleam on the walls, and tremble on the spires:
 A thousand piles the dusky horrors gild,
 And shoot a shady lustre o'er the field;
 Full fifty guards each flaming pile attend,

ceptions to the elegance of its last, will naturally desire a greater number; but most other readers are already tired, and I am not writing only to poets and philosophers¹.

- 100 The *Iliad* was published volume by volume, as the translation proceeded; the four first books appeared in 1715². The expectation of this work was undoubtedly high, and every man who had connected his name with criticism, or poetry, was desirous of such intelligence as might enable him to talk upon the popular topick. Halifax, who, by having been first a poet, and then a patron of poetry, had acquired the right of being a judge³, was willing to hear some books while they were yet unpublished. Of this rehearsal Pope afterwards gave the following account⁴:—

‘The famous Lord Halifax was rather a pretender to taste than really possessed of it.—When I had finished the two or three first books of my translation of the *Iliad*, that Lord desired to have the pleasure of hearing them read at his house.—Addison, Congreve⁵, and Garth, were there at the reading. In four or five places, Lord Halifax stopt me very civilly, and with a speech each time, much of the same kind, “I beg your pardon, Mr. Pope; but there is something in that passage that does not quite please me.—Be so good as to mark the place, and consider it a little [more] at your leisure.—I’m sure you can give it a little [better] turn.” I returned from Lord Halifax’s with Dr. Garth, in his chariot; and, as we were going along, was saying to the Doctor, that my Lord had laid me under a good deal of difficulty by such loose and general observations; that I had been thinking over the passages almost ever since, and could not guess at what it was that offended his Lordship in either of them. Garth laughed heartily at my embarrassment; said, I had not been long enough acquainted with Lord Halifax to know his way yet; that I need not puzzle myself about looking those places over and over, when I got home. “All you need do (says he) is to leave them just as they are; call on Lord Halifax two or three months hence, thank him for his kind observations on those passages, and then read

¹ ‘When I was looking on his foul copy of the *Iliad*, and observing how very much it was corrected and interlined, he said, “I believe you would find upon examination that those parts which have been the most corrected read the easiest.”’ Spence’s *Anec.* p. 265.

² *Ante*, PRIOR, 38 n. 3.

³ *Ante*, HALIFAX, II.

⁴ Spence’s *Anec.* p. 134. Spence says in a note:—‘This is lengthened

from the short hints in the first memorandum paper.’ ‘Had this story rested on any other authority [than Pope’s] I should have suspected it to have been borrowed from one of Poggio’s *Tales—De Januoto Vicecomite.*’ JAMES BOSWELL, JUN., Johnson’s *Works*, viii. 264 n. Pope’s authority is worthless.

⁵ To Congreve Pope dedicated the *Iliad*. *Post*, POPE, 271.

them to him as altered. I have known him much longer than you have, and will be answerable for the event." I followed his advice; waited on Lord Halifax some time after; said, I hoped he would find his objections to those passages removed; read them to him exactly as they were at first: and his Lordship was extremely pleased with them, and cried out, "Ay, now [Mr. Pope] they are perfectly right: nothing can be better."

It is seldom that the great or the wise suspect that they are 101 despised or cheated. Halifax, thinking this a lucky opportunity of securing immortality, made some advances of favour and some overtures of advantage to Pope, which he seems to have received with sullen coldness. All our knowledge of this transaction is derived from a single letter (Dec. 1, 1714)¹, in which Pope says,

'I am obliged to you, both for the favours you have done me, and those you intend me. I distrust neither your will nor your memory, when it is to do good; and if I ever become troublesome or solicitous, it must not be out of expectation, but out of gratitude. Your Lordship may [either] cause me to live agreeably in the town, or contentedly in the country, which is really all the difference I set between an easy fortune and a small one. It is indeed a high strain of generosity in you to think of making me easy all my life, only because I have been so happy as to divert you some few hours; but, if I may have leave to add it is because you think me no enemy to my native country, there will appear a better reason; for I must of consequence be very much (as I sincerely am) yours, &c.'

These voluntary offers, and this faint acceptance, ended with- 102 out effect. The patron was not accustomed to such frigid gratitude, and the poet fed his own pride with the dignity of independence. They probably were suspicious of each other. Pope would not dedicate till he saw at what rate his praise was valued: he would be 'troublesome out of gratitude, not expectation.' Halifax thought himself entitled to confidence; and would give nothing, unless he knew what he should receive. Their commerce had its beginning in hope of praise on one side, and of money on the other, and ended because Pope was less eager of

¹ The original letter is in the British Museum. It began:—'While you are doing justice to all the world, I beg you will not forget Homer, if you can spare an hour to attend his cause. I leave him with you in that hope, and return home full of acknow-

ledgments for the Favours your L^dship has done me, and for those you are pleased to intend me. I distrust,' &c. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 203. See also *ib.* v. 155, and Spence's *Anec.* p. 305.

money than Halifax of praise. It is not likely that Halifax had any personal benevolence to Pope; it is evident that Pope looked on Halifax with scorn and hatred¹.

- 108 The reputation of this great work failed of gaining him a patron; but it deprived him of a friend². Addison and he were now at the head of poetry and criticism; and both in such a state of elevation, that, like the two rivals in the Roman state, one could no longer bear an equal, nor the other a superior. Of the gradual abatement of kindness between friends, the beginning is often scarcely discernible by themselves, and the process is continued by petty provocations, and incivilities sometimes peevishly returned, and sometimes contemptuously neglected, which would escape all attention but that of pride, and drop from any memory but that of resentment. That the quarrel of those two wits should be minutely deduced, is not to be expected from a writer

¹ In the *Farewell to London*, written soon after Halifax's death (he died on May 19, 1715), Pope wrote:—
'The love of arts lies cold and dead
In Halifax's urn;

And not one Muse of all he fed
Has yet the grace to mourn.'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 483.

In the Preface to the *Iliad*, published in June, 1715, he wrote of Halifax:—'It is hard to say whether the advancement of the polite arts is more owing to his generosity or his example.' *Warton*, iv. 408.

'Halifax subscribed for ten sets of the *Iliad*, at six guineas a set.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 4 n.

Pope, in 1735, describing Halifax under 'Bufo,' writes of 'the wits':—
'Much they extoll'd his pictures,
much his seat,

And flatter'd every day, and some
days eat;

Till grown more frugal in his riper
days,

He paid some bards with port, and
some with praise.'

Prol. Sat. l. 239.

In *Epil. Sat.* (1738) ii. 77, in a note on the line

'Thus Somers once, and Halifax
were mine,'

he says:—'Halifax, a Peer no less

distinguished by his love of letters than his abilities in Parliament. He was disgraced in 1710 on the change of Q. Anne's ministry.' See *ante*, HALIFAX, II, for 'the acrimonious contempt' with which Pope spoke of him.

² Part of the following account is based on a note by Warburton in his *Pope*, iv. 27, and part on Spence's *Anec.* pp. 47, 146-9. The whole rests ultimately on Pope's slanders and forgeries. 'Addison,' writes Mr. Elwin, 'has never been convicted of an untruthful word or a dishonourable act; Pope's career was a labyrinth of deceit.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 327.

Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 23, written before Pope's malignancy had shown itself, seems to describe him:—'There is nothing that more betrays a base, ungenerous spirit than the giving of secret stabs to a man's reputation. Lampoons and satires that are written with wit and spirit are like poisoned darts, which not only inflict a wound, but make it incurable.'

Lady M. Wortley Montagu reported that Addison said to her of Pope:—'Leave him as soon as you can; he will certainly play you some devilish trick else.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 237. See *ante*, ADDISON, 86.

to whom, as Homer says, 'nothing but rumour has reached, and who has no personal knowledge'.

Pope doubtless approached Addison, when the reputation of 104 their wit first brought them together, with the respect due to a man whose abilities were acknowledged, and who, having attained that eminence to which he was himself aspiring, had in his hands the distribution of literary fame. He paid court with sufficient diligence by his Prologue to *Cato*², by his abuse of Dennis³, and, with praise yet more direct, by his poem on the *Dialogues on Medals*, of which the immediate publication was then intended⁴. In all this there was no hypocrisy; for he confessed that he found in Addison something more pleasing than in any other man⁵.

It may be supposed that as Pope saw himself favoured by the 105 world, and more frequently compared his own powers with those of others, his confidence increased, and his submission lessened; and that Addison felt no delight from the advances of a young wit, who might soon contend with him for the highest place. Every great man, of whatever kind be his greatness, has among his friends those who officiously, or insidiously, quicken his attention to offences, heighten his disgust, and stimulate his resentment. Of such adherents Addison doubtless had many, and Pope was now too high to be without them.

From the emission and reception of the Proposals for the *Iliad*, 106 the kindness of Addison seems to have abated⁶. Jervas the

¹ ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν. *Iliad*, ii. 486.

² Mackintosh said "that he had given an account of this quarrel in his *History of Holland House*, and he thought that he had thrown some light upon it." *Life of Mackintosh*, ii. 470.

³ *Ante*, ADDISON, 58; POPE, 66.

⁴ *Ante*, ADDISON, 64.

⁵ *To Mr. Addison, occasioned by his Dialogues on Medals*. In 1735 Pope stated that this poem 'was written in 1715, but not published till 1720.' Addison died in 1719. It was published in 1721, and in that year probably was written. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 201. For Gibbon's criticism of it see his *Misc. Works*, v. 558.

⁶ *Ante*, ADDISON, 108; Spence's

Anec. p. 195.

⁷ 'Addison was very kind to me at first, but my bitter enemy afterwards.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 47.

Pope writes in the Preface to the *Iliad* (1715):—'Mr. Addison was the first whose advice determined me to undertake the task, who was pleased to write to me upon that occasion in such terms as I cannot repeat without vanity.' Warton, iv. 406. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 401 n.

Addison, in *The Freeholder*, No. 40 (May 7, 1716), shows no abatement of kindness. 'The illiterate among our countrymen,' he writes, 'may learn to judge from Dryden's *Virgil* of the most perfect epic performance; and those parts of Homer which have already been published

painter once pleased himself (Aug. 20. 1714)¹ with imagining that he had re-established their friendship; and wrote to Pope that Addison once suspected him of too close a confederacy with Swift, but was now satisfied with his conduct. To this Pope answered, a week after², that his engagements to Swift were such as his services in regard to the subscription demanded, and that the Tories never put him under the necessity of asking leave to be grateful. 'But,' says he, 'as Mr. Addison must be the judge in what regards himself, and seems to have no very just one in regard to me, so I must own to you I expect nothing but civility from him.' In the same letter he mentions Philips, as having been busy to kindle animosity between them³; but, in a letter to Addison, he expresses some consciousness of behaviour, inattentively deficient in respect⁴.

- 107 Of Swift's industry in promoting the subscription there remains the testimony of Kennet, no friend to either him or Pope⁵.

'Nov. 2, 1713, Dr. Swift came into the coffee-house, and had a bow from every body but me, who, I confess, could not but despise him⁶. When I came to the ante-chamber to wait, before prayers, Dr. Swift was the principal man of talk and business, and acted as master of requests.—Then he instructed a young nobleman that the best Poet in England was Mr. Pope (a papist), who had begun a translation of *Homer* into English verse, for

by Mr. Pope, give us reason to think that the *Iliad* will appear in English with as little disadvantage to that immortal poem.'

¹ 'The whole of Pope's letters to Addison,' writes Mr. Elwin, 'are an absolute fiction. Four out of the five are from the Caryll correspondence. . . . The deception is aggravated by the erroneous aspect it imparts to the celebrated quarrel. In the letters which preceded the commencing rupture, Pope appears as the zealous champion and bosom associate of the man he afterwards maligned, and we are left to suppose that the vaunted generosity on one side had been met by envy and hostility on the other.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. Preface, p. 126. See also *ib.* iii. 233. For Jervas's letter, no doubt also a forgery, see *ib.* viii. 7.

For the discovery of the Caryll correspondence 'about the middle of

the nineteenth century in a half-ruined outhouse,' see *ib.* v. 292.

² *Ib.* viii. 8.

³ Philips is attacked also in a letter to Caryll dated June 8, 1714, for the genuineness of which there is only Pope's authority. *Ib.* vi. 209.

⁴ This letter (no doubt fabricated) is dated Oct. 10, 1714. Pope wrote: 'I will not value myself upon having ever guarded all the degrees of respect for you.' *Ib.* vi. 409.

⁵ For Pope's attack on Kennet, see *ante*, KING, 13 n. 1; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 389, iv. 195, 353; Pattison's *Pope's Satires*, p. 151.

⁶ In Swift's *Works*, xvi. 74, where this 'Extract from the MS. Diary of Bishop Kennet in the library of the late Marquis of Lansdowne' is given at greater length, the last eight words of this sentence are left out. See also *ante*, SWIFT, 51 n. 4.

which he must have them all subscribe; "for," says he, "the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him."

About this time it is likely that Steele, who was, with all his 108 political fury, good-natured and officious, procured an interview between these angry rivals, which ended in aggravated malevolence¹. On this occasion, if the reports be true, Pope made his complaint with frankness and spirit, as a man undeservedly neglected or opposed; and Addison affected a contemptuous unconcern, and, in a calm even voice, reproached Pope with his vanity, and, telling him of the improvements which his early works had received from his own remarks and those of Steele, said that he, being now engaged in publick business, had no longer any care for his poetical reputation; nor had any other desire, with regard to Pope, than that his should not, by too much arrogance, alienate the publick.

To this Pope is said to have replied with great keenness and 109 severity, upbraiding Addison with perpetual dependance, and with the abuse of those qualifications which he had obtained at the publick cost, and charging him with mean endeavours to obstruct the progress of rising merit. The contest rose so high that they parted at last without any interchange of civility.

The first volume of *Homer* was (1715) in time published; and 110 a rival version of the first *Iliad*, for rivals the time of their appearance inevitably made them, was immediately printed, with the name of Tickell². It was soon perceived that among the followers of Addison Tickell had the preference, and the criticks and poets divided into factions. 'I,' says Pope, 'have the town, that is, the mob, on my side; but it is not uncommon for the smaller party to supply by industry what it wants in numbers.—I appeal to the people as my rightful judges, and, while they are not inclined to condemn me, shall not fear the high-flyers at Button's³.'

¹ Not the slightest trust, says Mr. Courthope, can be placed in this narrative, coming as it does from Ayre's *Life of Pope* (i. 99-101). 'The behaviour of the parties is utterly inconsistent with all that we know of their characters.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), v. 159. Ruffhead takes his account from Ayre. Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 186.

² *Ante*, TICKELL, 8.

³ Johnson quotes, though not accurately, a letter to Craggs dated July 15, 1715. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 171. This letter is, no doubt, a forgery. The same passage, with variations in the inaccuracy, Johnson quotes *ante*, TICKELL, 9.

Scott wrote to Crabbe on June 1, 1812:—"Our old friend Horace knew what he was saying when he chose to

- This opposition he immediately imputed to Addison, and complained of it in terms sufficiently resentful to Craggs, their common friend.
- 111 When Addison's opinion was asked he declared the versions to be both good, but Tickell's the best that had ever been written; and sometimes said that they were both good, but that Tickell had more of Homer ¹.
- 112 Pope was now sufficiently irritated; his reputation and his interest were at hazard. He once intended to print together the four versions of Dryden, Maynwaring², Pope, and Tickell, that they might be readily compared, and fairly estimated³. This design seems to have been defeated by the refusal of Tonson, who was the proprietor of the other three versions.
- 113 Pope intended at another time a rigorous criticism of Tickell's translation, and had marked a copy, which I have seen⁴, in all places that appeared defective. But while he was thus meditating defence or revenge his adversary sunk before him without a blow; the voice of the publick was not long divided⁵, and the preference was universally given to Pope's performance.
- 114 He was convinced, by adding one circumstance to another, that the other translation was the work of Addison himself; but if he knew it in Addison's lifetime it does not appear that he told it. He left his illustrious antagonist to be punished by what has

address his ode, *Virginibus puerisque*; and so did Pope when he told somebody he had the mob on the side of his version of Homer, and did not mind the high-flying critics at Button's. After all, if a faultless poem could be produced, I am satisfied it would tire the critics themselves, and annoy the whole reading world with the spleen.' Crabbe's *Works*, 1834, i. 202.

¹ Johnson quotes a letter dated July 8, 1715, published by Pope as written to him by Gay. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 417.

² *Ante*, CONGREVE, 7. 'His version of the greater part of the first book was published anonymously in the fifth volume of *Tonson's Miscellany*.' CONINGTON, *Misc. Writings*, i. 47.

³ Johnson refers to Lintot's letter

to Pope, dated June 22, 1715. It was the versions of the first book they thought of printing. Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), ix. 541.

⁴ Warburton had this copy by him when editing Pope. Warburton, iv. 29. Hurd also had seen it. He quotes from it a passage where Tickell says:—'I had some thought of translating the whole *Iliad*, but was diverted by finding the work was fallen into a much abler hand.' He goes on 'to bespeak the favour of the public to a translation of the *Odysseis*, wherein I have made some progress.' Warburton's *Works*, 1811, i. 49. See *ante*, TICKELL, II.

⁵ In the first edition, 'the voice of the public was not long suspended.' In the 1783 edition 'were' must be a misprint, unless Johnson wrote 'voices.'

been considered as the most painful of all reflections, the remembrance of a crime perpetrated in vain¹.

The other circumstances of their quarrel were thus related by 115 Pope²:

'Philips seemed to have been encouraged to abuse me in coffee-houses and conversations, and Gildon wrote a thing about Wycherley, in which he had abused both me and my relations very grossly. Lord Warwick himself told me one day, that it was in vain for me to endeavour to be well with Mr. Addison; that his jealous temper would never admit of a settled friendship between us; and, to convince me of what he had said, assured me that Addison had encouraged Gildon to publish those scandals, and had given him ten guineas after they were published. The next day, while I was heated with what I had heard, I wrote a letter to Mr. Addison³, to let him know that I was not unacquainted with this behaviour of his; that if I was to speak severely of him, in return for it, it should be in such a dirty way, that I should rather tell him; himself, fairly of his faults, and allow his good qualities; and that it should be something in the following manner. I then adjoined [subjoined] the first sketch of what has since been called my satire on Addison⁴. Mr. Addison used me very civilly ever after.'

¹ Hurd says that Warburton, convinced by him of Addison's innocence, 'said, if he lived to see another edition of Pope's *Works*, he would strike out the offensive reflections on Addison's character.' Warburton's *Works*, i. 52.

Had Johnson known the truth he would once more have been 'roused with a just indignation,' and would have charged Pope, as he charged Bolingbroke, with being 'a scoundrel and a coward'—a scoundrel because he slandered Addison; a coward because he did not venture to publish his slanders till after Addison's death. It is Pope's own character that is blackened; in his own words we still say with confidence:—

'No whiter page than Addison's remains.'

Imit. Hor., Epis. ii. 1. 216.

² Spence's *Anec.* p. 148. Warton, who in vol. i. p. 159 of his *Essay on Pope*, published in 1756, accepted as 'certain' Pope's charges, in vol. ii. p. 306, published in 1782, quotes Judge Blackstone's defence of Addison in the *Biog. Brit.* (1778), i. 56.

Blackstone shows that at the time Pope said he wrote the satire (about July, 1715) Lord Warwick 'was a boy of seventeen, and not likely to be entrusted with such a secret by a statesman between forty and fifty. . . . Mr. Addison was not married to Warwick's mother till the following year; nor could Gildon have been employed in July, 1715, to write Wycherley's *Life*, who lived till the December following.'

See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 234, 253, 536, v. 160, 445, for the inference drawn from the change in the verse where Gildon is mentioned of 'meaner quill' into 'venal quill'; and *John. Misc.* i. 482.

³ This letter Pope forgot to forge.

⁴ *Prol. Sat.* l. 193; *post*, POPE, 215. 'The verses on Addison were in all probability written, as Pope says, during Addison's lifetime. . . . But we may be sure that he never sent them to him.' Neither was he likely to show them even to friends. He was too cautious to attack a man so popular and so high in position. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 234. See also *id.* v. 161.

- 116 The verses on Addison, when they were sent to Atterbury, were considered by him as the most excellent of Pope's performances; and the writer was advised, since he knew where his strength lay, not to suffer it to remain unemployed¹.
- 117 This year (1715) being by the subscription enabled to live more by choice, having persuaded his father to sell their estate at Binfield, he purchased, I think only for his life, that house at Twickenham to which his residence afterwards procured so much celebration, and removed thither with his father and mother².
- 118 Here he planted the vines and the quincunx which his verses mention, and being under the necessity of making a subterraneous passage to a garden on the other side of the road he adorned it with fossile bodies, and dignified it with the title of a grotto³: a place of silence and retreat, from which he en-

¹ See Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 39, for Atterbury's letter dated Feb. 26, 1721-2. 'This is the first mention of the verses,' Pope said in a note to the edition of 1737. 'An imperfect copy was got out, very much to the author's surprise, who never would give any.' *Ib. n.* For *The Rape of the Lock* 'getting out' see *ante*, POPE, 53.

² They left Binfield early in 1716, and settled by 'the water-side at Chiswick.' *Ib.* vi. 241, 371. [Here Pope's father died on Oct. 22, 1717. Thorne's *Environs of London*, i. 107. Pope did not remove to Twickenham before Jan. 1718-19, when he obtained from Thomas Vernon, Esq., an Aleppo merchant, the long lease of a portion of Twickenham Park—a house with five acres of land. Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), v. 182, vi. 255 n. See also Cobbett's *Memorials of Twickenham*, 1872, p. 267.]

In *Imit. Hor.*, Sat. ii. 2. 135, the poet describes himself as not happier
'In forest planted by a father's hand
Than in five acres now of rented land.'

He adds (l. 161):—

'Pray Heaven it last! (cries Swift)
as you go on;

I wish to God this house had been
your own:

Pity to build without a son or wife;
Why, you'll enjoy it only all your
life."

Well, if the use be mine, can it
concern one,

Whether the name belong to Pope
or Vernon?

As a Papist Pope was 'disabled from taking any lands by purchase.' Blackstone's *Com.* 1769, iv. 54; *ante*, POPE, 9 n.

On Nov. 21, 1807, Miss Berry recorded in her Journal:—'We went into Pope's back garden, and saw the devastation going on upon his "quincunx" by its new possessor, Baroness Howe. The anger and ill-humour expressed against her for pulling down his abode and destroying his grounds are much greater than one would have imagined.' Quoted in *N. & Q.* 8 S. x. 86. See also *ib.* p. 21 for an account of the prints of the house.

³ Pope wrote on June 2, 1725:—'The grotto is finished with shells interspersed with pieces of looking-glasses in angular forms . . . There are connected to this grotto by a narrower passage, two porches with niches and seats—one towards the river, of smooth stones, full of light, and open; the other towards the arch of trees, rough with shells, flints, and iron-ore.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 383.

'If he was extravagant in anything,' Martha Blount told Spence, 'it was in his grotto, for that, from first to last, cost him above £1,000.'

deavoured to persuade his friends and himself that cares and passions could be excluded¹.

A grotto is not often the wish or pleasure of an Englishman, 119 who has more frequent need to solicit than exclude the sun; but Pope's excavation was requisite as an entrance to his garden, and, as some men try to be proud of their defects, he extracted an ornament from an inconvenience, and vanity produced a grotto where necessity enforced a passage². It may be frequently remarked of the studious and speculative that they are proud of trifles, and that their amusements seem frivolous and childish³; whether it be that men conscious of great reputation think themselves above the reach of censure, and safe in the admission of negligent indulgences, or that mankind expect from elevated genius an uniformity of greatness, and watch its degradation with malicious wonder; like him who having followed with his eye an eagle into the clouds, should lament that she ever descended to a perch.

While the volumes of his *Homer* were annually published he 120 collected his former works (1717) into one quarto volume, to which he prefixed a Preface⁴, written with great spriteliness and elegance, which was afterwards reprinted, with some passages subjoined that he at first omitted⁵; other marginal additions of the same kind he made in the later editions of his poems. Waller

Spence's *Anec.* p. 213. See also *post*, POPE, 269. 'He enlarged it not long before his death. By incrusting it about with a great number of ores and minerals of the richest and rarest kinds, it was become one of the most elegant and romantic retirements anywhere to be seen.' *Warburton*, viii. 27.

* 'Know all the distant din that world can keep

Rolls o'er my Grotto, and but soothes my sleep.

There, my retreat the best companions grace,

Chiefs out of war, and Statesmen out of place.

There St. John mingles with my friendly bowl

The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul:

And he whose lightning pierc'd th' Iberian lines

Now forms my quincunx and now ranks my vines.'

Imit. Hor., Sat. ii. 1. 123.

See also Pope's lines *On his Grotto*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), iv. 494, and *ib.* viii. 41, 78.

² He had bought two plots of ground separated by the high road from London to Hampton Court. The passage connected them. 'I have been told,' Swift wrote to him, 'of your subterranean passage to your garden, whereby you turned a blunder into a beauty, which is a piece of *Ars Poetica*.' *Ib.* vii. 54.

'Pope added the famous quibble—"What we cannot overcome we must undergo."' MRS. PIOZZI, *Auto.* ii.

154. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 9.

³ 'He's seldom old that will not be a child.'

WALLER, *Eng. Poets*, xvi. 247.

⁴ Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), i. 3.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 6; *Warburton*, Preface, p. 19.

remarks that poets lose half their praise, because the reader knows not what they have blotted¹. Pope's voracity of fame taught him the art of obtaining the accumulated honour both of what he had published, and of what he had suppressed.

- 121 In this year his father died suddenly, in his seventy-fifth year, having passed twenty-nine years in privacy. He is not known but by the character which his son has given him². If the money with which he retired was all gotten by himself, he had traded very successfully in times when sudden riches were rarely attainable³.

- 122 The publication of the *Iliad* was at last completed in 1720. The splendour and success of this work raised Pope many enemies, that endeavoured to depreciate his abilities. Burnet, who was afterwards a Judge of no mean reputation, censured him in a piece called *Homerides* before it was published⁴; Duckett⁵ likewise endeavoured to make him ridiculous. Dennis was the perpetual persecutor of all his studies. But, whoever his critics were, their writings are lost, and the names which are preserved are preserved in *The Dunciad*.

¹ 'Did readers know how many thoughts occur in a point of humour which a discreet author, in modesty, suppresses . . . they would be apt to think kindly of those writers who endeavour to make themselves diverting without being immoral. One may apply to these authors that passage in Waller—

"Poets lose half the praise they would [should] have got,
Were it but [Could it be] known
what they discreetly blot."

[*Eng. Poets*, xvi. 175].

ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 179.

'For what I have published I can only hope to be pardoned; but for what I have burned I deserve to be praised.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 10. See *post*, POPE, 293.

Cervantes had written long before:—'He desires that he may receive applause, not for what he writes, but what he has omitted to write.' Jervas's *Don Quixote*, iv. 99.

² *Prolog. Sat.*, ll. 388-405; *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* ii. 2. 54-67.

³ Pope wrote on his death:—'He has left me to the ticklish manage-

ment of a narrow fortune, where every false step is dangerous.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 377. See *ante*, POPE, 9.

⁴ Pope, in a letter published by him as written to Congreve on April 7, 1715, but really written to Caryll, says:—'Mr. Thomas Burnet hath played the precursor to the coming of Homer in a treatise called *Homerides*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 415. Burnet was the son of the Bishop. *Ante*, GRANVILLE, 19; *post*, POPE, 153. He was Judge of the Common Pleas from 1741 to 1753. Foss speaks of his 'great reputation for learning and uprightness.' *Biog. Jur.* 1870, p. 144.

For Swift's charge that in March, 1711-12, he was 'one of the gang of the Mohawks' see Swift's *Works*, iii. 4; also Hearne's *Remains*, i. 248. For the non-existence of this gang see Chesterfield's *Misc. Works*, iv. 277.

⁵ *Ante*, SMITH, 56-59, 71; *post*, POPE, 153. Pope, in 1729, attributed to Duckett a caricature of him. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 255.

In this disastrous year (1720) of national infatuation, when 123 more riches than Peru can boast were expected from the South Sea, when the contagion of avarice tainted every mind, and even poets panted after wealth¹, Pope was seized with the universal passion, and ventured some of his money. The stock rose in its price, and he for a while thought himself 'the Lord of thousands'. But this dream of happiness did not last long, and he seems to have waked soon enough to get clear with the loss only of what he once thought himself to have won, and perhaps not wholly of that.

Next year he published some select poems of his friend 124 Dr. Parnell, with a very elegant Dedication to the Earl of Oxford, who, after all his struggles and dangers, then lived in retirement, still under the frown of a victorious faction, who could take no pleasure in hearing his praise³.

He gave the same year (1721) an edition of Shakespeare⁴. His 125 name was now of so much authority⁵ that Tonson thought him-

¹ *Ante*, GAY, 14. 'Scilicet ea argenti cupido, quae olim bibliopolis solum, nunc ipsis authoribus insedit.' Quoted in Monk's *Bentley* [ii. 145 n.] from Z. Pearce's *Epistolae Duae*, 1721.

² 'In South Sea days not happier when surmis'd

The Lord of Thousands than if now excis'd.'

Imit. Hor., Sat. ii. 2. 134.

'South Sea subscriptions take who please,

Leave me but liberty and ease.

'Twas what I said to Craggs and Child,

Who prais'd my modesty and smil'd.'

Ib., Epis. i. 7. 65.

³ Mr. Craggs gave him some South Sea subscriptions. He was so indifferent about them as to neglect making any benefit of them.' *Warburton*, vi. 7. 'He did not sell out. His stock was valued at between twenty and thirty thousand pounds when it fell.' *Ib.* iv. 91. He wrote to a friend on March 21, 1719-20, about investing:—'Let but Fortune favour us, and the world will be sure to admire our prudence. If we fail, let's e'en keep the mishap to ourselves. But 'tis ignominious in this

age of hope and golden mountains) not to venture.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 229. See also *ib.* v. 185-9, vi. 272-5, ix. 20, 271, 295. For Craggs see *ante*, POPE, 91; *post*, 405 n.

⁴ *Ante*, PARNELL, 5, 9. For Pope's splendid praise of the Earl see *ib.* iii. 189, viii. 186. Speaking of him to Spence he said:—'He was huddled in his thoughts, and obscure in his manner of delivering them. . . . He may have put on the appearance of being in the Pretender's interest to some great men; but he betrayed them by making his peace with the present family without their knowledge.' Spence's *Anec.* pp. 178, 202, 313.

⁵ It appeared on March 12, 1724-5. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 88 n. The engagement was made with Tonson in 1721. *Warton*, *Introd.* p. 22.

⁶ 'Ce qui encourage le plus les gens de lettres en Angleterre, c'est la considération où ils sont: le portrait du premier ministre se trouve sur la cheminée de son cabinet, mais j'ai vu celui de M. Pope dans vingt maisons.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 140.

self entitled, by annexing it, to demand a subscription of six guineas for Shakespeare's plays in six quarto volumes; nor did his expectation much deceive him; for of seven hundred and fifty which he printed, he dispersed a great number at the price proposed¹. The reputation of that edition indeed sunk afterwards so low, that one hundred and forty copies were sold at sixteen shillings each².

- 126 On this undertaking, to which Pope was induced by a reward of two hundred and seventeen pounds twelve shillings³, he seems never to have reflected afterwards without vexation; for Theobald, a man of heavy diligence, with very slender powers, first, in a book called *Shakespeare Restored*⁴, and then in a formal edition, detected his deficiencies with all the insolence of victory; and, as he was now high enough to be feared and hated, Theobald had from others⁵ all the help that could be supplied, by the desire of humbling a haughty character.

- 127 From this time Pope became an enemy to editors, collaters, commentators, and verbal criticks⁶, and hoped to persuade the

¹ On Jan. 18, 1742-3, Pope wrote to Warburton about Hanmer's *Shakespeare*, then printing at the Clarendon Press:—"The Heads of some Houses [Oxford Colleges] have subscribed for 100 and 50, at three guineas the book, which they refund by putting them off to the Gentlemen-Commoners, and this way the press is paid." Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 228. It is to this subscription, no doubt, he alludes in lines he left to be inserted in *The Dunciad* (iv. 115-18):—

'But (happy for him as the times went then)

Appear'd Apollo's May'r and Aldermen,

On whom three hundred gold-capt youths await,

To lug the pond'rous volume off in state.'

² 'At the sale of the effects of Mr. Jacob Tonson in 1767.' *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 76.

³ Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* ii. 714.

⁴ 'Of this, it is said, he was so vain as to aver in *Mist's Journal*, June 8, 1726, "that to expose any errors in it was impracticable."' Cibber's *Lives*, v. 278.

⁵ Among them Thirlby. *John. Misc.* ii. 431. Johnson describes Theobald as 'zealous for minute accuracy. . . . What little he did was commonly right.' Johnson's *Works*, v. 137. For 'poor Tib' see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 329.

'Yet this very dull man was the first publisher of Shakespeare that hit upon the true method of correcting and illustrating his author, that is, by reading such books (whatever trash Pope might call them) as Shakespeare read, and by attending to the genius, learning and notions of his times.' WARTON, *Essay*, ii. 297.

The editors of the *Cambridge Shakespeare* say of him (Preface, p. 31):—"Many most brilliant emendations are due to him."

He was paid £652 for his octavo edition in 1732-3. Of his various editions 12,860 copies were sold. Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* ii. 714. See ante, GAY, 9; post, POPE, 145, 357.

⁶ 'Pains, reading, study are their just pretence,
And all they want is spirit, taste
and sense.'

world that he miscarried in this undertaking only by having a mind too great for such minute employment¹.

Pope in his edition undoubtedly did many things wrong, and 128 left many things undone; but let him not be defrauded of his due praise: he was the first that knew, at least the first that told, by what helps the text might be improved. If he inspected the early editions negligently, he taught others to be more accurate². In his Preface³ he expanded with great skill and elegance the character which had been given of Shakespeare by Dryden⁴; and he drew the publick attention upon his works, which, though often mentioned, had been little read⁵.

Soon after the appearance of the *Iliad*, resolving not to let the 129 general kindness cool, he published proposals for a translation of the *Odyssey*, in five volumes, for five guineas⁶. He was willing, however, now to have associates in his labour, being either weary with toiling upon another's thoughts, or having heard, as Ruff-

Yet ne'er one sprig of laurel grac'd
these ribalds,
From slashing Bentley down to
piddling Tibbalds.'

Prol. Sat. l. 159.

¹ 'This was a work which Pope seems to have thought unworthy of his abilities, being not able to suppress his contempt of *the dull duty of an editor*. He understood but half his undertaking. The duty of a collator is indeed dull; yet like other tedious tasks is very necessary.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 136. For 'the dull duty of an editor' see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 548.

² 'He collated the old copies, which none had thought to examine before, and restored many lines to their integrity; but by a very compendious criticism he rejected whatever he disliked.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 136.

³ 'The editor of the second folio, whoever he was, and Mr. Pope were the two great corrupters of our poet's text.' MALONE, *Shakespeare*, i. 208.

⁴ 'Once when a lady talked of Johnson's preface to Shakespeare as superior to Pope's: "I fear not, Madam (said he), the little fellow has done wonders."' MRS. PIOZZI, *John. Misc.* i. 184.

⁵ 'Pope's preface every editor has an

interest to suppress, but that every reader would demand its insertion.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 137.

⁴ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 198.

⁵ *Ante*, ROWE, 18. By 1716, one hundred years after Shakespeare's death, only six editions of his plays had appeared—perhaps 6,000 copies in all. Atterbury wrote to Pope in 1721:—'I have found time to read some parts of Shakespeare which I was least acquainted with. . . . Aeschylus does not want a comment to me more than he does.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 26.

Broome, in his *Lines to Mr. Pope*, says:—

'Shakespeare, rejoice! his hand thy page refines;

Now ev'ry scene with native brightness shines.' *Ib.* i. 32.

Swift seems to have thought that among Shakespeare's plays was *The Wife of Bath*. *Ib.* vii. 167.

⁶ The proposals are dated Jan. 10, 1724-5. *Ib.* iv. 61, viii. 89 n. Gay wrote to Swift on Feb. 3, 1722-3:—'Pope has engaged to translate the *Odyssey* in three years; I believe rather out of a prospect of gain than inclination; for I am persuaded he bore his part in the loss of the South Sea.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 397.

head relates, that Fenton and Broome had already begun the work, and liking better to have them confederates than rivals¹.

- 180 In the patent, instead of saying that he had 'translated' the *Odyssey*, as he had said of the *Iliad*, he says that he had 'undertaken' a translation²; and in the proposals the subscription is said to be 'not solely for his own use, but for that of two of his friends who have assisted him in this work'³.

- 181 In 1723, while he was engaged in this new version, he appeared before the Lords at the memorable trial of Bishop Atterbury⁴, with whom he had lived in great familiarity and frequent correspondence. Atterbury had honestly recommended to him the study of the popish controversy, in hope of his conversion; to which Pope answered in a manner that cannot much recommend his principles or his judgement⁵. In questions and pro-

¹ *Ruffhead*, p. 205; Spence's *Anec.* p. 326; *ante*, FENTON, 10; BROOME, 5. For the improbability of the accounts of Ruffhead and Spence see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 49, 176.

² Prefixed to the first edition of the *Iliad* and also of the *Odyssey* is a Letter Patent granting to Lintot 'the sole printing and publishing' of each work 'for the term of fourteen years.' In the first Letter Patent, dated May 6, 1715, the printer is 'Our Trusty and Well-beloved,' and the poet is 'Alexander Pope, Gent.' In the second, dated Feb. 19, 1724-5, it is no longer the printer, but the poet, who is 'Our Trusty and Well-beloved,' while 'Gent.' becomes 'Esq.' See also *ante*, JOHN PHILIPS, 31 n. 3.

³ Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 61.

⁴ On May 8, 1723. *Ib.* v. 192. *Ante*, SMITH, 57; YALDEN, 11.

⁵ On the death of Pope's father Atterbury wrote:—'You have it now in your power to pursue that method of thinking and living which you like best.' *Ib.* ix. 9. For Pope's reply see *ib.* p. 10. Mr. Blount said to Spence:—'Mr. Pope is a Whig, and would be a Protestant if his mother were dead.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 327.

Regard for his parents had much to do in keeping Pope outwardly a Roman Catholic; regard too for the

friends of his youth. When the Jacobite rising brought trouble on the whole sect he wrote to Caryll of 'the clouds of melancholy rising on those faces I have so long looked upon with affection.' Some abjured their religion. He speaks of 'the coldness of relations whom change of religion may disunite.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 239. Martha Blount's influence would be strong. Honest pride would also keep him from leaving a persecuted Church. Addison, Prior, Congreve, Gay, Tickell, Steele and A. Philips all had places. He was excluded by his religion. In 1714 he was afraid of losing his horse. No Papist could keep one above the value of £5. *Ib.* vi. 217. In 1723 he speaks of 'the loss of part of my fortune by a late Act of Parliament (the Act imposing double taxes on Papists).' *Ib.* ix. 426; *ante*, POPE, 9. In 1730 his nephew lost his practice as an attorney by an Act requiring attorneys to take the oaths of supremacy, &c. *Ib.* vi. 325, viii. 276. The Act forbidding Papists to reside within ten miles of London troubled Pope in 1737, and in 1744, less than three months before his death. *Ib.* ix. 197, 241, 539.

'Pope's reply to Atterbury is manly, sincere and not ungraceful.' It is written 'with a firmness and simplicity which are too seldom found in

jects of learning, they agreed better. He was called at the trial to give an account of Atterbury's domestick life and private employment, that it might appear how little time he had left for plots. Pope had but few words to utter, and in those few he made several blunders¹.

His letters to Atterbury express the utmost esteem, tenderness, 132 and gratitude: 'perhaps,' says he, 'it is not only in this world that I may have cause to remember the Bishop of Rochester.'² At their last interview in the Tower, Atterbury presented him with a Bible³.

Of the *Odyssey* Pope translated only twelve books; the rest 133 were the work of Broome and Fenton: the notes were written wholly by Broome, who was not over-liberally rewarded. The Publick was carefully kept ignorant of the several shares, and an account was subjoined at the conclusion, which is now known not to be true⁴.

The first copy of Pope's books, with those of Fenton, are to be 134 seen in the Museum. The parts of Pope are less interlined than the *Iliad*, and the latter books of the *Iliad* less than the former.

his letters.' PATTISON, *Essays*, ii. 361. See also *ib.* p. 387.

¹ 'Though I had but ten words to say, and that on a plain point (how that Bishop spent his time whilst I was with him at Bromley), I made two or three blunders in it; and that notwithstanding the first row of Lords (which was all I could see) were mostly of my acquaintance.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 156. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 193, x. 199.

For Johnson as a witness see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 98.

² 'Perhaps it will not be in this life only that I shall have cause to remember and acknowledge the friendship of the Bishop of Rochester.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 56.

³ 'I went to Mr. Pope one morning at Twickenham, and found a large folio Bible, with gilt clasps, lying before him; and as I knew his way of thinking upon that book I asked him jocosely, if he was going to write an answer to it. "It is a present," said he, "or rather a legacy, from my old

friend, the Bishop of Rochester. I went to take my leave of him yesterday in the Tower, where I saw this Bible upon his table. He said to me:—"My friend Pope, considering your infirmities, and my age and exile, it is not likely that we should ever meet again; and therefore I give you this legacy to remember me by. Take it home with you, and let me advise you to abide by it." "Does your Lordship abide by it yourself?" "I do." "If you do, my Lord, it is but lately." . . . The Bishop replied:—"We have not time to talk of these things; but take home the Book, I will abide by it, and I recommend you to do so too, and so, God bless you."'" CHESTERFIELD, *Misc. Works*, iv. App. p. 16.

In a note to Johnson's *Works*, viii. 273, it is stated that 'this Bible was afterwards used in the chapel of Prior Park. Dr. Warburton probably presented it to Mr. Allen [*post*, POPE, 194].' See *Warton*, viii. 121, on the improbability of Chesterfield's story.

⁴ *Ante*, FENTON, 10; BROOME, 5; *post*, POPE, 355.

He grew dexterous by practice, and every sheet enabled him to write the next with more facility. The books of Fenton have very few alterations by the hand of Pope¹. Those of Broome have not been found; but Pope complained, as it is reported, that he had much trouble in correcting them².

- 135 His contract with Lintot was the same as for the *Iliad*³, except that only one hundred pounds were to be paid him for each volume. The number of subscribers was five hundred and seventy-four, and of copies eight hundred and nineteen; so that his profit, when he had paid his assistants, was still very considerable⁴. The work was finished in 1725, and from that time he resolved to make no more translations⁵.
- 136 The sale did not answer Lintot's expectation, and he then pretended to discover something of fraud in Pope, and commenced, or threatened, a suit in Chancery⁶.
- 137 On the English *Odyssey* a criticism was published by Spence, at that time Prelector of Poetry at Oxford; a man whose learning was not very great, and whose mind was not very powerful⁷.

¹ 'Of Fenton's four books, the MSS. of three are preserved in the Brit. Mus. The 1st and 4th are crowded with Pope's alterations; the 20th scarcely at all.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 275.

² Pope wrote to Broome of Book xxiii:—'I have much altered, and I hope not a little amended it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 110. See also *ib.* p. 60; *ante*, BROOME, 9 n.; Spence's *Anec.* p. 271. C. Pitt sent Pope a version of this book. *Post*, PITT, 10 n.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 90.

⁴ 'The total amount received was £4,500, out of which Pope reserved for himself over £3,700.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 204, viii. 129 n.

It was a day of glorious subscriptions. Pope wrote to Lord Oxford:—'I have set down the Duchess and Duke of Buckingham for five sets. Will you allow me to do the same to yourself and Lady Oxford? Mr. Walpole and Lord Townshend are set down for ten each.' Lord Oxford replied:—'I would be for ten sets, my wife for five sets, and Peggy [his daughter] for one.' *Ib.* viii. 203-4.

At the present day they would subscribe to Mudie's. The subscribers were not all satisfied. 'There were loud complaints of the extravagant prices for bad paper, old types, and journey-work poetry.' *Ib.* v. 202.

⁵ He wrote to Swift on Sept. 14, 1725:—'I mean no more translations, but something domestic, fit for my own country and for my own time.' *Ib.* vii. 50. His next great work was *The Dunciad*, which can scarcely be called domestic.

⁶ For the probable grounds of this suit see *ib.* v. 202, viii. 94, 136. Pope attacked Lintot in *The Dunciad*, i. 40, ii. 53. Dr. Young described him as 'a great sputtering fellow,' whom it would 'have been very amusing to see in his rage.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 355.

⁷ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 203. Spence published Part i of his *Essay on the Odyssey* about June, 1726, and Part ii in 1727. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 119 n. He was appointed Professor of Poetry in 1728. Spence's *Anec.* Preface, p. 18.

'I mentioned Pope's friend, Spence. JOHNSON. He was a weak, conceited

His criticism, however, was commonly just; what he thought, he thought rightly, and his remarks were recommended by his coolness and candour. In him Pope had the first experience of a critick without malevolence, who thought it as much his duty to display beauties as expose faults; who censured with respect, and praised with alacrity.

With this criticism Pope was so little offended, that he sought ¹³⁸ the acquaintance of the writer¹, who lived with him from that time in great familiarity, attended him in his last hours, and compiled memorials of his conversation. The regard of Pope recommended him to the great and powerful, and he obtained very valuable preferments in the Church².

Not long after Pope was returning home from a visit in ¹³⁹ a friend's coach, which, in passing a bridge, was overturned into the water; the windows were closed, and being unable to force them open, he was in danger of immediate death, when the postilion snatched him out by breaking the glass, of which the fragments cut two of his fingers in such a manner that he lost their use³.

man. BOSWELL. A good scholar, Sir? JOHNSON. Why, no, Sir. BOSWELL. He was a pretty scholar. JOHNSON. You have about reached him.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 317.

Johnson, in 1748, recommended Spence's *Essay*. *Works*, v. 240. The poet Pitt called him 'the sweetest-tempered gentleman breathing.' *J. Hughes Corres.* 1773, ii. 13. Somerville praised him in lines beginning 'While Spence presides, and candour holds the scale.'

Eng. Poets, xl. 221.

For Gray's contemptuous mention of his 'pretty book' *Polymetis* see Gray's *Letters*, i. 164, and for Gibbon's praise of it in his youth see his *Misc. Works*, iv. 6. On a copy of the *Essay* he wrote:—'Pleased Pope. and can please none else; dry and narrow.' *Ib.* v. 583.

¹ 'Did some more sober critic come abroad,

If wrong, I smil'd; if right, I kiss'd the rod.' *Prod. Sat.* l. 157.

Warton had seen a copy of Spence's *Essay*, 'with marginal observations in Pope's own hand, . . . in a few instances pleading humorously enough

that some favourite lines might be spared.' Warton's *Essay*, ii. 301.

For an anecdote of Pope sending from the Cross Inn at Oxford for Spence see Spence's *Anec.* Preface, p. 22.

² He was Prebendary of Durham and Rector of Great Horwood, Bucks. In 1742 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. He lived chiefly at Durham or at Byfleet in Surrey. *Ib.* pp. 30, 32. For his eminent virtues as a non-resident Rector see *ib.*

³ The accident happened in Sept. 1726, as Pope was returning from Bolingbroke's. Bolingbroke wrote to Swift:—'A bridge was down, the coach forced to go through the water, the bank steep, a hole on one side, a block of timber on the other, the night as dark as pitch.' Gay added that 'Pope was up to the knots of his periwig in water.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 77. For the accident to his fingers see *ib.* p. 86.

Bishop Burnet had much the same escape. *Hist. of my own Time*, 1818, Preface, p. 39.

- 140 Voltaire, who was then in England, sent him a letter of consolation¹. He had been entertained by Pope at his table, where he talked with so much grossness that Mrs. Pope was driven from the room. Pope discovered, by a trick, that he was a spy for the Court, and never considered him as a man worthy of confidence².
- 141 He soon afterwards (1727) joined with Swift, who was then in England, to publish three volumes of *Miscellanies*³, in which, amongst other things, he inserted the *Memoirs of a Parish Clerk*, in ridicule of Burnet's importance in his own *History*⁴, and a *Debate upon Black and White Horses*⁵, written in all the formalities of a legal process by the assistance, as is said, of Mr. Fortescue, afterwards Master of the Rolls⁶. Before these *Miscellanies* is a preface signed by Swift and Pope, but apparently written by Pope⁷, in which he makes a ridiculous and romantick complaint of the robberies committed upon authors by the clandestine seizure and sale of their papers. He tells, in tragick strains, how 'the cabinets of the Sick and the closets of the Dead have been broke open and ransacked⁸'; as if those

¹ He dated his letter:—'In my Lord Bolingbroke's House, Friday at noon, Nov. 16, 1726.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 132.

² Ruffhead (*Life of Pope*, p. 213) tells these anecdotes on the authority of one of Pope's 'most intimate friends.'

Voltaire wrote in 1772:—'Ceux qui ont crié que tout est bien sont des charlatans. Shaftesbury, qui mit ce conte à la mode, était un homme très malheureux. J'ai vu Bolingbroke rongé de chagrins et de rage, et Pope, qu'il engagea à mettre en vers cette mauvaise plaisanterie, était un des hommes les plus à plaindre que j'aie jamais connus, contrefait dans son corps, inégal dans son humeur, toujours malade, toujours à charge à lui-même, harcelé par cent ennemis jusqu'à son dernier moment. Qu'on me donne du moins des heureux qui me disent, tout est bien.' *Œuvres*, xxix. 164.

For Voltaire's attack on Johnson see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 499 n.

³ For Pope's being 'prodigiously pleased with this joint volume' see

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 94. For the payment for the copyright see *ib.* ix. 525; Swift's *Works*, xviii. 322; *ante*, SWIFT, 84 n.

⁴ In the Prolegomena to *The Dunciad* Pope asserted, falsely no doubt, that 'these Memoirs were written many years before the appearance of that *History*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 64, x. 335. Gay 'had some hand in these *Memoirs*.' *Ib.* vi. Introd. p. 47. They are included also in Swift's *Works*, xiii. 156. For Burnet see *ante*, MILTON, 101; SWIFT, 50.

⁵ *Stradling versus Stiles*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 430.

⁶ To him Pope addressed the first *Satire* in *Imit. Hor.* For their correspondence see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 96-146.

⁷ For 'this querulous and apologetical Preface' see *ante*, SWIFT, 84. I do not find it included in Pope's *Works*. It is printed among Swift's *Works*, xiii. 1, though evidently not his.

⁸ *Post*, POPE, 169.

violences were often committed for papers of uncertain and accidental value, which are rarely provoked by real treasures, as if epigrams and essays were in danger where gold and diamonds are safe. A cat hunted for his musk is, according to Pope's account, but the emblem of a wit winded by booksellers.

His complaint, however, received some attestation, for the 142 same year the Letters written by him to Mr. Cromwell in his youth were sold by Mrs. Thomas to Curll, who printed them ¹.

In these *Miscellanies* was first published *The Art of Sinking* 143 *in Poetry*, which, by such a train of consequences as usually passes in literary quarrels, gave in a short time, according to Pope's account, occasion to *The Dunciad*².

In the following year (1728) he began to put Atterbury's 144 advice in practice³, and shewed his satirical powers by publishing *The Dunciad*, one of his greatest and most elaborate performances⁴, in which he endeavoured to sink into contempt all the writers by whom he had been attacked, and some others whom he thought unable to defend themselves.

At the head of the Dunces he placed poor Theobald, whom 145

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 29. 'They were published in Curll's *Miscellanea*, of which the title-page says, "Printed in 1727"; but it was in 1726 that they appeared.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), Introd. p. 28.

Dr. Warton has the following curious note:—'We are surprised to see these critics and poets writing to each other with seriousness and earnestness about translations of Ovid's *Elegies* and *Epistles*; which the youths of our great schools would almost think it a disgrace to be employed about at present.' Warton, vii. 133.

² *Post*, POPE, 356. Pope, writing to Swift in Jan. 1727-8 about what he calls 'the third volume of the *Miscellanies*,' says of *The Art of Sinking*:—'I have entirely methodised, and in a manner written it all.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 110. This volume was entitled, *Miscellanies: The Last Volume*. A fourth volume, brought out in 1732, 'has for a title-page, *Miscellanies: The Third Volume*, to avoid the contradiction of a volume later than "the

last," which still left the blot that the last volume is dated 1728, and the nominal third volume 1732.' *Ib.* p. 296. Motte, the publisher, said in 1735 that Pope 'disowned *The Art of Sinking*.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 322.

For 'Pope's account' of the origin of *The Dunciad* see *post*, POPE, 148.

The Dunciad, as first published in 1728, was in three books; a fourth was added in 1742. *Post*, POPE, 229. The first edition contained 920 lines. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 271-97. To what Pope called 'the first correct edition' (1729) (*ib.* iv. 41) ninety-four lines were added, as well as Prolegomena, Notes, &c. In the final edition the poem contained 1,754 lines.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 116. When Atterbury read *The Dunciad* he wrote:—'I think the writer has engaged himself in a very improper and troublesome scuffle, not worthy of his pen at all.' Atterbury *Corres.* iv. 136.

⁴ 'It cost me,' he said, 'as much pains as anything I ever wrote.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 142.

he accused of ingratitude¹, but whose real crime was supposed to be that of having revised Shakespeare more happily than himself. This satire had the effect which he intended, by blasting the characters which it touched. Ralph, who, unnecessarily interposing in the quarrel, got a place in a subsequent edition², complained that for a time he was in danger of starving, as the booksellers had no longer any confidence in his capacity³.

- 146 The prevalence of this poem was gradual and slow⁴: the plan, if not wholly new, was little understood by common readers. Many of the allusions required illustration; the names were often expressed only by the initial and final letters, and, if they had been printed at length, were such as few had known or recollected. The subject itself had nothing generally interesting; for whom did it concern to know that one or another scribbler was a dunce⁵? If therefore it had been possible for those who

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 126; *post*, 357. 'Pope, in the 8vo ed. of *The Dunciad*, 1729, says in a note to Bk. i. ver. 106:—"During two whole years while Mr. Pope was preparing his edition [of *Shakespeare*], this restorer [Theobald, author of *Shakespeare Restored*], who was at this time soliciting favours of him by letters, did wholly conceal his design." Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 245. Theobald, Mr. Courthope points out, was aimed at in the following couplet:—

'Three things another's modest wishes bound,

My friendship, and a prologue, and ten pound.' *Prol. Sat.* l. 47.

In *The Censor* (1717), No. 33, Theobald had said of Pope's *Iliad*:—"The spirit of Homer breathes all through it."

² *The Dunciad*, iii. 165. Pope says in a note that Ralph's name was not known to him, till he abused him in 'a swearing-piece called *Sawney*.' A curious account of him is given in Franklin's *Memoirs*, ed. 1818, i. 54-87, 245.

³ 'He ended at last,' writes Warburton, 'in the common sink of all such writers, a political newspaper, and received a small pittance for pay.' *Warburton*, v. 139.

Dodginton recorded on Nov. 3,

1753:—"Mr. Ralph told me he had made his peace with the Ministry, and was to have £300 a year." *Diary*, ed. 1809, p. 222.

⁴ 'The poem,' writes Mr. Courthope, 'appeared on May 28, 1728.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 215. A letter of Pope's to Lord Oxford, dated May 20, implies that it was in print. On May 27 Lord Oxford replied:—"I see Curll has advertised a *Key to the Dunciad*." *Ib.* viii. 235-6.

By July 16 Swift had read an Irish edition. *Works*, xvii. 1824, 200.

In *The Daily Journal*, May 11, 1728, it is mentioned that Pope is writing *The Progress of Dulness*. See *A Complete Collection of Verses, &c. Occasioned by the Miscellanies of Pope and Company*, 1728, p. 51.

⁵ 'Johnson repeated to us, in his forcible melodious manner, the concluding lines of *The Dunciad*. While he was talking loudly in praise of those lines, one of the company [no doubt Boswell] ventured to say, "Too fine for such a poem:—a poem on what?" JOHNSON (with a disdainful look), "Why, on dunces. It was worth while being a dunce then. Ah, Sir, hadst thou lived in those days! It is not worth while being a dunce now, when there are no wits.'" Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 84.

were attacked to conceal their pain and their resentment, *The Dunciad* might have made its way very slowly in the world¹.

This, however, was not to be expected: every man is of importance to himself, and therefore, in his own opinion, to others, and, supposing the world already acquainted with all his pleasures and his pains, is perhaps the first to publish injuries or misfortunes which had never been known unless related by himself, and at which those that hear them will only laugh; for no man sympathises with the sorrows of vanity.

The history of *The Dunciad* is very minutely related by Pope himself, in a Dedication which he wrote to Lord Middlesex in the name of Savage².

'I will relate . . . the war of the Dunces (for so it has been commonly called), which began in the year 1727, and ended in 1730.

'When Dr. Swift and Mr. Pope thought it proper, for reasons specified in the Preface to their *Miscellanies*, to publish such [some] little pieces of theirs as had casually got abroad, there was added to them *The Treatise of the Bathos, or The Art of Sinking in Poetry*. It happened that in one chapter of this piece the several species of bad poets were ranged in classes, to which were prefixed almost all the letters of the alphabet (the greatest part of them at random³); but such was the number of poets eminent in that art, that some one or other took every letter to himself: all fell into so violent a fury that, for half a year or more, the common newspapers (in most of which they had some property, as being hired writers) were filled with the most abusive falsehoods and scurrilities they could possibly devise. A liberty no way to be wondered at in those people and in those papers that for many years during the uncontrouled license of the press had aspersed almost all the great characters of the age; and this with impunity, their own persons and names being utterly secret and obscure⁴.

¹ For silence under attack see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 61; *John. Misc.* i. 270.

² *Ante*, SAVAGE, 107; Savage's *Works*, 1777, ii. 249. See also Pope's lying account of the publication of *The Dunciad* in a note on the first line.

³ *Ante*, SAVAGE, 108.

⁴ Swift wrote to Pope in 1725:— 'Take care the bad poets do not outwit you, as they have served the good ones in every age. . . . Maevius is as

well known as Virgil, and Gildon will be as well known as you, if his name gets into your verses.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 64.

'Mr. Pope may indeed be said to have raked many out of the kennels to immortality.' FIELDING, *Works*, 1806, x. 123.

For a list of the publications against Pope see *N. & Q.* 5 S. xii. 36, 71, 89, 110, 192, 335, 415, 477; 6 S. i. 341, 380.

'This gave Mr. Pope the thought that he had now some opportunity of doing good¹, by detecting and dragging into light these common enemies of mankind; since to invalidate this universal slander it sufficed to shew what contemptible men were the authors of it. He was not without hopes that, by manifesting the dulness of those who had only malice to recommend them, either the booksellers would not find their account in employing them, or the men themselves, when discovered, want courage to proceed in so unlawful an occupation. This it was that gave birth to *The Dunciad*; and he thought it an happiness that, by the late flood of slander on himself, he had acquired such a peculiar right over their names as was necessary to this design².

'On the 12th of March, 1729³, at St. James's, that poem was presented to the King and Queen (who had before been pleased to read it⁴) by the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole⁵; and some days after the whole impression was taken and dispersed by several noblemen and persons of the first distinction⁶.

¹ *Post*, POPE, 357.

² In Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 3, v. 213, it is shown that he had 'practically finished' *The Dunciad* (the first three books) before *The Art of Sinking* was published. To justify the personality of the poem he made it appear that it was 'a weapon of self-defence. To propagate this belief he laid a plot marked by his usual subtlety.' Chapter vi of *The Art of Sinking* was made grossly personal. 'The enraged authors rushed into print.' His attack on them in *The Dunciad* seemed therefore provoked by their 'abusive falsehoods.' In reality he excited this attack, so that he might meet it with the deadly weapon which he had prepared.

³ It is strange that in 1732 he ventured to try to make it appear that it was published in March, 1729, whereas it had appeared nine months earlier. The quarto of March, 1729, was what he called 'the correct edition.' It contained the *Prolegomena*, &c., as well as the names, and is undoubtedly the first complete edition. *Ib.* iv. 5, 9, 303. See *post*, POPE, 151.

⁴ Pope, on June 17, 1728, wrote that he had been commanded to publish a *Key to the Dunciad* by 'the highest and most powerful person in the kingdom.' *Ib.* viii. 236.

In a note, dated 1743, on *The Dunciad*, Bk. i. l. 2—

'The Smithfield Muses to the ear of Kings,'

he writes:—'We are willing to acquaint Posterity that this Poem was presented to King George II and his Queen,' &c. His impudence was great, if the sixth line—

'Still Duncce the second reigns like Duncce the first,'

was, as Mr. Courthope says, 'we can scarcely doubt, meant for a reflection on the two first Georges, whose contempt for letters was notorious.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 313.

'"You ought not to write verses," said George II to Lord Hervey; "'tis beneath your rank; leave such work to little Mr. Pope; it is his trade."' *Warton*, i. 282.

⁵ *Post*, POPE, 196. Pope, in 1726, mentions dining at Walpole's. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 107. He wrote of him:—

'Seen him I have, but in his happier hour

Of social pleasure, ill exchang'd for power.' *Epil. Sat.* i. 29.

For Walpole's favourite subject of conversation see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 57.

⁶ 'In order to lessen the danger of prosecution for libel, Pope prevailed

'It is certainly a true observation that no people are so impatient of censure as those who are the greatest slanderers, which was wonderfully exemplified on this occasion. On the day the book was first vended a crowd of authors besieged the shop; intreaties, advices, threats of law and battery, nay cries of treason, were all employed to hinder the coming-out of *The Dunciad*: on the other side, the booksellers and hawkers made as great efforts to procure it'. What could a few poor authors do against so great a majority as the publick? There was no stopping a torrent with a finger, so out it came.

'Many ludicrous circumstances attended it. The Dunces (for by this name they were called) held weekly clubs, to consult of hostilities against the author: one wrote a letter to a great minister, assuring him Mr. Pope was the greatest enemy the government had; and another bought his image in clay to execute him in effigy, with which sad sort of satisfaction the gentlemen were a little comforted.

'Some false editions' of the book having an owl in their frontispiece, the true one, to distinguish it, fixed in its stead an ass laden with authors. Then another surreptitious one being printed with the same ass, the new edition in octavo returned for distinction to the owl again. Hence arose a great contest of booksellers against booksellers, and advertisements against advertisements; some recommending the edition of the owl, and others the edition of the ass; by which names they came to be distinguished, to the great honour also of the gentlemen of *The Dunciad*³.

on three peers . . . Bathurst, Oxford, and Burlington, to act as his nominal publishers; and it was through them that copies of the enlarged edition were at first distributed, the booksellers not being allowed to sell any in their shops. . . . As the report spread that the poem was the property of rich and powerful noblemen, there was a natural disinclination on the part of the Dunces to take legal proceedings. . . . When all danger appeared to be over, the three peers assigned the edition to Gulliver the publisher.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 216. See also *ib.* viii. 250-4.

¹ This seems in contradiction to what Johnson says, *ante*, POPE, 146; but he is speaking of the first edition of 1728, and Pope of 'the correct edition' of 1729.

² These 'false editions' were all published by Pope. Pope's *Works*

(Elwin and Courthope), iv. 9.

Arbuthnot wrote to Swift on June 9, 1729:—'Mr. Pope had got an injunction in chancery against the printers who had pirated his *Dunciad*: it was dissolved again, because the printer could not prove his property, nor did the author appear.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 245.

For 'the bibliography of the first issues of *The Dunciad*' see *N. & Q.* 5 S. xii. 304.

³ See Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 299, for 'Notes on Editions of the *Dunciad*, from Notes and Queries, Nos. 268-70.' At the sale of Colonel Grant's library by Messrs. Sotheby & Co. on May 15, 1900, the following prices were paid:—*The Dunciad*, 1728, earliest issue, £75 os. od.; second issue of first edition, £50 os. od.; second edition, 1728, £32 os. od.' *Daily News*, May 16, 1900.

- 149 Pope appears by this narrative to have contemplated his victory over the Dunces with great exultation; and such was his delight in the tumult which he had raised, that for a while his natural sensibility was suspended, and he read reproaches and invectives without emotion, considering them only as the necessary effects of that pain which he rejoiced in having given¹.
- 150 It cannot, however, be concealed that, by his own confession, he was the aggressor, for nobody believes that the letters in *The Bathos* were placed at random²; and it may be discovered that, when he thinks himself concealed, he indulges the common vanity of common men, and triumphs in those distinctions which he had affected to despise. He is proud that his book was presented to the King and Queen by the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole; he is proud that they had read it before; he is proud that the edition was taken off by the nobility and persons of the first distinction.
- 151 The edition of which he speaks was, I believe, that, which by telling in the text the names and in the notes the characters of those whom he had satirised, was made intelligible and diverting³. The criticks had now declared their approbation of the plan, and the common reader began to like it without fear; those who were strangers to petty literature, and therefore unable to decypher initials and blanks, had now names and persons brought within their view, and delighted in the visible effect of those shafts of malice, which they had hitherto contemplated as shot into the air⁴.

¹ 'The lofty ideas,' writes Mr. Courthope, 'which Pope had formed of his own virtue and benevolence were put to the rude test of experience. . . . The "spretae iniuria formae" [*Aeneid*, i. 27], the slanderous reports, destructive of the ideal character which he had imagined for himself, the imputation of blasphemy and malignity calculated to rob him of the respect which he sought, must all be taken into account. We cannot possibly excuse Pope's conduct, but we can compassionate him.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 29.

² *Ante*, SAVAGE, 108.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 148. The edition was *The Dunciad, Variorum with*

the Prolegomena of Scriblerus, London, printed for A. Dod, 1729, 4to.

⁴ Swift wrote to Wogan in 1732:— 'You judge very truly that the taste of England is infamously corrupted by shoals of wretches who write for their bread; and therefore I had reason to put Mr. Pope on writing the poem called *The Dunciad*, and to hale those scoundrels out of their obscurity by telling their names at length, their works, their adventures, sometimes their lodgings and their lineage; not with *A's* and *B's* according to the old way, which would be unknown in a few years.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 398. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 134.

Dennis, upon the fresh provocation now given him, renewed 152 the enmity which had for a time been appeased by mutual civilities, and published remarks, which he had till then suppressed, upon *The Rape of the Lock*¹. Many more grumbled in secret, or vented their resentment in the newspapers by epigrams or invectives.

Ducket, indeed, being mentioned as loving Burnet with 'pious 153 passion,' pretended that his moral character was injured, and for some time declared his resolution to take vengeance with a cudgel. But Pope appeased him, by changing 'pious passion' to 'cordial friendship', and by a note, in which he vehemently disclaims the malignity of meaning imputed to the first expression³.

Aaron Hill, who was represented as diving for the prize, 154 expostulated with Pope in a manner so much superior to all mean solicitation, that Pope was reduced to sneak and shuffle, sometimes to deny and sometimes to apologize: he first endeavours to wound, and is then afraid to own that he meant a blow⁴.

The Dunciad, in the complete edition, is addressed to 155 Dr. Swift⁵: of the notes, part was written by Dr. Arbuth-

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 34, 60.

² 'Fam'd for good nature, B——, and for truth, [youth.]

D—— for pious passion to the *The Dunciad*, first ed. iii. 137; ed. 1729, iii. 175.

I cannot find 'cordial friendship' in any edition of *The Dunciad*.

In the final edition this couplet is suppressed. It should follow l. 180. For Thomas Burnet and Duckett see *ante*, POPE, 122.

³ *The Dunciad*, iii. 179 n.

⁴ 'H—— try'd the next, but hardly snatch'd from sight

Instant buoys up, and rises into light;

He bears no token of the sabler streams,

And nounts far off, among the swans of Thames.'

The Dunciad, first ed. ii. 273.

In the edition of 1729 [ii. 285] the first line stood:—

'Then * * tried, but,' &c.

In the final edition:—

'Then * essay'd; scarce vanish'd out of sight.' ii. 295.

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 152, 286.

Pope wrote to Hill:—'Has it escaped your observation that the name is a syllable too long? Or, if you will have it a Christian name, is there any other in the whole book?' *Ib.* x. 16. Hill also complained that he was the A. H. in *The Art of Sinking*, ch. vi. *Ib.* x. 11, 361. For the whole correspondence see his *Works*, 1754, i. 53–82. Pope, to make amends, sent his daughter a copy of the *Odyssey*. For Hill see *ante*, SAVAGE, 55, 59; *post*, POPE, 285; THOMSON, 8; MALLET, 8.

⁵ 'The first edition was published in May, 1728, without the address to Swift.' He wrote to Pope on June 1, 1728:—'The doctor [Delany] told me your secret about *The Dunciad*, which does not please me, because it defers gratifying my vanity in the most tender point, and perhaps may wholly disappoint it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 132. Pope replied on June 28:—'The *Dunciad* is going to be printed in all pomp

not², and an apologetical letter was prefixed, signed by Cleland, but supposed to have been written by Pope³.

- 156 After this general war upon dulness he seems to have indulged himself awhile in tranquillity³; but his subsequent productions prove that he was not idle. He published (1731) a poem *On Taste*⁴, in which he very particularly and severely criticises the house, the furniture, the gardens, and the entertainments of Timon, a man of great wealth and little taste⁵. By Timon he was universally supposed, and by the Earl of Burlington, to whom the poem is addressed, was privately said, to mean the Duke of Chandos; a man perhaps too much delighted with pomp and show, but of a temper kind and beneficent, and who had consequently the voice of the publick in his favour⁶.

- 157 A violent outcry was therefore raised against the ingratitude and treachery of Pope, who was said to have been indebted to the patronage of Chandos for a present of a thousand pounds, and who gained the opportunity of insulting him by the kindness of his invitation.

with the inscription which makes me proudest.' This 'inscription' appeared in the edition of March, 1729, and is inserted in the poem. It begins with l. 19 of Bk. i:—

'O Thou! whatever title please thine ear,
[liver!]

Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gul-
For *Dr. Swift to Mr. Pope while he was writing The Dunciad* see *Swift's Works*, xiv. 198.

¹ See Pope's letter to Warburton of Nov. 27, 1742, *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 225.

² William Cleland was a Commissioner of Taxes. The letter is dated Dec. 22, 1728. 'He was,' wrote Pope, 'a person of universal learning and an enlarged conversation.' Warburton added:—'And yet, for all this, the public will not allow him to be the author of this letter.' *Warburton*, v. Introd. p. 12; *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 48. See also *ib.* vii. 214. The letter, written as it was by Pope (see *ib.* iv. 48 n., vii. 444 n.; *Warburton*, viii. 139 n.), is as impudent as it is apologetical. He makes Cleland describe him as 'a person whose friendship I esteem

as one of the chief honours of my life,' and as 'the honest, open, beneficent man.' *Warburton*, v. Introd. pp. 4, 5.

³ Fenton wrote to Broome on June 24, 1729:—'The war is carried on against Pope furiously in pictures and libels. . . . He told me that for the future he intended to write nothing but epistles in Horace's manner.' *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 154.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 369. It was published in Dec. 1731, price one shilling. *Gent. Mag.* 1731, p. 545. See *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 161, 168. The title was *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington*. By Mr. Pope. The third edition has an additional title—*Of False Taste*.

⁵ *Moral Essays*, iv. 99.

⁶ *Ante*, SAVAGE, 238.

'Thus gracious Chandos is below'd at sight.'

POPE, *Moral Essays*, i. 54. For *The Dean and the Duke* see *Swift's Works*, xiv. 340. [See also J. R. Robinson's *The Princely Chandos*, pp. 163, 177.]

The receipt of the thousand pounds Pope publicly denied¹; 158 but from the reproach which the attack on a character so amiable brought upon him, he tried all means of escaping. The name of Cleland was again employed in an apology², by which no man was satisfied; and he was at last reduced to shelter his temerity behind dissimulation, and endeavour to make that disbelieved which he never had confidence openly to deny. He wrote an exculpatory letter to the Duke, which was answered with great magnanimity, as by a man who accepted his excuse without believing his professions. He said, that to have ridiculed his taste or his buildings had been an indifferent action in another man, but that in Pope, after the reciprocal kindness that had been exchanged between them, it had been less easily excused³.

Pope, in one of his letters, complaining of the treatment which 159 his poem had found, 'owns that such criticks can intimidate him, nay almost persuade him to write no more, which is a compliment this age deserves⁴.' The man who threatens the world is always ridiculous; for the world can easily go on without him, and in a short time will cease to miss him. I have heard of an idiot who used to revenge his vexations by lying all night upon the bridge⁵. 'There is nothing,' says Juvenal, 'that a man

¹ In a note on *Prol. Sat.* l. 375, where the sum mentioned is £500.

² In a letter entitled from Cleland to Gay, but written by Pope; first 'published in the newspapers in 1731.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 444.

³ Pope wrote to Lord Oxford on Jan. 22, 1731-2:—'The comfort is that his Grace from the first assured me of his opinion of my innocence, and confirmed it in the strongest, as well as most humane terms, by letter to me.' *Ib.* viii. 293. 'The letter,' writes Mr. Elwin in a note, 'has not been preserved, but from the account of Johnson, who had evidently seen it, we know that Pope gave a wrong epitome of its contents.' See also *ib.* iii. 162-6, x. 44-6; Spence's *Anec.* p. 145.

⁴ 'The last Duke of Chandos,' writes Dr. Warton, 'told me his ancestor was not perfectly satisfied with Pope's asseverations.' *Warton*, Preface, p. 31.

⁵ Johnson refers to a letter purporting to be written to the Earl of Burlington, dated March 7, 1731, in which Pope says:—'I own that critics of this sort can intimidate me, nay half incline me to write no more: That would be making the Town a compliment which, I think, it deserves.' *Warburton*, viii. 144.

Pope wrote to Caryll on March 29, 1732, that the report about 'an imaginary reflection on a worthy peer' might give him 'such a pique to the world's malice as never to publish anything.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 331.

⁵ In the proof-sheet the sentence had run, 'an idiot who used to enforce his demands by threatening to beat his head against the wall.' 'The bridge' was London Bridge. Johnson mentions in a letter 'the booksellers on the bridge.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 257.

will not believe in his own favour¹. Pope had been flattered till he thought himself one of the moving powers in the system of life. When he talked of laying down his pen, those who sat round him intreated and implored, and self-love did not suffer him to suspect that they went away and laughed.

- 160 The following year deprived him of Gay, a man whom he had known early, and whom he seemed to love with more tenderness than any other of his literary friends². Pope was now forty-four years old; an age at which the mind begins less easily to admit new confidence and the will to grow less flexible, and when therefore the departure of an old friend is very acutely felt.

- 161 In the next year he lost his mother, not by an unexpected death, for she had lasted to the age of ninety-three³; but she did not die unlamented. The filial piety of Pope was in the highest degree amiable and exemplary; his parents had the happiness of living till he was at the summit of poetical reputation, till he was at ease in his fortune, and without a rival in his fame, and found no diminution of his respect or tenderness. Whatever was his pride, to them he was obedient; and whatever was his irritability, to them he was gentle. Life has, among its soothing and quiet comforts, few things better to give than such a son⁴.

¹ 'Nihil est quod credere de se
Non possit, quum laudatur dis
acqua potestas.' *Satires*, iv. 70.

² *Ante*, GAY, 15, 24, 26; *post*, POPE, 428. Pope wrote to Swift on Dec. 5, 1732:—'It is not now indeed a time to think of myself, when one of the nearest and longest ties I have ever had is broken all on a sudden by the unexpected death of poor Mr. Gay.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 291.

³ 'DEATHS. June 8, 1733. Mrs. Editha Pope, Mother of Alexander Pope, Esq., the celebrated Poet, aged 93.' *Gent. Mag.* 1733, p. 326.

According to Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 437, she died on June 7. [For her burial on June 11 see Reg. of Burials in Cobbett's *Mem. of Twickenham*, p. 67.] The register of her baptism is dated June 18, 1642, so that she was not quite ninety-one. *N. & Q.* 2 S. i. 41.

⁴ 'He occasionally indulged her in transcribing his works for the press; the numerous corrections made in his hand show that her spelling gave him more trouble than the inaccuracy of his printers.' The following extract from one of her letters shows how she spelt:—'He will not faile to cole here on Friday morning, and take ceare to carrie itt to Mr. Thomas Doncaster [Dancaster].' *Gent. Mag.* 1775, p. 528. See *ante*, POPE, 95 n.

Swift described Pope as one
'Whose filial piety excels'

Whatever Grecian story tells.'
Libel on Dr. Delany, Works, xiv. 390.

Hearne recorded on May 29, 1734 (*Remains*, iii. 141):—'Mr. Alexander Pope, who is looked upon as one of the most cursed, ill-natured, proud fellows in the world, was however very kind and dutiful to his mother.'

One of the passages of Pope's life, which seems to deserve 162 some enquiry¹, was a publication of letters between him and many of his friends, which falling into the hands of Curll, a rapacious bookseller of no good fame, were by him printed and sold². This volume containing some letters from noblemen, Pope incited a prosecution against him in the House of Lords for breach of privilege, and attended himself to stimulate the resentment of his friends. Curll appeared at the bar, and, knowing himself in no great danger, spoke of Pope with very little reverence. 'He has,' said Curll, 'a knack at versifying, but in prose I think myself a match for him³.' When the orders of the House were examined, none of them appeared to have been infringed; Curll went away triumphant, and Pope was left to seek some other remedy⁴.

¹ To this inquiry Mr. Elwin gave 122 pages (pp. 26-147) in the Introduction to Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope). 'He has exhibited a patience and sagacity which place him in the highest rank of literary inquirers. He has unravelled with a merciless hand the web of artifice and petty intrigue which Pope wove round each of his publications of his letters. . . . But after all, what does the story of the letters amount to? . . . The gratification of the little fellow's small vanity, that he might see his letters in print in his lifetime, and yet that it might not be known that he had published them himself!' . . . PATTISON, *Essays*, ii. 382. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 294, for extenuating circumstance put forward by Mr. Courthope. The slander on Addison has left a stain too deep for cleansing. *Ante*, POPE, 29 n., 114.

² *Ante*, POPE, 29, 142; *post*, 273.

For 'Curll's chaste press' see *The Dunciad*, i. 40. 'Curll,' wrote Arbuthnot, 'who is one of the new terrors of death, has been writing letters to everybody for memoirs of Gay's life.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 65. (Lord Brougham borrowed this saying, applying it to Lord Campbell and his *Lives of the Chancellors*.)

³ Nov. 30, 1725. This day Mr. Curll, the bookseller, was found guilty in the King's Bench Court of two in-

dictments for printing obscene pamphlets.' Hearne's *Remains*, ii. 242. For his standing in the pillory, in 1728, and for his being 'carried off as it were in triumph by the mob,' who, by reason of the printed papers he had had dispersed among them, believed he was punished 'for vindicating the memory of Queen Anne,' see *State Trials*, xvii. 160, quoted in Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 324.

John Nichols wrote of him:— 'Whatever were his demerits, they were amply atoned for by his indefatigable industry in preserving our national remains.' *Atterbury Corres.* Preface, p. 4.

³ Among Curll's notes to Pope's *Letters* are the following:— 'Mr. Pope is the son of a trader, and so is Mr. Curll—*par mobile*.' 'Mr. Pope is no more a gentleman than Mr. Curll, nor more eminent as a poet than he as a bookseller.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 419, 432.

Motte, the bookseller, wrote to Swift:— 'The Letters were taken notice of in the House of Lords; and Curll was ruffled for them in a manner, as to a man of less impudence than his own, would have been very uneasy.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 322.

⁴ In Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 419-end, is given Curll's reprint, with notes, of Pope's *Narrative of the Method by which*

- 163 Curll's account was, that one evening a man in a clergyman's gown, but with a lawyer's band¹, brought and offered to sale a number of printed volumes, which he found to be Pope's epistolary correspondence; that he asked no name, and was told none, but gave the price demanded, and thought himself authorised to use his purchase to his own advantage².
- 164 That Curll gave a true account of the transaction, it is reasonable to believe, because no falsehood was ever detected³; and when some years afterwards I mentioned it to Lintot, the son of Bernard⁴, he declared his opinion to be that Pope knew better than any body else how Curll obtained the copies, because another parcel was at the same time sent to himself, for which no price had ever been demanded, as he made known his resolution not to pay a porter, and consequently not to deal with a nameless agent.
- 165 Such care had been taken to make them publick, that they were sent at once to two booksellers: to Curll, who was likely to seize them as a prey, and to Lintot, who might be expected

Mr. Pope's Private Letters were procured and published by Edmund Curll. Curll had advertised the publication of letters written by Pope to Lords Halifax and Burlington (among others), 'with the respective answers.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 428. In May, 1735, Lord Ilay brought this advertisement before the House, as 'contrary to the standing order of Jan. 31, 1721, declaring it to be a breach of privilege to print Lords' works, &c.' He added that in one of the letters Lord Burlington was abused. An order was made for 'the impression of the book' to be seized, and for Curll to attend the House. Curll had received the book in sheets from Pope's secret agent. It contained no letter by a peer. The letter complained of, which Lord Ilay, Pope's neighbour, had really read, was not printed in the copies seized, all of which had been prepared for seizure by Pope. They were therefore returned to Pope, and the matter dropped. *Ib.* pp. 428, 433, 435, v. 286. See also Swift's *Works*, xviii. 294, 299; *N. & Q.* 2 S. x. 201, 485, 505.

¹ 'Had on a clergyman's gown,

and his neck was surrounded with a large lawn barrister's band.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 442.

² Curll, in defending the publication of the correspondence between Pope and Cromwell (*ante*, POPE, 29, 142), says:—'These letters were a free gift; so that there was not any occasion to ask the consent of either of those parties. Mr. Curll purchased them as justly as Mr. Lintot did the copy of Mr. Pope's *Homer*.' *Ib.* p. 419. Whatever the law was in those days, at the present time the writer of a letter can get an injunction against publication.

³ 'The documents show that the lying and trickery rested with P. T. [Pope], while the bookseller was straightforward in his proceedings.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. Introd. p. 54.

⁴ 'Mr. Levet this day showed me [July 18, 1763] Dr. Johnson's Library, which was contained in two garrets over his chambers [No. 1, Inner Temple Lane], where Lintot, son of the celebrated bookseller of that name, had formerly his warehouse.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 435.

to give Pope information of the seeming injury. Lintot, I believe, did nothing; and Curll did what was expected. That to make them publick was the only purpose may be reasonably supposed, because the numbers offered to sale¹ by the private messengers shewed that hope of gain could not have been the motive of the impression.

It seems that Pope, being desirous of printing his letters, 166 and not knowing how to do, without imputation of vanity, what has in this country been done very rarely, contrived an appearance of compulsion: that when he could complain that his letters were surreptitiously published, he might decently and defensively publish them himself².

Pope's private correspondence thus promulgated filled the 167 nation with praises of his candour, tenderness, and benevolence, the purity of his purposes, and the fidelity of his friendship³. There were some letters which a very good or a very wise man would wish suppressed; but, as they had been already exposed, it was impracticable now to retract them.

From the perusal of those letters Mr. Allen first conceived the 168 desire of knowing him⁴, and with so much zeal did he cultivate the friendship which he had newly formed, that when Pope

¹ 650 copies were offered for sale. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 425.

² In the Preface to his *Letters* (1737) he writes:—'However this collection may be received we cannot but lament the *cause* and the *necessity* of such a publication, and heartily wish no honest man may be reduced to the same.' *Ib.* vi. Introd. p. 41. For a 'like necessity' of publishing see *ante*, POPE, 53, 116 n. See also his letter to Caryl of May 12, 1735, Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 355.

³ *Post*, POPE, 273. Gray wrote of Pope to Horace Walpole in 1746:—'It is natural to wish the finest writer, one of them, we ever had should be an honest man. . . . It is not from what he told me about himself that I thought well of him, but from a humanity and goodness of heart, ay, and greatness of mind, that runs through his private correspondence, not less apparent than are a thousand little vanities and

weaknesses mixed with these good qualities, for nobody ever took him for a philosopher.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 127.

Cowper calls him 'a disgusting letter-writer, who seems to have thought that, unless a sentence was well-turned, and every period pointed with some conceit, it was not worth the carriage. Accordingly he is to me, except in very few instances, the most disagreeable maker of epistles that ever I met with.' Southey's *Cowper*, iv. 15.

'The tissue of petty imposture which forms the bulk of Pope's letters is not redeemed by any merits of expression.' PATTISON, *Essays*, ii. 361.

Mr. Courthope shows how they gave pleasure to Gray and 'the nation.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 296.

⁴ *Warburton*, ix. 225; Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 406. For Ralph Allen see *post*, POPE, 194, 218, 254; Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 80.

told his purpose of vindicating his own property by a genuine edition, he offered to pay the cost¹.

- 169 This, however, Pope did not accept; but in time solicited a subscription for a Quarto volume, which appeared (1737), I believe, with sufficient profit². In the Preface he tells that his letters were repositd in a friend's library, said to be the Earl of Oxford's, and that the copy thence stolen was sent to the press³. The story was doubtless received with different degrees of credit. It may be suspected that the Preface to the *Miscellanies* was written to prepare the publick for such an incident⁴; and to strengthen this opinion, James Worsdale, a painter⁵, who was employed in clandestine negotiations, but whose veracity was very doubtful, declared that he was the messenger who carried by Pope's direction the books to Curll.

- 170 When they were thus published and avowed, as they had relation to recent facts, and persons either then living or not yet forgotten, they may be supposed to have found readers; but as the facts were minute, and the characters being either private or literary were little known or little regarded, they awakened no popular kindness or resentment: the book never became much the subject of conversation; some read it as contemporary history, and some perhaps as a model of epistolary language; but those who read it did not talk of it. Not much therefore was added by it to fame or envy; nor do I remember that it produced either publick praise or publick censure.

- 171 It had, however, in some degree the recommendation of

¹ Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 188.

² The subscription was a guinea. *Ib.* ix. 136. The title of the book was *Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope and Several of his Friends*. There was an edition in folio, and a second edition in small octavo the same year.

³ He rather implies this than states it in so many words. *Ib.* vi. Preface, pp. 37-42. For his scheme in depositing a copy of the letters in Lord Oxford's library see *ib.* i. Introduction, p. 31.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 141.

⁵ 'He was apprentice to Kneller, but, marrying his wife's niece without

their consent, was dismissed by his master. On the reputation of that education, by his singing, excellent mimicry and facetious spirit he gained many patrons.' WALPOLE, *Anec. of Painting*, iv. 117.

'He was employed,' writes Mrs. Piozzi, 'as pimp and parasite and everything by Thrale and Murphy in their merry hours.' Hayward's *Piozzi*, 1861, ii. 156. It was like her thus to expose the failings of her husband and her friend.

See also W. R. Chetwood's *History of the Stage*, 1749, p. 249; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. Introd., p. 58, v. 285; and *The Athenaeum*, Sept. 8, 1860, p. 319.

novelty¹. Our language has few letters, except those of statesmen. Howel indeed, about a century ago², published his letters, which are commended by Morhoff³, and which alone of his hundred volumes continue his memory. Loveday's *Letters* were printed only once⁴; those of Herbert⁵ and Suckling⁶ are hardly known. Mrs. Phillip's [*Orinda's*'] are equally neglected; and those of Walsh seem written as exercises, and were never sent to any living mistress or friend⁸. Pope's epistolary excellence had an open field; he had no English rival, living or dead.

Pope is seen in this collection as connected with the other¹⁷² contemporary wits, and certainly suffers no disgrace in the comparison; but it must be remembered that he had the power of favouring himself⁹: he might have originally had publication in his mind, and have written with care, or have afterwards selected those which he had most happily conceived, or most diligently laboured; and I know not whether there does not appear something more studied and artificial in his productions than the rest¹⁰, except one long letter by Bolingbroke¹¹, composed with all the skill and industry of a professed

¹ 'Pope's letters are the only true models which we, or perhaps any of our neighbours, have of *familiar epistles*.' Warburton, Preface, p. 6.

² [The first edition, afterwards greatly enlarged, was published in 1645.]

³ '... lectorem mirifice delectant, adeo quidem ut qui illas in latinum sermonem verteret egregie admodum de re literaria mereretur.' *De Ratione Conscribendarum Epistolarum Libellus*, ed. 1716, p. 67. The writer's name was Morhof.

⁴ Loveday's *Letters*, by Robert Loveday, 1659. There was a second edition in 1662, and a fifth impression in 1673. *Brit. Mus. Cata.*

⁵ In George Herbert's *Works*, 1859, vol. i. pp. 374-92, fourteen of his letters are given, and in Walton's *Life of Herbert*, one or two more.

⁶ *The Last Remains of Sir John Suckling, being a Full Collection of all his Poems and Letters*, 1659.

⁷ *Ante*, ROSCOMMON, 36.

⁸ *Ante*, WALSH, 10.

⁹ Pope had the impudence to write to Allen:—'As to my character as a man, it would [after publication of the *Letters*] be but just where it is;

unless I could be so vain, for it would not be virtuous, to add more and more honest sentiments; which, when done to be printed, would surely be wrong and weak also.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 189.

¹⁰ *Post*, POPE, 276. Mr. Elwin quotes his forged letter to Blount, dated Feb. 11, 1706, where he writes:—'I have been just taking a solitary walk by moonshine in St. James's Park, . . . giving my thoughts a loose into the contemplation of those sensations of satisfaction which probably we may taste in the more exalted company of separate spirits, when we range the starry walks above.' On Feb. 9 a thaw had set in after a long frost; the snow was very deep. This passage comes from a letter really written to Caryl on Sept. 20, 1713. *Ib.* i. Introd. p. 123, vi. 194. For an instance of his dressing up letters received, see *ib.* vii. 479.

¹¹ [The only letter by Bolingbroke in the two volumes of *Letters* published by Pope in 1737 is one to Swift (*Works*, 1736-7, vi. 148-151). It well deserves Johnson's criticism.]

author. It is indeed not easy to distinguish affectation from habit; he that has once studiously formed a style rarely writes afterwards with complete ease. Pope may be said to write always with his reputation in his head¹; Swift perhaps like a man who remembered that he was writing to Pope²; but Arbuthnot like one who lets thoughts drop from his pen as they rise into his mind³.

- 178 Before these Letters appeared he published the first part of what he persuaded himself to think a system of Ethicks, under the title of an *Essay on Man*⁴, which, if his letter to Swift (of Sept. 14, 1725) be rightly explained by the commentator, had been eight years under his consideration⁵, and of which he seems to have desired the success with great solicitude. He had now many open and doubtless many secret enemies. The Dunces were yet smarting with the war, and the superiority which he publicly arrogated disposed the world to wish his humiliation.
- 174 All this he knew, and against all this he provided. His own name, and that of his friend to whom the work is inscribed, were

¹ Swift wrote to him in 1730:— 'I find you have been a writer of letters almost from your infancy; and, by your own confession, had schemes even then of epistolary fame.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 179.

² Swift wrote to the Countess of Suffolk in 1731:— 'I was in danger of leaning on my elbow (I mean my left elbow) to consider what I should write; which posture I never used except when I was under a necessity of writing to fools, or lawyers, or ministers of state; where I am to consider what is to be said.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 403. He wrote to Pope in 1735:— 'I believe we neither of us ever leaned our head upon our left hand to study what we should write next.' *Ib.* xviii. 330. See *post*, POPE, 284.

³ For Johnson's praise of Arbuthnot see *post*, POPE, 212.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 363. In the edition in 12mo, in 1735, the four books 'were called *Ethic Epistles the First Book*, and not *Essay on Man*; and the four *Epistles to Lord Burlington*, &c., were called *Ethic Epistles, the*

Second Book.' Warton, Preface, p. 32.

⁵ 'I have,' said Pope, 'drawn in the plan for my *Ethic Epistles* much narrower than it was at first.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 136. For his plan, as set forth on 'a leaf he annexed to about a dozen copies of the poem printed in 1734,' see *ib.*

⁵ The commentator was Warburton, in his *Pope*, ix. 36. 'Your Travels,' wrote Pope, 'I hear much of; my own, I promise you, shall never more be in a strange land, but a diligent, I hope useful, investigation of my own Territories.' Warburton in a note says Pope refers to *Gulliver's Travels* (not published till 1726, *ante*, SWIFT, App. H) and to *The Essay on Man*. 'This,' says Warton (*Pope*, ix. 46), 'is the first notice he gives Swift of his great work, and is so obscure a hint that Swift certainly could not guess at the subject written 1725.' Mr. Elwin doubts the interpretation, 'as Pope did not commence his ethical scheme till four years later.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 263 n. See also *ib.* vii. 50.

in the first editions carefully suppressed¹; and the poem, being of a new kind, was ascribed to one or another as favour determined or conjecture wandered: it was given, says Warburton, to every man except him only who could write it². Those who like only when they like the author, and who are under the dominion of a name, condemned it; and those admired it who are willing to scatter praise at random, which while it is unappropriated excites no envy. Those friends of Pope that were trusted with the secret went about lavishing honours on the new-born poet, and hinting that Pope was never so much in danger from any former rival.

To those authors whom he had personally offended, and to 175 those whose opinion the world considered as decisive, and whom he suspected of envy or malevolence, he sent his *Essay* as a present before publication that they might defeat their own enmity by praises, which they could not afterwards decently retract³.

With these precautions, in 1733 was published the first part of 176 the *Essay on Man*⁴. There had been for some time a report that Pope was busy upon a System of Morality, but this design was not discovered in the new poem, which had a form and a title with which its readers were unacquainted. Its reception was not uniform: some thought it a very imperfect piece, though not

¹ The first edition has Laelius for St. John.

² *Post*, MALLEY, 10. 'It was at first given, as he told me (writes Warburton), to Dr. Young, to Dr. Desaguliers, to Lord Bolingbroke, to Lord Paget, and, in short, to everybody but to him who was capable of writing it.' Warburton, iv. 36. For Desaguliers and Paget see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 262 n.

Pope wrote to Caryll on March 8, 1732-3:—'The town is now very full of a new poem entitled *An Essay on Man*, attributed, I think with reason, to a divine.' *Ib.* vi. 339. On March 20 he wrote that some of the divines 'had solemnly denied it.' *Ib.* p. 340.

³ For Mallet's blunder in scoffing at it before Pope see *post*, MALLEY, 10.

⁴ The first Epistle appeared anonymously in Feb. 1733; the second about April; the third later in the year; and the fourth in January, 1734—all in folio, quarto, and octavo. 'The right to print each for one year was bought by Gilliver for £50 an Epistle.' The price of each was one shilling. 'To divert suspicion the poet put forth in January, 1733, with his name, his *Epistle on the Use of Riches*, and a week or two afterwards one of his *Imitations of Horace*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 260, 274.

The title of the first book was *An Essay on Man, Address'd to a Friend*, Part i; of the second, *An Essay on Man. In Epistles to a Friend*, Epistle ii. The third and fourth have the same title as the second. They are all anonymous and undated.

without good lines. While the author was unknown some, as will always happen, favoured him as an adventurer, and some censured him as an intruder¹, but all thought him above neglect: the sale increased, and editions were multiplied.

- 177 The subsequent editions of the first Epistle exhibited two memorable corrections. At first, the poet and his friend

‘Expatiate freely o’er this scene of man’,
A mighty maze of walks without a plan.’

For which he wrote afterwards

‘A mighty maze, but not without a plan’:

for, if there were no plan, it was in vain to describe or to trace the maze.

The other alteration was of these lines:

‘And spite of pride, and in thy reason’s spite,
One truth is clear, whatever is, is right³’;

but having afterwards discovered, or been shewn, that the *truth* which subsisted *in spite of reason* could not be very *clear*, he substituted

‘And spite of pride, in erring reason’s spite.’

To such oversights will the most vigorous mind be liable when it is employed at once upon argument and poetry⁴.

- 178 The second and third Epistles were published⁵, and Pope was,

¹ Pope thought Swift had not discovered the authorship. Swift replied on Nov. 1, 1734:—‘Surely I never doubted about your *Essay on Man*; and I would lay any odds that I would never fail to discover you in six lines, unless you had a mind to write below or beside yourself on purpose.’ Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 324, 328.

² ‘Expatiate free o’er all this scene of man.’ *Essay*, i. 5.

³ *Ib.* i. 293.

⁴ By the kindness of Mr. Arthur Marlow I have seen the first edition of the four *Essays* with corrections in Pope’s hand. In the first *Essay* there are thirty-nine and two new lines; in the second, nine and two new lines; in the third, eight; and in the fourth only one—the substitution of St. John for Laelius.

⁵ ‘Pope told Harte that, in order to disguise his being the author of the

second Epistle, he made in the first edition the following bad rhyme:—

“A cheat! a whore! who starts not at the name,

In all the Inns of Court, or Drury Lane?”

And Harte remembered to have often heard it urged that it was impossible it could be Pope’s on account of this very passage.’ Warton’s *Essay*, ii. 210.

This couplet followed line 220 of the revised edition.

Mr. Elwin, giving examples of other bad rhymes in the *Epistles*, says:—‘There must have been some strange peculiarity in the ears of a generation which could be revolted by “lane” and “name,” and welcome such rhymes as these. The anecdote cannot be correct.’ Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 274. I do not agree with him. These rhymes were either good

I believe, more and more suspected of writing them; at last, in 1734, he avowed the fourth¹, and claimed the honour of a moral poet.

In the conclusion it is sufficiently acknowledged that the 179 doctrine of the *Essay on Man* was received from Bolingbroke², who is said to have ridiculed Pope, among those who enjoyed his confidence, as having adopted and advanced principles of which he did not perceive the consequence, and as blindly propagating opinions contrary to his own³. That those communications had been consolidated into a scheme regularly drawn, and delivered to Pope, from whom it returned only transformed from prose to verse, has been reported, but hardly can be true. The *Essay* plainly appears the fabrick of a poet: what Bolingbroke supplied could be only the first principles; the order, illustration, and embellishments must all be Pope's⁴.

rhymes to the eye or were conventional. To make a word ending in *me* rhyme with one ending in *ne* was not conventional.

¹ [It was published in folio by Wilford, 1734. Mr. C. E. Doble has kindly shown me his copy of a quarto edition of the complete *Essay*, published by Gilliver the same year. In neither case does Pope's name appear on the title-page.]

² Bolingbroke wrote to Swift in 1731:—"Does Pope talk to you of the noble work which, at my instigation, he has begun in such a manner that he must be convinced by this time I judged better of his talents than he did?" *Ib.* vii. 244. In Sept. 1734, at the end of a letter from Pope to Swift, he wrote:—"He [Pope] talks very pompously of my metaphysics. . . . It is true I have writ six letters and a half to him on subjects of that kind, and I propose a letter and a half more." *Ib.* p. 325.

³ Pope stated to Spence that "he had received seven or eight sheets from Bolingbroke in relation to it" [Spence's *Anec.* p. 144]. If the conjecture be right that these very sheets were the *Fragments or Minutes of Essays* printed in Bolingbroke's *Works* [vii. 278-viii. end], we have the means of judging for ourselves what was exactly the amount of his written contribution

to *The Essay on Man*. But whatever may be the truth . . . they are doctrines having no peculiarity about them by which they can be stamped as his; they . . . were current in the conversation of reading and thinking men. So familiar did they seem to Johnson that, instead of finding a special paternity for them, he sneers at them as "the talk of our mother and our nurse" [*post*, POPE, 365]. PATTISON, *Essays*, ii. 385. See also *ante*, SAVAGE, 119 n.

³ Warburton states this. *Works*, 1811, xii. 335. Bolingbroke wrote to Marchmont in 1742:—"I should be sorry to shake even error, which it is useful to maintain in society for no reason but this, that it is established. . . . On this principle I have cautioned Pope; and your Lordship will oblige me greatly in taking and repeating the same caution." *Marchmont Papers*, ii. 285.

⁴ Johnson, criticizing this report, which reached him from Lord Bathurst through Dr. Blair, said:—"Pope may have had from Bolingbroke the philosophic *stamina* of his *Essay*. . . . We are sure that the poetical imagery, which makes a great part of the poem, was Pope's own." Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 403. Dr. Waton had the same account from Bathurst. *Essay on Pope*, ii. 123.

- 180 These principles it is not my business to clear from obscurity, dogmatism, or falsehood, but they were not immediately examined; philosophy and poetry have not often the same readers, and the *Essay* abounded in splendid amplifications and sparkling sentences, which were read and admired with no great attention to their ultimate purpose: its flowers caught the eye which did not see what the gay foliage concealed, and for a time flourished in the sunshine of universal approbation. So little was any evil tendency discovered that, as innocence is unsuspicious, many read it for a manual of piety.
- 181 Its reputation soon invited a translator¹. It was first turned into French prose, and afterwards by Resnel into verse². Both translations fell into the hands of Crousaz, who first, when he had the version in prose, wrote a general censure, and afterwards reprinted Resnel's version with particular remarks upon every paragraph.
- 182 Crousaz was a professor of Switzerland, eminent for his treatise

¹ 'On peut le traduire parce qu'il est extrêmement clair, et que ses sujets, pour la plupart, sont généraux et du ressort de toutes les nations.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 134. 'Il a été traduit par des hommes dignes de le traduire.' *Ib.* x. 115.

Pope, in an undated letter, mentions two Italian versions, two French, one German, one in Latin verse printed at Wirtemberg, and another in French prose. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 98. 'There are in the *Brit. Mus. Cata.* seven translations into French verse, and one into French prose, coming down to 1864; five into German, coming down to 1874; five into Italian, coming down to 1856; two into Portuguese, one into Polish; two into Latin verse.' *Ib.* v. 250. There is also a copy in English, Latin, Italian, French, and German, printed at Amsterdam in 1772. Professor Morfill tells me he has a Russian translation, Moscow, 1757. Among the few English books Boswell found in Paoli's library in Corsica was *The Essay on Man*. Boswell's *Corsica*, 1768, p. 297.

² Warburton attacked Resnel and Crousaz. Resnel corrected Pope's irregularity of method. 'The French,' Warburton wrote, 'are not satisfied

with sentiments, however beautiful, unless they be methodically disposed.' Warburton, iii. 167. Resnel's translation, 'abounding in absurdities,' Crousaz used in writing his *Commentary*. *Ib.* p. 17. Pope's lines (i. 277):—

'As full, as perfect in vile Man that mourns,
As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns'

are translated:—

'Dans un homme ignoré, sous une humble chaumière,
Que dans le Séraphin, rayonnant de lumière.'

On this Crousaz remarked:—'For all that, we sometimes find in persons of the lowest rank a fund of probity and resignation which preserves them from contempt.' *Ib.* p. 37. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 494, 502, v. 327.

Johnson, in 1743, wrote a short letter on the controversy to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the first five paragraphs of which appeared in March, and the last eight in November. *Works*, v. 202; Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 157 n. See also *ib.* i. 137. For Resnel see *ante*, GARTH, 17; POPE, 43.

of Logick and his *Examen de Pyrrhonisme*¹, and, however little known or regarded here, was no mean antagonist. His mind was one of those in which philosophy and piety are happily united. He was accustomed to argument and disquisition, and perhaps was grown too desirous of detecting faults; but his intentions were always right, his opinions were solid, and his religion pure.

His incessant vigilance for the promotion of piety disposed 183 him to look with distrust upon all metaphysical systems of Theology, and all schemes of virtue and happiness purely rational, and therefore it was not long before he was persuaded that the positions of Pope, as they terminated for the most part in natural religion, were intended to draw mankind away from revelation, and to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of indissoluble fatality; and it is undeniable that in many passages a religious eye may easily discover expressions not very favourable to morals or to liberty².

About this time Warburton began to make his appearance in 184 the first ranks of learning. He was a man of vigorous faculties, a mind fervid and vehement, supplied by incessant and unlimited enquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which yet had not oppressed his imagination nor clouded his perspicacity³. To every work he brought a memory full fraught,

¹ 'The first text of my philosophical studies, the book which taught me the use and conduct of my understanding, was the Logic of Mr. de Crousaz, a native and Professor of Lausanne, who died about five years before my arrival. His reputation is already faded; but his moderate and methodical writings were useful in their day to form the reason, the taste, and even the style of his countrymen; and he rescued the clergy of the Pays de Vaud from the heavy and intolerant yoke of the theology of Calvin.' GIBBON, *Autobiographies*, 1896, p. 234. See also *ib.* p. 135, and Gibbon's *Memoirs*, pp. 87, 96.

² That Young saw nothing against religion in the poem is shown by his allusion to Pope and the *Essay on Man* at the end of the first canto of his *Night Thoughts*:—

'Oh had he press'd his theme, pursued the track

Which opens out of darkness into day!

Oh had he, mounted on his wing of fire,

Soar'd where I sink, and sung immortal man!

How had it bless'd mankind, and rescued me!

'The *Essay* is not a system at all; but it is certainly not a system of deism, because that term connotes along with natural religion a negation of the truth or reality of the Christian revelation. . . . There is not in the whole poem the least savour of an *animus* against revelation.' PATTISON, *Essays*, ii. 388.

"If you did not find Pope a philosopher, you have made him one," Middleton told Warburton.' *ib.* p. 130. See also *post*, POPE, 191, 246.

³ 'Gray said Warburton's learning was a late acquisition, and did not sit

together with a fancy fertile of original combinations, and at once exerted the powers of the scholar, the reasoner, and the wit. But his knowledge was too multifarious to be always exact, and his pursuits were too eager to be always cautious. His abilities gave him an haughty confidence which he disdained to conceal or mollify, and his impatience of opposition disposed him to treat his adversaries with such contemptuous superiority as made his readers commonly his enemies, and excited against the advocate the wishes of some who favoured the cause. He seems to have adopted the Roman Emperor's determination, 'oderint dum metuant'; he used no allurements of gentle language, but wished to compel rather than persuade².

185 His style is copious without selection, and forcible without neatness; he took the words that presented themselves: his diction is coarse and impure, and his sentences are unmeasured.

186 He had, in the early part of his life, pleased himself with the notice of inferior wits and corresponded with the enemies of Pope. A letter was produced, when he had perhaps himself forgotten it, in which he tells Concanen³, 'Dryden I observe borrows for want of leisure, and Pope for want of genius; Milton out of pride, and Addison out of modesty.' And when Theobald published

easily on him.' Mitford's *Gray*, v. 38.

² 'It was said by Bentley of Warburton, in relation to his learning, that he never knew a man with so great an appetite and so bad a digestion.' *Quarterly Review*, 1827, No. 71, p. 54. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 36, iv. 46, v. 80, 93.

³ 'Tragicum illud subinde iactabat:—Oderint dum metuant.' SUTONIUS, *Caligula*, xxx.

⁴ In the Advertisement to Pope's *Works* (p. 8) Warburton writes:—'Together with his WORKS he hath bequeathed me his DUNCES. So that, as the property is transferred, I could wish they would now let his memory alone. . . . Though Rome permitted her slaves to calumniate her best citizens on the days of triumph, yet the same petulance at their funeral would have been rewarded with execration and a gibbet. . . . He must have a strange impotency of mind indeed whom such

miserable scribblers can be supposed to ruffle. Of all that gross Beotian phalanx who have written scurrilously against me I know not so much as One whom a writer of reputation would not wish to have his enemy, or whom a man of honour would not be ashamed to own for his friend.'

³ For Matthew Concanen see Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* ii. 189. For Warburton's letter see *ib.* p. 195; *post*, AKENSIDE, 6n. See also *The Dunciad*, ii. 299.

For Warburton's assistance to Theobald see his correspondence in Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* ii. 189-647, 741 n.

Cibber, writing to Warburton about the change of the hero of *The Dunciad* (*post*, POPE, 237), speaks of 'your willingness to redeem your old ally Mr. Tibbald from his dishonour.' *Letter to Mr. Pope*, 1744, p. 28.

⁴ In the first edition:—'he tells Concanen that Milton borrowed by affectation, Dryden by idleness, and Pope by necessity.'

Shakespeare, in opposition to Pope, the best notes were supplied by Warburton¹.

But the time was now come when Warburton was to change 187 his opinion, and Pope was to find a defender in him who had contributed so much to the exaltation of his rival.

The arrogance of Warburton excited against him every artifice 188 of offence², and therefore it may be supposed that his union with Pope was censured as hypocritical inconstancy; but surely to think differently at different times of poetical merit may be easily allowed³. Such opinions are often admitted and dismissed without nice examination. Who is there that has not found reason for changing his mind about questions of greater importance⁴?

Warburton, whatever was his motive⁵, undertook without 189 solicitation to rescue Pope from the talons of Crousaz by freeing him from the imputation of favouring fatality or rejecting revela-

¹ Theobald, in his Preface, 1733, p. 66, says:—'I owe no small part of my best criticisms to him.'

² 'Warburton,' said Johnson, 'by extending his abuse rendered it ineffectual.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 93.

Hume, in 1771, described 'Warburton and all his gang' as 'the most scurrilous, arrogant and impudent fellows in the world.' *Letters to Strahan*, p. 200.

'The real merit of Warburton,' wrote Gibbon, 'was degraded by the pride and presumption with which he pronounced his infallible decrees.' Gibbon's *Autos*, p. 281.

Voltaire called him 'un pédant bavard et insolent.' *Œuvres*, xl. 331.

Bolingbroke wrote to him in *A Familiar Epistle*, &c. (*post*, POPE, 253):—'Contempt will be your security, and you will have no reply to apprehend from any man who would not dispute with a common scold, nor wrestle with a chimney-sweeper.' p. 15.

Churchill (*Poems*, ed. 1766, ii. 79) says of him:—

'And was so proud, that should he meet

The twelve Apostles in the street,
He'd turn his nose up at them all,
And shove his Saviour from the wall.'

³ Dodsley was present when Pope

and Warburton first met in Lord Radnor's garden at Twickenham. 'He told me,' writes Warton, 'that he was astonished at the high compliments paid Warburton by Pope.' *Warton*, ix. 311. Hawkins's account of their meeting accidentally 'at the bookseller's shop at the corner of Inner Temple Lane' (*Johnson's Works*, 1787, iv. 68) must be inaccurate. Warton quotes a passage from Bishop Law's *Origin of Evil*, where Law says that 'Warburton once held the doctrine of the *Essay on Man* to be rank "atheism."'⁴ *Warton*, iii. 158. Mr. Elwin justly condemns Warburton as insincere. I notice, however, that in vol. ii. p. 286, quoting Warton's *Pope's Works*, Preface, p. 33, he gives as a fact that which Warton mentions as an assertion.

For 'the little suspicion Johnson appeared to have of hypocrisy in religion' see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 418 n.

⁴ For Hurd's defence of Warburton see Warburton's *Works*, 1811, i. 23.

⁵ 'JOHNSON. He was first an antagonist to Pope . . .; but seeing him the rising man, when Crousaz attacked his *Essay on Man*, for some faults which it has and some which it has not, he defended it in the Review of that time.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 80.

tion, and from month to month continued a vindication of the *Essay on Man* in the literary journal of that time, called *The Republick of Letters*¹.

- 190 Pope, who probably began to doubt the tendency of his own work, was glad that the positions of which he perceived himself not to know the full meaning could by any mode of interpretation be made to mean well. How much he was pleased with his gratuitous defender the following Letter evidently shews:—

‘SIR,

‘March 24, 1743’.

‘I have just received from Mr. R.³ two more of your Letters. It is in the greatest hurry imaginable that I write this, but I cannot help thanking you in particular for your third Letter, which is so extremely clear, short, and full, that I think Mr. Crousaz ought never to have another answer, and deserved not so good an one. I can only say you do him too much honour and me too much right, so odd as the expression seems; for you have made my system as clear as I ought to have done, and could not. It is indeed the same system as mine, but illustrated with a ray of your own, as they say our natural body is the same still when it is glorified⁴. I am sure I like it better than I did before, and so will every man else. I know I meant just what you explain, but I did not explain my own meaning so well as you. You understand me as well as I do myself, but you express me better than I could express myself. Pray accept the sincerest acknowledgements. I cannot but wish these Letters were put together in one Book⁵, and intend (with your leave) to procure a translation of part at least of all of them into French, but I shall not proceed a step without your consent and opinion, &c.’

- 191 By this fond and eager acceptance of an exculpatory comment

¹ The vindication is in *The Works of the Learned*, iv. 425, v. 56, 89, 159, 330; *N. & Q.* 2 S. iv. 407. ‘Warburton’s first letter appeared in Dec. 1738. *The Present State of the Republick of Letters* had come to an end in 1736.’ Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 266.

² In Johnson’s *Works*, ed. 1825, viii. 289, the date is given as 1732. In the original MS. the year is not given. It should be 1739. Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 203.

³ Jacob Robinson, a bookseller near the Inner Temple Gate in Fleet Street, and publisher of *The Works of the Learned*. Nichols’s *Lit. Anec.* v. 552. It was at his shop, writes Hawkins

(*Life of Johnson*, p. 69), that the friendship of Pope and Warburton commenced. See *ante*, POPE, 188 n. 3.

⁴ Warton (ix. 302) quotes Cowley’s *Lines to Sir W. Davenant* (*Eng. Poets*, vii. 141):—

‘So will our God re-build man’s perish’d frame,
And raise him up much better, yet the same.’

⁵ ‘This was done in 1740, when the five letters were expanded into six. A seventh letter was added in a subsequent edition, and the whole was re-arranged in four letters in the edition of 1742.’ Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 266. See Warburton’s *Works*, 1811, xi. 13.

Pope testified that, whatever might be the seeming or real import of the principles which he had received from Bolingbroke, he had not intentionally attacked religion; and Bolingbroke, if he meant to make him without his own consent an instrument of mischief, found him now engaged with his eyes open on the side of truth.

It is known that Bolingbroke concealed from Pope his real 192 opinions. He once discovered them to Mr. Hooke, who related them again to Pope, and was told by him that he must have mistaken the meaning of what he heard; and Bolingbroke, when Pope's uneasiness incited him to desire an explanation, declared that Hooke had misunderstood him¹.

Bolingbroke hated Warburton, who had drawn his pupil from 193 him²; and a little before Pope's death they had a dispute, from which they parted with mutual aversion³.

From this time Pope lived in the closest intimacy with his 194 commentator⁴, and amply rewarded his kindness and his zeal; for he introduced him to Mr. Murray⁵, by whose interest he became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and to Mr. Allen, who gave him his niece and his estate, and by consequence a bishoprick⁶.

¹ Warburton in his *Works*, 1811, xii. 91, tells the same story, but does not mention Hooke by name. See also Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 219; Spence's *Anec.* p. 369; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 276.

² 'He saw his pupil *reasoned* out of his hands.' WARBURTON, *Works*, xii. 336.

³ 'Whenever there is exaggerated praise,' said Johnson, 'everybody is set against a character. They are provoked to attack it.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 82. If this be true Pope certainly provoked Warburton to attack Bolingbroke. On April 23, 1742, he wrote to him of his Lordship:—'You never saw a *man* before, if I know what a man is.' This passage Warburton suppressed when he published the letter. *Warburton*, ix. 252; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 224. On March 6, 1744, writing to Allen about Warburton, Pope continued, 'whom I have promised to make known to the only great man in Europe who knows as much as he.' *Ib.* ix. 198. Bolingbroke was the man.

Warburton, in a note on Pope's

Works, ix. 201, says that Bolingbroke 'as a politician tries all principles, and as a philosopher sticks to the worst.' For his 'account of the causes of the rupture' see Warburton's *Works*, 1811, xii. 337.

⁴ 'From this time' must mean from the time Warburton commented on the *Essay on Man*.

⁵ The 'dear Murray' of Pope's *Imit. Hor., Epis. i.* 6. 3, afterwards Earl of Mansfield.

⁶ On Nov. 12, 1741, Allen, through Pope, invited Warburton to visit him at his house near Bath. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 220.

'JOHNSON. Pope introduced Warburton to Allen, Allen married him to his niece; so, by Allen's interest and his own, he was made a bishop. But then his learning was the *sine qua non*; he knew how to make the most of it; but I do not find by any dishonest means.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 80.

Fielding, in *Tom Jones*, Bk. xiii. ch. 1, invoking Learning says:—'Give me a while that key to all thy treasures which to thy Warburton thou

When he died he left him the property of his works, a legacy which may be reasonably estimated at four thousand pounds¹.

- 195 Pope's fondness for the *Essay on Man* appeared by his desire of its propagation. Dobson, who had gained reputation by his version of Prior's *Solomon*², was employed by him to translate it into Latin verse, and was for that purpose some time at Twickenham; but he left his work, whatever was the reason, unfinished, and, by Benson's invitation, undertook the longer task of *Paradise Lost*³. Pope then desired his friend to find

hast entrusted.' Allen was the All-worthy of the novel. To him *Amelia* was dedicated. Probably out of regard for him Warburton was thus complimented. See also *Joseph Andrews*, Bk. iii. ch. 6.

Bolingbroke wrote to him:—'Keep within that low sphere to which nature and fortune have confined you. Coax your young wife, flatter her old uncle. . . . Men like L. B. may be said to live in a superior sphere, where the buzz and din of such insects can never reach.' *A Familiar Epistle*, &c., p. 22.

¹ Pope in his will, printed in *Warburton*, ix. 268, and *Warton*, ix. 415, bequeathed to him 'the property of all such of my Works already printed, as he hath written, or shall write commentaries or notes upon, and which I have not otherwise disposed of or alienated; and all the profits which shall arise after my death from such editions as he shall publish without future alterations.' According to Warburton, the last of these conditions was added 'to prevent any share of the offence' his revised writings 'might occasion from falling on the friend whom he had engaged to give them to the public.' *Warburton*, Preface, p. 1. 'What Pope did was, in effect, to bind him under a penalty of £4,000 to print his poems as the author left them.' Moreover 'Warburton was compelled to comment, whether he had anything to say or not, in order to preserve his rights.' *Pattison, Essays*, ii. 363, 365. Warburton, as Mr. Courthope points out, used the notes both 'to gratify his own private resentments,' and to win Court

favour. On Feb. 10, 1750, writing to Hurd about a new edition of *The Dunciad*, he said:—'In this there is a new Duncce or two that came in my way.' That is to say, where the object of Pope's satire was doubtful he fixed it on some enemy of his, while he explained away an attack on Queen Caroline. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 8–14. See also *ib.* i. Introd. p. 19, and *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate*, p. 41. For the Queen see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 9, and *Epil. Sat.* i. 80 n.

² *Ante*, PRIOR, 65; *post*, POPE, 291. 'Dobson translated the first book as a school-exercise when at Winchester College.' *Warton, Essay on Pope*, ii. 483. See also *Warton*, vii. 112.

³ According to Spence Lord Oxford was to pay Dobson £105 for the version of the *Essay*, when Benson (*ante*, MILTON, 155; *post*, THOMSON, 6 n.) 'offered to give him £1,000 if he would translate *Paradise Lost*. Lord Oxford and Mr. Pope released him from his engagement.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 179. For a specimen of his version of the *Essay* see *ib.* p. 475. His *Paradisus Amissus*, 2 vols. 4to, is advertised in *Gent. Mag.* 1753, p. 298. A specimen of it is given, *ib.* 1750, p. 565. See also *ante*, MILTON, 273 n. 4. Beattie asked Johnson about him. 'He owned he had known him, but did not seem inclined to speak on the subject. All that I could ever hear of his private life was that in his old age he was given to drinking.' *Forbes's Beattie*, 1824, ii. 302.

a scholar who should turn his *Essay* into Latin prose¹; but no such performance has ever appeared.

Pope lived at this time 'among the Great²,' with that reception 196 and respect to which his works entitled him, and which he had not impaired by any private misconduct or factious partiality. Though Bolingbroke was his friend, Walpole was not his enemy³, but treated him with so much consideration as, at his request, to solicit and obtain from the French Minister an abbey for Mr. Southcot, whom he considered himself as obliged to reward, by this exertion of his interest, for the benefit which he had received from his attendance in a long illness⁴.

It was said that, when the Court was at Richmond, Queen 197 Caroline had declared her intention to visit him. This may have been only a careless effusion, thought on no more: the report of such notice, however, was soon in many mouths; and, if I do not forget or misapprehend Savage's account, Pope, pretending to decline what was not yet offered, left his house for a time, not, I suppose, for any other reason than lest he should be thought to stay at home in expectation of an honour which would not be conferred. He was, therefore, angry at Swift, who represents him as 'refusing the visits of a Queen⁵,' because he knew that what had never been offered had never been refused.

Beside the general system of morality supposed to be con- 198 tained in the *Essay on Man*, it was his intention to write distinct poems upon the different duties or conditions of life⁶; one of which

¹ The friend was Warburton. See Pope's letters to him dated June 24 and Oct. 27, 1740. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 210-11.

² 'Envy must own I live among the Great.' *Imit. Hor.*, *Sat.* ii. 1. 133.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 148.

⁴ Spence's *Anec.* p. 7; Warburton, iv. 296. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 148 n., 300, and Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 257.

⁵ 'Hail, happy Pope! whose generous mind

Detesting all the statesman kind,
Contemning Courts, at Courts unseen,

Refus'd the visits of a Queen.'

SWIFT, *Works*, xiv. 390.

Johnson refers to Pope's letter to Swift of March 4, 1729-30, in which he says:—'We have here some verses

in your name, which I am angry at. Sure you would not use me so ill as to flatter me.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 185.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 173. See Spence's *Anec.* p. 315, where Pope says:—'I had once thought of completing my ethic work in four books—the first would have been on the Nature of Man; the second, you know, is on Knowledge and its limits; the third on Government, both ecclesiastical and civil; and the fourth on Morality.' See also Warburton's expansion of this. Warburton's, iii. 181; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 45. On p. 46 it is pointed out that this design was probably formed after the several epistles, subsequently included under *Moral Essays*, had been written.

is the *Epistle to Lord Bathurst* (1733) *on the Use of Riches*, a piece on which he declared great labour to have been bestowed¹. 199 Into this poem some incidents are historically thrown, and some known characters are introduced, with others of which it is difficult to say how far they are real or fictitious²; but the praise of Kyrl, 'the Man of Ross'³, deserves particular examination, who, after a long and pompous enumeration of his publick works and private charities, is said to have diffused all those blessings from 'five hundred a year⁴.' Wonders are willingly told and willingly heard⁵. The truth is that Kyrl was a man of known integrity and active benevolence, by whose solicitation the wealthy were persuaded to pay contributions to his charitable schemes; this influence he obtained by an example of liberality exerted to the utmost extent of his power, and was thus enabled to give more than he had. This account Mr. Victor⁶ received from the

¹ *Post*, POPE, 272, 369. 'I never took more care in my life of anything,' he wrote to Swift in 1733. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 297. 'It was,' he said, 'as much laboured as any one of my works.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 304. 'From the easiness that appears in it one would be apt to think as much.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 437. It was published in Jan. 1732-3. *Gent. Mag.* 1733, p. 51. The title was *Of the Use of Riches. An Epistle to the Right Honourable Allen, Lord Bathurst*.

² Swift wrote of the poem to Pope:—'We have no objection but the obscurity of several passages by our ignorance in facts and persons, which makes us lose abundance of the satire.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 293. 'The poem,' writes Mr. Courthope, 'is a veiled satire on the monied interest of the period... which the Whigs employed to balance the influence of the landed aristocracy.' *Ib.* iii. 122.

³ *Moral Essays*, iii. 250. Fielding, in *Joseph Andrews*, Bk. iii. ch. 6, makes Joseph say in answer to Fanny's question, 'Are all the great folks wicked?':—'I have heard Squire Pope, the great poet, at my lady's table, tell stories of a man that lived at a place called Ross.'

⁴ 'Of debts and taxes, wife and children clear,
This man possess'd—five hundred pounds a year.'

Moral Essays, iii. 279.

According to R. Wheeler's letter to Spence (*Anec.* p. 425) 'his income was no more than £600 a year.' See also *ib.* p. 437, and Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 529. Pope thanking Tonson 'for giving me,' he writes, 'so many particulars of the Man of Ross,' continues:—'A small exaggeration you must allow me as a poet.' *Ib.* ix. 551.

In his *Iliad*, xxii. 180 n., he quotes Aristotle [*Poetics*, xxiv. 17] as saying:—'What is wonderful is always agreeable, and, as a proof of it, we find that they who relate anything usually add something to the truth, that it may the better please those who hear it.'

'The value of every story,' said Johnson, 'depends on its being true. A story is a picture either of an individual or of human nature in general; if it be false, it is a picture of nothing.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 433.

⁵ For 'the natural desire of man to propagate a wonder' see *ante*, COWLEY, 5.

⁶ For Benjamin Victor see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 53.

minister of the place, and I have preserved it, that the praise of a good man, being made more credible, may be more solid. Narrations of romantick and impracticable virtue¹ will be read with wonder, but that which is unattainable is recommended in vain: that good may be endeavoured it must be shewn to be possible.

This is the only piece in which the author has given a hint of 200 his religion by ridiculing the ceremony of burning the pope², and by mentioning with some indignation the inscription on the Monument³.

When this poem was first published the dialogue, having no 201 letters of direction, was perplexed and obscure. Pope seems to have written with no very distinct idea, for he calls that an *Epistle to Bathurst* in which Bathurst is introduced as speaking⁴.

He afterwards (1734) inscribed to Lord Cobham his *Characters* 202 of Men⁵, written with close attention to the operations of the mind and modifications of life. In this poem he has endeavoured to establish and exemplify his favourite theory of the 'Ruling Passion'⁶, by which he means an original direction of desire to

¹ For 'romantic virtue' see *John. Misc.* ii. 306.

² 'To town he comes, completes the nation's hope,
And heads the bold train-bands,
and burns a Pope.'

Moral Essays, iii. 213.

³ 'Where London's column, pointing at the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies.'

Ib. l. 339.

Pope adds in a note:—'The Monument, built in memory of the fire of London, with an inscription importing that city to have been burnt by the Papists.'

'"The lie" was erased in the reign of James II, restored in the reign of William III, and finally erased in the reign of William IV.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), iii. 155.

It would be easy to find passages in which Pope shows his contempt of much that Roman Catholics respect and even revere.

[Pope gave more than a hint of his religion in *Imit. of Horace, Epist.* ii. 2. 60-66.]

⁴ Dr. Warton had heard Bathurst 'express his disgust at finding in later editions this *Epistle* awkwardly

converted into a *Dialogue*, in which he has little to say. He once remarked to me that this line—

'P. But you are tir'd. I'll tell a tale.
B. Agreed' (l. 338)

was insupportably flat.' *Warton*, Preface, p. 32. See also *Warton's Essay*, ii. 215. In earlier editions the couplet had run:—

'That knotty point, my Lord, shall I discuss [thus.]

Or tell a tale?—A tale—It follows
The alteration in the form of the poem was due to Warburton. *Post*, POPE, 369.

⁵ *Of the Knowledge and Characters of Men. An Epistle to the Lord Cobham. Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 111. *Post*, POPE, 272, 368.

⁶ 'Search then the ruling passion: there alone

The wild are constant, and the cunning known.'

Moral Essays, i. 174.

'Ruling passion' Pope borrowed from Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse*:— [clin'd,

'Examine how your humour is in—
And which the ruling passion of your mind.' *Eng. Poets*, xv. 82.

'Almost all people are born with

some particular object, an innate affection which gives all action a determinate and invariable tendency, and operates upon the whole system of life either openly or more secretly by the intervention of some accidental or subordinate propension.

- 203 Of any passion thus innate and irresistible the existence may reasonably be doubted. Human characters are by no means constant; men change by change of place, of fortune, of acquaintance; he who is at one time a lover of pleasure is at another a lover of money. Those indeed who attain any excellence commonly spend life in one pursuit, for excellence is not often gained upon easier terms. But to the particular species of excellence, men are directed not by an ascendant planet or predominating humour, but by the first book which they read, some early conversation which they heard, or some accident which excited ardour and emulation¹.
- 204 It must be at least allowed that this 'ruling Passion,' antecedent to reason and observation, must have an object independent on human contrivance, for there can be no natural desire of artificial good. No man therefore can be born, in the strict acceptation, a lover of money, for he may be born where money does not exist; nor can he be born, in a moral sense, a lover of his country, for society, politically regulated, is a state contradistinguished from a state of nature, and any attention to that coalition of interests which makes the happiness of a country is possible only to those whom enquiry and reflection have enabled to comprehend it.
- 205 This doctrine is in itself pernicious as well as false; its tendency is to produce the belief of a kind of moral predestination or overruling principle which cannot be resisted: he that admits it is prepared to comply with every desire that caprice or opportunity shall excite, and to flatter himself that he submits only to the lawful dominion of Nature in obeying the resistless authority of his 'ruling Passion.'
- 206 Pope has formed his theory with so little skill that, in the

all the passions, to a certain degree; but almost every man has a prevailing one, to which the others are subordinate.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters to his Son*, i. 240.

Hume often speaks of 'the ruling passion' in his *History*. See ed.

1802, iii. 226, 340, 396. In his Autobiography he writes:—'I was seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life.' *Letters to Strahan*, Preface, p. 18.

¹ *Ante*, COWLEY, 3.

examples by which he illustrates and confirms it, he has confounded passions, appetites, and habits¹.

To the *Characters of Men* he added soon after, in an Epistle 207 supposed to have been addressed to Martha Blount, but which the last edition has taken from her, the *Characters of Women*². This poem, which was laboured with great diligence, and, in the author's opinion, with great success, was neglected at its first publication, as the commentator supposes, because the publick was informed by an advertisement that it contained 'no Character drawn from the life'; an assertion which Pope probably did not expect or wish to have been believed, and which he soon gave his readers sufficient reason to distrust, by telling them in a note that the work was imperfect, because part of his subject was 'Vice too high' to be yet exposed³.

The time, however, soon came in which it was safe to display 208 the Dutchess of Marlborough under the name of Atossa⁴, and her character was inserted with no great honour to the writer's gratitude⁵.

He published from time to time (between 1730 and 1740) 209 Imitations of different poems of Horace⁶, generally with his

¹ *Ante*, BLACKMORE, 46.

² *Of the Characters of Women. An Epistle to a Lady. Gent. Mag.* 1735, p. 111.

Pope wrote to Swift on Feb. 16, 1732-3:—'Your lady-friend is *semper eadem*, and I have written an epistle to her on that qualification in a female character.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 298. Warburton says that 'the conclusion is an encomium on an imaginary lady to whom the epistle is addressed.' Warburton, iii. 216 n. See also *ib.* p. 233 n. For his 'foolish spite in depriving Martha Blount of the honour of this dedication' see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 10, 95, 113. See also *post*, POPE, 243.

³ The commentator was Warburton. He adds:—'They [the public] believed Mr. Pope on his word, and expressed little curiosity about a satire in which there was nothing personal.' Warburton, iii. 214.

⁴ In a note in the 8vo ed. of 1735 to l. 103, Pope says that he explains 'the want of connection occasioned

by the omission of certain examples ... which may put the reader in mind of what the author has said in his *Imit. Hor., Sat. ii. l. 59*:—

"Publish the present age, but where
the text
Is vice too high, reserve it for the
next."

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 76.

Mr. Courthope adds in a note on Pope's note on *Moral Essays*, ii. 14:—'It does not follow that the first edition contained a character of any particular person drawn from the life. The Advertisement may have been originally written in good faith, and the note to ver. 14, together with the one to which Johnson refers, may have been added to pique the public curiosity, when the poet found that the Epistle was coldly received.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), iii. 96.

⁵ *Moral Essays*, ii. 115; *ante*, SHEFFIELD, 20 n. 10; *post*, POPE, 368.

⁶ See Appendix K.

⁶ *Post*, POPE, 372. The first (*Sat.*

name, and once, as was suspected, without it¹. What he was upon moral principles ashamed to own, he ought to have suppressed. Of these pieces it is useless to settle the dates, as they had seldom much relation to the times, and perhaps had been long in his hands².

- 210 This mode of imitation, in which the ancients are familiarised by adapting their sentiments to modern topicks, by making Horace say of Shakespeare what he originally said of Ennius³, and accommodating his satires on Pantolabus and Nomentanus⁴ to the flatterers and prodigals of our own time, was first practised in the reign of Charles the Second by Oldham⁵ and Rochester⁶, at least I remember no instances more ancient. It is a kind of middle composition between translation and original design, which pleases when the thoughts are unexpectedly applicable and the parallels lucky. It seems to have been Pope's favourite amusement⁷, for he has carried it further than any former poet.

ii. 1) was registered on Feb. 14, 1732-3, and the last (*Epis.* ii. 2) on April 28, 1737. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 285, 377. Of the two *Dialogues* of the *Epilogue* the first was registered on May 12, 1738, and the second on the following July 17. *Ib.* p. 455. The *Imitations of Horace in the Manner of Dr. Swift* first appeared in the 8vo ed. of Pope's *Works*, 1738. *Ib.* p. 397.

¹ *Sober Advice from Horace to the Young Gentlemen about Town, as delivered in his Second Sermon. Imitated in the Manner of Mr. Pope. Together with the Original Text, as restored by the Rev. Richard Bentley, D.D.* Warton, who includes the poem in his edition, vi. 35, suppresses 'the nauseous notes.' Warburton excludes it, and so do Messrs. Elwin and Courthope. For Pope's meanness towards the younger Bentley as regards the use of Dr. Bentley's name see Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), vi. 355.

On June 27, 1734, Bolingbroke wrote to Swift of this Imitation of Horace (*Sat.* i. 2):—'Pope has chosen rather to weaken the images than to hurt chaste ears overmuch. He has sent it me.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), vii. 322. On Dec. 31 Pope wrote to Caryl:—'There is a piece of poetry

from Horace come out, which I warn you not to take for mine, though some people are willing to fix it on me; in truth I should think it a very indecent sermon after the *Essay on Man*.' *Ib.* vi. 353. See Appendix O (p. 276).

² For the printer's bill for 2,150 copies of 'the first Epistle of the Second Book of Horace imitated' see *N. & Q.* I S. xi. 377.

³ 'Ennius, et sapiens, et fortis, et alter Homerus, [videtur Ut critici dicunt, leviter curare Quo promissa cadant, et somnia Pythagorea.'

HORACE, *Epis.* ii. 1. 50.
⁴ 'Shakespeare (whom you and ev'ry play-house bill Style the divine, the matchless, what you will)

For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
And grew immortal in his own despite.' POPE, *Epis.* ii. 1. 69.

⁵ HORACE, *Sat.* ii. 1. 22.

⁶ Oldham anticipated Johnson in imitating Juvenal's *Third Satire*, and applying it to London. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 118.

⁷ *Ante*, ROCHESTER, 19.

⁸ He said that one winter, when he was confined by a fever, he began these imitations at the suggestion

He published likewise a revival in smoother numbers of Dr. 211 Donne's *Satires*, which was recommended to him by the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Oxford¹. They made no great impression on the publick. Pope seems to have known their imbecillity, and therefore suppressed them while he was yet contending to rise in reputation, but ventured them when he thought their deficiencies more likely to be imputed to Donne than to himself².

The *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*³, which seems to be derived in 212 its first design from Boileau's Address 'à son Esprit', was published in January, 1735, about a month before the death of him to whom it is inscribed. It is to be regretted that either honour or pleasure should have been missed by Arbuthnot, a man estimable for his learning, amiable for his life⁴, and venerable for his piety.

Arbuthnot was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his 213 profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliancy of wit; a wit, who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal⁶.

In this poem Pope seems to reckon with the publick. He 214 vindicates himself from censures; and with dignity, rather than arrogance, enforces his own claims to kindness and respect.

Into this poem are interwoven several paragraphs which had 215 been before printed as a fragment, and among them the satirical

of Bolingbroke. Spence's *Anec.* p. 297.

¹ In the Advertisement to the *Imitations of Horace* Pope says:—'The *Satires* of Dr. Donne I versified at the desire of the Earl of Oxford, while he was Lord Treasurer, and of the Duke of Shrewsbury.' Warburton, iv. 51. Warburton adds:—'He called it *versifying* them, because, indeed, the lines have nothing more of numbers than their being composed of a certain quantity of syllables.' *Ib.* p. 241. Oxford ceased to be Treasurer in 1714. 'The text, as it stands, is full of allusions to incidents which had occurred since the accession of George II [1727].' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 424.

² Warburton, in a later edition of

Pope's *Works*, says that in answer 'to the great clamour his satiric writings had raised against him, Pope had it in his purpose to show that two of the most respectable characters in the modest age of Elizabeth, Dr. Donne and Bishop Hall, had shown vice in stronger colours than he had done. . . . He intended to have given two or three of Hall's *Satires*.' Warburton, 1770, iv. 239. See also *post*, POPE, 380. For an anecdote of Johnson and Donne's *Satires* see *John. Misc.* ii. 404.

³ *Post*, POPE, 370.

⁴ Johnson refers, I think, to Boileau's *Épître à mes vers*.

⁵ In the proof-sheet, 'amiable for his wit.' That certainly he was not.

⁶ See Appendix L.

lines upon Addison, of which the last couplet has been twice corrected. It was at first,

'Who would not smile if such a man there be?
'Who would not laugh if Addison were he?'

Then,

'Who would not grieve if such a man there be?
'Who would not laugh if Addison were he?'

At last it is,

'Who but must laugh if such a man there be?
'Who would not weep if Atticus were he?'

- 216 He was at this time at open war with Lord Hervey², who had distinguished himself as a steady adherent to the Ministry; and, being offended with a contemptuous answer to one of his pamphlets, had summoned Pulteney to a duel³. Whether he or Pope made the first attack, perhaps cannot now be easily known⁴: he had written an invective against Pope, whom he calls 'Hard as thy heart, and as thy birth obscure⁵,' and

² *Prol. Sat.* l. 213; *ante*, POPE, 115.

³ In Pope's *Longleat MSS.* and the *Miscellanies* there is a fourth version:—

'What pity, heaven! if such a man there be,
'Who would not weep if A—n were he?'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 257 n.

⁴ Voltaire, after translating Pope's attack on Hervey (*Prol. Sat.* ll. 305–33), continues:—'Vous observerez encore que la plupart de ces invectives tombent sur la figure de mylord Harvey, et que Pope lui reproche jusqu'à ses grâces. Quand on songe que c'était un petit homme contrefait, bossu par devant et par derrière, qui parlait ainsi, on voit à quel point l'amour propre et la colère sont aveugles.' *Œuvres*, xlii. 157. See *post*, POPE, 255.

⁵ It was fought on Jan. 25, 1730–1. Hervey challenged Pulteney as 'the reputed author of *A Proper Reply to a late scurrilous Libel, intituled Sedition and Defamation displayed.*' *Gent. Mag.* 1731, pp. 28, 42.

⁶ Hervey lays the blame on Pope in the following lines:—

'So much for Pope—nor this I would have said,
Had not the spider first his venom shed;
For the first stone I ne'er unjustly [cast,
But who can blame the hand that throws the last?'

Lord Hervey's *Memoirs*, 1884, Preface, p. 40.

⁷ This line is quoted from *Verses to the Imitator of Horace*, attributed to Lady M. W. Montagu. *Warton*, iv. 4. For her denial of any share in these verses—a denial not accepted by her editor or by Croker—see her *Letters*, 1837, i. 62, and Hervey's *Mem.* Pref. p. 39. See also in *Prol. Sat.* Pope's note on l. 381, and *post*, POPE, 265, 285, 370 n.

The foolish insolence of this great lady is shown in a letter written in her old age to her daughter. After speaking of Swift's 'flying in the face of mankind' with Pope she continues:—'It is pleasant to consider that, had it not been for the good nature of these very mortals they condemn, these two superior beings were entitled by their birth and hereditary fortune to be only a couple of link-boys.' *Letters of Lady M. W. Montagu*, iii. 18.

hints that his father was a 'hatter'. To this Pope wrote a reply in verse and prose; the verses are in this poem², and the prose, though it was never sent, is printed among his Letters, but to a cool reader of the present time exhibits nothing but tedious malignity³.

His last Satires of the general kind were two *Dialogues*, 217 named from the year in which they were published, *Seventeen Hundred and Thirty-eight*⁴. In these poems many are praised, and many are reproached. Pope was then entangled in the opposition; a follower of the Prince of Wales⁵, who dined at his house, and the friend of many who obstructed and censured the conduct of the Ministers. His political partiality was too plainly shewn; he forgot the prudence with which he passed, in his earlier years, uninjured and unoffending through much more violent conflicts of faction⁶.

² Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 433. [Hervey hints that Pope's father was a hatter in *An Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity*, 1733, p. 7.

³ For all cannot invent, who can translate;

To bid his Genius work without that Aid,
Would be as much mistaking of his Trade,
As 'twould to bid your Hatter make a Head.']

⁴ *Prol. Sat.* ll. 305-33.

⁵ Pope wrote to Swift on Jan. 6, 1733-4:—"There is a woman's war declared against me by a certain lord. His weapons are the same which women and children use, a pin to scratch and a squirt to bespatter. I writ a sort of answer, but was ashamed to enter the lists with him, and, after showing it to some persons, suppressed it;—otherwise it was such as was worthy of him and worthy of me." Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 318. This answer, entitled *A Letter to a Noble Lord*, is printed *ib.* v. 423. Warburton calls it 'a masterpiece.' Warburton, viii. 188.

Mr. Courthope says:—"Johnson was not a fair judge where any of the family of Hervey were concerned." Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 264. 'If you call a dog Hervey,'

said Johnson, 'I shall love him.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 106. See also *John. Misc.* i. 254. To me 'tedious malignity' seems a fair description of the letter.

⁶ *Post*, POPE, 306, 371. 'It is remarkable that Johnson's *London* came out on the same morning with Pope's satire "1738." Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 125. *London* and the first *Dialogue* appeared in May, 1738.

⁵ Johnson does not accept Pope's assertion:—

'And if yet higher the proud list should end,

Still let me say,—No follower, but a friend.' *Epil. Sat.* ii. 92.

Pope, on October 8, 1735, mentions 'an unexpected visit of four or five hours' from the Prince. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 351. Warton records an anecdote he had from Glover. The Prince was bent on riding a vicious horse. 'Pope said to him with earnestness:—"I hope, Sir, the people of England will not be made miserable by a second horse," alluding to the accident that befell King William. "I think," Pope whispered to Glover, "this speech was pretty well for me." Warton, Preface, p. 47. See also *post*, POPE, 270.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 74. 'About this time a great spirit of liberty was prevalent. All the men of wit and

- 218 In the first *Dialogue*, having an opportunity of praising Allen of Bath, he asked his leave to mention him as a man not illustrious by any merit of ancestors, and called him in his verses 'low-born Allen'. Men are seldom satisfied with praise introduced or followed by any mention of defect. Allen seems not to have taken any pleasure in his epithet, which was afterwards softened into 'humble Allen.'
- 219 In the second *Dialogue* he took some liberty with one of the Foxes, among others; which Fox, in a reply to Lyttelton, took an opportunity of repaying, by reproaching him with the friendship of a lampooner, who scattered his ink without fear or decency, and against whom he hoped the resentment of the Legislature would quickly be discharged².
- 220 About this time Paul Whitehead, a small poet³, was summoned before the Lords for a poem called *Manners*, together with Dodsley his publisher⁴. Whitehead, who hung loose upon

genius joined in increasing it. Glover wrote his *Leonidas*; Nugent his *Odes to Mankind* and to Mr. Pulteney; King [Principal of St. Mary Hall] his *Miltonis Epistola* and *Templum Libertatis*; Thomson his *Britannia*, his *Liberty*, and his *Agamemnon*; Mallet his *Mustapha*; Brooke his *Gustavus Vasa*; Pope his *Imitations* and these two *Dialogues*; and Johnson his *London*.⁵ *Warton*, iv. 305.

¹ 'Let low-born Allen with an awkward shame,

Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.' *Dial.* i. l. 136.

Pope had asked leave to mention him as 'no man of high birth or quality.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 194. On reprinting the poem he wrote to him:—'I have found a virtue in you more than I certainly knew before, . . . I mean humility. I must, therefore, . . . change the epithet I first gave you of *low-born to humble*.' *Ib.* p. 195. See *ante*, POPE, 168.

² *Post*, LYTTTELTON, 8. Lord Marchmont wrote on his copy of the *Dialogues* the names of the persons designated. Hervey and Fox fill up the first two blanks in *Dial.* i. 69-72:—
'The gracious dew of pulpit eloquence

And all the well-whipt cream of courtly sense.

That first was H—vy's, F—'s next, and then

The S—te's, and then H—vy's once again.' *Marchmont Papers*, ii. 96.

Pope refers to sermons, speeches, addresses, and epitaphs on the Queen's death. He suspected Hervey of having written Fox's speech on the address, which address being adopted became 'the Senate's,' and which Hervey embodied in his celebrated epitaph on the Queen in Latin and English. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 463 n. [See also Croker's preface to his edition of Lord Hervey's *Memoirs of the Reign of George II* (1884 ed.), i. 43, 48.]

The passage referred to by Johnson is in *Dialogue* ii. 166, where Pope returns to the subject:—

'And how did, pray, the florid youth offend

Whose speech you took, and gave it to a friend?'

He continues in a 'filthy simile.' Lyttelton is praised in l. 131 of the same *Dialogue*.

³ Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 124.

⁴ *Post*, DYER, 7. Dodsley gave Johnson ten guineas for his *London*. *Ib.* p. 124.

society¹, sculked and escaped; but Dodsley's shop and family made his appearance necessary. He was, however, soon dismissed; and the whole process was probably intended rather to intimidate Pope than to punish Whitehead².

Pope never afterwards attempted to join the patriot with the 221 poet, nor drew his pen upon statesmen³. That he desisted from his attempts of reformation is imputed, by his commentator, to his despair of prevailing over the corruption of the time⁴. He was not likely to have been ever of opinion that the dread of his satire would countervail the love of power or of money: he pleased himself with being important and formidable, and gratified sometimes his pride, and sometimes his resentment; till at last he began to think he should be more safe if he were less busy⁵.

The *Memoirs of Scriblerus*, published about this time⁶, extend 222 only to the first book of a work, projected in concert by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, who used to meet in the time of Queen Anne, and denominated themselves the 'Scriblerus Club.' Their

¹ Johnson said of one Lewis:—
'Sir, he lived in London, and hung loose upon society.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 226.

² 'Whitehead,' writes Warton, 'left in his poem a very unguarded line—
'And Sherlock's shop and Henley's are the same.'

For this the Bishop of Salisbury [Sherlock] summoned him to appear before the House of Lords. As he could not be found, his printer, Dodsley, was taken, as he himself informed me, to a spunging-house in the Butcher-row [Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 400, iii. 302], under the custody of a messenger, which cost him £70. The next morning the neighbouring street was crowded with the carriages of some of the first noblemen and gentlemen who came to offer their services to be his bail.' Warton, *Preface*, p. 46. He was kept in custody a week. *Gent. Mag.* 1739, p. 104.

³ Warburton, in a later edition of Pope's *Works* (1770, iv. 334 n.), states in reference to the lines *On Receiving from Lady F. Shirley a Standish and two Pens* that Pope, 'in great resentment,' on being threatened with a prosecution in the House of Lords,

'began a *Third Dialogue*, which being no secret, matters were soon compromised. His enemies agreed to drop the prosecution, and he promised to leave the *Third Dialogue* unfinished and suppressed. This affair occasioned this beautiful little poem.' See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 460, where in the last stanza *list* is a misprint for *list*.

⁴ Warburton, iv. 333.

⁵ 'When one of Pope's last satires was published a gentleman, in the presence of Lord Chesterfield, said he wondered nobody beat Pope for his abusiveness. Lord C. said:—
'Sir, what is everybody's business is nobody's business.'" HORACE WALPOLE, *Philobiblon Soc. Misc.* x, 28.

'Because a thing is everybody's business it is nobody's business.' *Tatler*, No. 18. [Defoe in 1725 wrote a tract with this proverb for its title.]

⁶ [In the third volume, Pt. ii, of Pope's *Works*, 8vo. *Containing the Dunciad, Book iv, and the Memoirs of Scriblerus. Never before Printed. London. Printed for R. Dodsley. 1742.* There is in the Brit. Mus. a Dublin edition of the *Scriblerus Memoirs*, printed separately, dated 1741.]

purpose was to censure the abuses of learning by a fictitious Life of an infatuated Scholar¹. They were dispersed; the design was never completed; and Warburton laments its miscarriage, as an event very disastrous to polite letters².

- 223 If the whole may be estimated by this specimen, which seems to be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches perhaps by Pope, the want of more will not be much lamented, for the follies which the writer ridicules are so little practised that they are not known; nor can the satire be understood but by the learned: he raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away. He cures diseases that were never felt.
- 224 For this reason this joint production of three great writers has never obtained any notice from mankind; it has been little read, or when read has been forgotten, as no man could be wiser, better, or merrier, by remembering it.
- 225 The design cannot boast of much originality; for, besides its general resemblance to *Don Quixote*³, there will be found in it particular imitations of the *History of Mr. Ouffe*⁴.
- 226 Swift carried so much of it into Ireland as supplied him with hints for his *Travels*⁵; and with those the world might have been contented, though the rest had been suppressed.
- 227 Pope had sought for images and sentiments in a region not known to have been explored by many other of the English writers; he had consulted the modern writers of Latin poetry, a class of authors whom Boileau endeavoured to bring into contempt⁶, and who are too generally neglected⁷. Pope, however, was not ashamed of their acquaintance, nor ungrateful for the advantages which he might have derived from it. A small selection from the Italians who wrote in Latin had been published at London, about the latter end of the last century, by

¹ Spence's *Anec.* pp. 10, 290; Warburton, ix. 3.

² *Ib.* vi. 97.

³ *Ante*, BUTLER, 22.

⁴ *Histoire des imaginations extravagantes de M. Ouffe*, &c. By Laurent Bordelon. 1710. An English version appeared in 1711.

⁵ 'It was from a part of these *Memoirs of Scriblerus* that Dr. Swift took his first hints for *Gulliver*.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 10.

⁶ Horace is introduced writing

French verses. He at once falls into a blunder, and is corrected by two poets, to whom he replies:—'Puisque je parle si mal votre langue, croiez-vous, Messieurs les faiseurs de vers latins, que vous soiez plus habiles dans la nôtre?' (*Œuvres de Boileau*, iii. 60.)

⁷ Johnson, in 1734, had proposed to edit the Latin Poems of Politian, adding a history of modern Latin poetry. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 90.

a man who concealed his name, but whom his Preface shews to have been well qualified for his undertaking¹. This collection Pope amplified by more than half, and (1740) published it in two volumes², but injuriously omitted his predecessor's preface. To these books, which had nothing but the mere text, no regard was paid; the authors were still neglected, and the editor was neither praised nor censured.

He did not sink into idleness; he had planned a work which 228 he considered as subsequent to his *Essay on Man*, of which he has given this account to Dr. Swift³.

'March 25, 1736.

'If ever I write any more Epistles in verse one of them shall be addressed to you. I have long concerted it, and begun it; but I would make what bears your name as finished as my last work ought to be, that is to say, more finished than any of the rest. The subject is large, and will divide into four Epistles, which naturally follow the *Essay on Man*, viz. 1. Of the Extent and Limits of Human Reason and Science. 2. A View of the useful and therefore attainable, and of the unuseful and therefore unattainable Arts. 3. Of the Nature, Ends, Application, and Use of different Capacities. 4. Of the Use of *Learning*, of the *Science*, of the *World*, and of *Wit*. It will conclude with a satire against the Misapplication of all these, exemplified by Pictures, Characters, and Examples⁴.'

This work in its full extent, being now afflicted with an asthma, 229 and finding the powers of life gradually declining, he had no longer courage to undertake; but, from the materials which he had provided, he added, at Warburton's request, another book to *The Dunciad*, of which the design is to ridicule such studies as are either hopeless or useless, as either pursue what is unattainable, or what, if it be attained, is of no use⁵.

¹ 'It was printed in London in 12mo, 1684,' under the title of *Anthologia*. Warton, Preface, p. 47.

² By a MS. note in a copy presented by Crynes to the Bodleian we are informed that the editor was Thomas Power, of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was author of a translation of *Paradise Lost*, of which only the first book was published in 1691. JAMES BOSWELL, JUN., Johnson's *Works*, viii. 299. In *Brit. Mus. Cata.* his authorship of the translation is marked doubtful.

³ Under the title of *Selecta Carmina*

Italorum qui Latine scripserunt.

⁴ Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), vii. 341.

⁵ For a different plan of this work see Spence's *Anec.* p. 315; also p. 289.

⁶ 'I often told him,' writes Warburton (Pope's *Works*, 1757, Preface, p. 4), 'that he ought to raise and ennoble the poem by pointing his satire against the most pernicious of all, minute philosophers and free-thinkers.'

'What,' said Pope, 'was first designed for an *Epistle on Education*, as part of my essay-scheme, is now

- 280 When this book was printed (1742) the laurel had been for some time upon the head of Cibber¹; a man whom it cannot be supposed that Pope could regard with much kindness or esteem, though in one of the *Imitations of Horace* he has liberally enough praised *The Careless Husband*². In *The Dunciad*, among other worthless scribblers, he had mentioned Cibber³, who, in his *Apology*, complains of the great poet's unkindness as more injurious, 'because,' says he, 'I never have offended him⁴.'
- 281 It might have been expected that Pope should have been, in some degree, mollified by this submissive gentleness; but no such consequence appeared. Though he condescended to commend Cibber once, he mentioned him afterwards contemptuously in one of his *Satires*⁵, and again in his *Epistle to Arbuthnot*⁶; and in the fourth book of *The Dunciad* attacked him with acrimony⁷, to which the provocation is not easily discoverable. Perhaps he imagined that, in ridiculing the Laureat, he satirised those by whom the laurel had been given, and gratified that ambitious petulance with which he affected to insult the great.
- 282 The severity of this satire left Cibber no longer any patience. He had confidence enough in his own powers to believe that he could disturb the quiet of his adversary, and doubtless did not want instigators, who, without any care about the victory, desired to amuse themselves by looking on the contest. He therefore gave the town a pamphlet, in which he declares his

inserted in the fourth book of *The Dunciad*.¹ Spence's *Anec.* p. 289. The new book was published in 1742 under the title of *The New Dunciad: As it was Found in the Year 1741. With the Illustrations of Scriblerus and Notes Variorum.* Price 1s. 6d. *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 168.

¹ *Ante*, SAVAGE, 54, 57, 177. Cibber succeeded Eusden, who died on Sept. 27, 1730.

² 'To Gammer Gurton if it give the bays,
And yet deny *The Careless Husband* praise,
Or say our fathers never broke a rule;
Why then, I say, the public is a fool.' *Imit. Hor., Epis.* ii. l. 91.
³ 'Cibber wrote as bad Odes as Garrick, but then Cibber wrote *The*

Careless Husband, and his own *Life*, which both deserve immortality.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, v. 197.

⁴ *The Careless Husband* of Cibber, and *Suspicious Husband* of Hoadly, are the only comedies of this age that bid fair for reaching posterity.' SMOLLETT, *Hist. Eng.* v. 380.

⁵ 'Gray thought the comedies of Cibber excellent.' Mitford's *Gray*, v. 35.

⁶ In the first edition in Bk. i. 230; Bk. iii. 128, 215-22, 244, 272. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 277-96.

⁷ 'He knows I never provoked it [his malice].' *Apology*, p. 28.

⁸ *Sat.* ii. l. 34.

⁹ *Prol. Sat.* l. 373. See also *Epis.* i. l. 6.

¹⁰ Especially in the note on l. 20.

resolution from that time never to bear another blow without returning it, and to tire out his adversary by perseverance, if he cannot conquer him by strength¹.

The incessant and unappeasable malignity of Pope he imputes ²³³ to a very distant cause. After the *Three Hours after Marriage* had been driven off the stage, by the offence which the mummy and crocodile gave the audience², while the exploded scene was yet fresh in memory, it happened that Cibber played Bayes in *The Rehearsal*³; and, as it had been usual to enliven the part by the mention of any recent theatrical transactions, he said that he once thought to have introduced his lovers disguised in a mummy and a crocodile. 'This,' says he, 'was received with loud claps, which indicated contempt of the play⁴.' Pope, who was behind the scenes, meeting him as he left the stage, attacked him, as he says, with all the virulence of a 'Wit out of his senses⁵'; to which he replied, 'that he would take no other notice of what was said by so particular a man than to declare that, as often as he played that part, he would repeat the same provocation⁶.'

He shews his opinion to be that Pope was one of the authors ²³⁴ of the play which he so zealously defended, and adds an idle story of Pope's behaviour at a tavern⁷.

The pamphlet was written with little power of thought or ²³⁵

¹ Cibber, in 1742 and again in 1744, published *A Letter to Mr. Pope*. In the first, p. 8, he promises to imitate 'a famous boxer at the Bear Garden called Rugged and Tough, who would stand being drubbed for hours together, till, wearying out his antagonist by the repeated labour of laying him on, and by keeping his own wind, honest Rugged sometimes came off victorious.' See also *Gent. Mag.* 1742, pp. 392, 423; 1744, p. 56. Horace Walpole wrote on July 29, 1742:— 'Cibber has published a little pamphlet against Pope, which has a great deal of spirit, and from some circumstances will notably vex him.' *Letters*, i. 193. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 98 n., and *N. & Q.* 5 S. xii. 110, 192.

² *Ante*, GAY, 10.

³ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 94.

⁴ 'The audience by the roar of their applause showed their proportionable contempt of the play.' *Letter*

to Mr. Pope, p. 18.

⁵ 'After the play was over he came behind the scenes, with his lips pale, and his voice trembling, to call me to account for the insult; and accordingly fell upon me with all the foul language that a wit out of his senses could be capable of.' *Ib.*

⁶ 'Mr. Pope, you are so particular a man that I must be ashamed to return your language as I ought to do. . . . As long as the play continues to be acted I will never fail to repeat the same words over and over again.' *Ib.* p. 19.

⁷ At a brothel. *Ib.* p. 47. According to Spence (*Anec.* p. 339) Pope's surgeon, Cheselden, said of him:— 'He had been gay, but left that way of life upon his acquaintance with Mrs. B. [Blount].' He became intimate with Martha and Teresa Blount about 1711 or 1712. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 141.

language, and, if suffered to remain without notice, would have been very soon forgotten. Pope had now been enough acquainted with human life to know, if his passion had not been too powerful for his understanding, that from a contention like his with Cibber the world seeks nothing but diversion, which is given at the expence of the higher character¹. When Cibber lampooned Pope, curiosity was excited; what Pope would say of Cibber nobody enquired, but in hope that Pope's asperity might betray his pain and lessen his dignity.

236 He should, therefore, have suffered the pamphlet to flutter and die, without confessing that it stung him. The dishonour of being shewn as Cibber's antagonist could never be compensated by the victory. Cibber had nothing to lose; when Pope had exhausted all his malignity upon him, he would rise in the esteem both of his friends and his enemies. Silence only could have made him despicable: the blow which did not appear to be felt would have been struck in vain².

237 But Pope's irascibility³ prevailed, and he resolved to tell the whole English world that he was at war with Cibber; and to shew that he thought him no common adversary he prepared no common vengeance: he published a new edition of *The Dunciad*⁴, in which he degraded Theobald from his painful pre-eminence, and enthroned Cibber in his stead. Unhappily the two heroes were of opposite characters, and Pope was unwilling to lose what he had already written; he has therefore depraved his poem by giving to Cibber the old books⁵, the cold pedantry and sluggish pertinacity of Theobald⁶.

¹ *Ante*, PRIOR, 5.

² Pope wrote to Richardson on Nov. 2, 1732:—'As for myself, I resolve to go on in my quiet, calm, moral course, taking no sort of notice of men's or women's anger, or scandal, with virtue in my eyes, and truth upon my tongue.' *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 498.

³ 'Peace is my dear delight—not Fleury's more:

But touch me, and no minister so sore.' *Imit. Hor., Sat. ii. l. 75.*

⁴ *A new Edition of The Dunciad, illustrated with a new Hero and other Additions.* Price 7s. 6d. *Gent. Mag.* 1743, p. 560.

⁵ Pope tries to meet this criticism

in a note on *The Dunciad*, i. 147:—'Some have objected that books of this sort suit not so well the library of our Bays, which they imagined consisted of novels, plays, and obscene books; but they are to consider that he furnished his shelves only for ornament, and read these books no more than the *Dry bodies of Divinity*, which, no doubt, were purchased by his father when he designed him for the gown.' For 'the gown' see *ib.* i. 200 n., and Cibber's *Apology*, ch. iii. p. 42.

⁶ Walpole speaks of 'the peevish weakness of thrusting Cibber into *The Dunciad* in the room of Theobald.' *Anecdotes of Painting*, iii. 148.

Pope was ignorant enough of his own interest to make another 238 change, and introduced Osborne contending for the prize among the booksellers. Osborne was a man entirely destitute of shame, without sense of any disgrace but that of poverty. He told me, when he was doing that which raised Pope's resentment¹, that he should be put into *The Dunciad*; but he had the fate of Cassandra. I gave no credit to his prediction till in time I saw it accomplished. The shafts of satire were directed equally in vain against Cibber and Osborne; being repelled by the impenetrable impudence² of one³, and deadened by the impassive dulness of the other. Pope confessed his own pain by his anger; but he gave no pain to those who had provoked him. He was able to hurt none but himself: by transferring the same ridicule from one to another he destroyed its efficacy; for, by shewing that what he had said of one he was ready to say of another, he reduced himself to the insignificance of his own magpye, who from his cage calls cuckold at a venture⁴.

Cibber, according to his engagement, repaid *The Dunciad* 239 with another pamphlet⁵, which, Pope said, 'would be as good as

¹ 'This man published advertisements for a year together, pretending to sell Mr. Pope's subscription books of Homer's *Iliad* at half the price: of which books he had none, but cut to the size of them (which was quarto) the common books in folio, without copper-plates, on a worse paper, and never above half the value.' Note on *The Dunciad*, ii. 167. See *ante*, POPE, 77. For the beating Johnson gave Osborne see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 154; *John. Misc.* i. 304.

² *Ante*, FENTON, 11. Pope, in a part of a letter to Warburton dated March 24, 1743, first published in Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 231, speaks of Cibber's 'impenetrability.'

Johnson might have had in mind *An Heroical Epistle of Hudibras to Sidrophel*, l. 109:—

'Though he that has but *impudence*,
To all things has a fair pretence;
And, put among his wants but shame,
To all the world may lay his claim.
Though you have try'd that nothing's borne

With greater ease than public scorn,

That all affronts do still give place
To your *impenetrable* face,' &c.

Fielding, in *Joseph Andrews*, Bk. i. ch. 1, says of Cibber:—'How completely doth he arm us against so uneasy, so wretched a passion as the fear of shame!'

³ Johnson said to Miss Burney:—'You write Scotch—you say "the one"—my dear, that's not English. Never use that phrase again.' Mme. D'Arblay's *Diary*, i. 84. She might have quoted:—'Unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other.' *St. Luke*, vi. 29.

⁴ 'The coxcomb bird, so talkative and grave,
That from his cage cries cuckold, whore and knave,
Though many a passenger he rightly call,
You hold him no philosopher at all.'
Moral Essays, i. 5.

⁵ *Another Occasional Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope. Gent. Mag.* 1744, p. 56.

a dose of hartshorn to him¹; but his tongue and his heart were at variance. I have heard Mr. Richardson relate that he attended his father the painter on a visit, when one of Cibber's pamphlets came into the hands of Pope, who said, 'These things are my diversion.' They sat by him while he perused it, and saw his features writhen with anguish; and young Richardson said to his father, when they returned, that he hoped to be preserved from such diversion as had been that day the lot of Pope².

- 240 From this time, finding his diseases more oppressive, and his vital powers gradually declining, he no longer strained his faculties with any original composition³, nor proposed any other employment for his remaining life than the revisal and correction of his former works⁴; in which he received advice and assistance from Warburton, whom he appears to have trusted and honoured in the highest degree⁵.

- 241 He laid aside his Epick Poem, perhaps without much loss to mankind; for his hero was Brutus the Trojan, who, according to a ridiculous fiction, established a colony in Britain⁶. The subject, therefore, was of the fabulous age; the actors were a race upon

¹ 'He will be more to me than a dose of hartshorn.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 239.

'But talk with Celsus, Celsus will advise

Hartshorn, or something that shall close your eyes.'

Imit. Hor., Sat. ii. 1. 19.

² 'The younger Richardson once told me that, upon the publication of Cibber's second letter, Pope came to his father's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and upon entering the room where he was painting, with a countenance that spoke the anguish of his soul, exclaimed:—"So I find another letter is come out; but such things are sport to me."' HAWKINS, *Life of Johnson*, p. 347. For his pretended insensibility see *post*, POPE, 278.

³ According to Ruffhead (*Life of Pope*, p. 423) he 'had planned two odes or moral poems on *The Mischiefs of Arbitrary Power* and *The Folly of Ambition*.'

⁴ Warburton, Preface, p. 1. 'I must make a perfect edition of my works; and then shall have nothing to do but to die.' POPE, Spence's

Anec. p. 295. "Here am I, like Socrates, distributing my morality among my friends, just as I am dying." This was said on his sending about some of his *Ethic Epistles*, as presents, about three weeks before we lost him.' *Ib.* p. 318. He had just finished revising them. 'Of all this edition, so far as is known, only one copy survives, which is now in the British Museum.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 342. For the suppression of the edition see *ib.* p. 346.

⁵ Pope wrote to him in 1742:—'A project has arisen in my head to make you, in some measure, the editor of this new edition of *The Dunciad*, if you have no scruple of owning some of the graver notes. . . . I have scratched out a sort of *avis au lecteur*, which if you disapprove not, you will make your own.' This second paragraph Warburton suppressed. Warburton, ix. 253; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 225. See also *ib.* iv. 18. For the *avis au lecteur* see *ib.* iv. 237.

⁶ [Ante, MILTON, 142.]

whom imagination has been exhausted and attention wearied, and to whom the mind will not easily be recalled when it is invited in blank verse, which Pope had adopted with great imprudence, and, I think, without due consideration of the nature of our language. The sketch is, at least in part, preserved by Ruffhead; by which it appears that Pope was thoughtless enough to model the names of his heroes with terminations not consistent with the time or country in which he places them¹.

He lingered through the next year; but perceived himself, as 242 he expresses it, 'going down the hill'. He had for at least five years been afflicted with an asthma and other disorders, which his physicians were unable to relieve. Towards the end of his life he consulted Dr. Thomson, a man who had, by large promises and free censures of the common practice of physick, forced himself up into sudden reputation. Thomson declared his distemper to be a dropsy, and evacuated part of the water by tincture of jalap, but confessed that his belly did not subside. Thomson had many enemies, and Pope was persuaded to dismiss him².

While he was yet capable of amusement and conversation, as 243 he was one day sitting in the air with Lord Bolingbroke and

¹ In the proof-sheet after 'heroes,' the sentence continued, 'according to the terminations of different tongues.' This was changed into 'sometimes with Greek and sometimes with Saxon terminations.' In the first edition it ran, 'with discordant terminations not known in the same age.' Among the names were Orontes, Magog, Hanno, Gofarius, Pisander, and Sagibert. Ruffhead (p. 423) writes:—'Part of the manuscript, in blank verse, now lies before me.' See also *Warburton*, 1770, iv. 336 n.; *Warton*, iv. 353; and Spence's *Anec.* pp. 259, 288.

'I heard the dying swan talk over an epick plan a few weeks before his decease.' DR. YOUNG, *Works*, 1770, iv. 285. For Dryden's projected epic see *ante*, DRYDEN, 140.

² Bolingbroke, in a joint letter with Pope to Swift, dated March 20, 1730-1, says of himself and Swift:—

'We are both in the decline of life, my dear Dean, and have been some years going down the hill.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 221. Pope wrote to Warburton on Feb. 21, 1743-4:—'I have for some months thought myself going, and that not slowly, down the hill.' *Ib.* ix. 240.

³ In May, 1744, Pope wrote:—'I have a new physician, who tells me I shall be grateful to all my friends, and mend apace. He has changed the nature of my disease from an asthma into a dropsy.' *Ib.* viii. 519. On May 19 Mallet wrote:—'Dr. Thompson's doses of physic have evacuated him into absolute inanition.' *Ib.* p. 521. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 317; and Walpole's *Letters*, i. 308 n. Among the disorders which carried off Johnson were asthma and dropsy.

Lord Marchmont¹, he saw his favourite Martha Blount² at the bottom of the terrace, and asked Lord Bolingbroke to go and hand her up. Bolingbroke, not liking his errand, crossed his legs and sat still; but Lord Marchmont, who was younger and less captious, waited on the Lady, who, when he came to her, asked, 'What, is he not dead yet?' She is said to have neglected him with shameful unkindness in the latter time of his decay³; yet, of the little which he had to leave, she had a very great part⁴. Their acquaintance began early: the life of each was pictured on the other's mind; their conversation, therefore, was endearing, for when they met there was an immediate coalition of congenial notions. Perhaps he considered her unwillingness to approach the chamber of sickness as female weakness or human frailty; perhaps he was conscious to himself of peevishness and impatience, or, though he was offended by her inattention, might yet consider her merit as overbalancing her fault; and, if he had suffered his heart to be alienated from her, he could have found nothing that might fill her place: he could have only shrunk within himself; it was too late to transfer his confidence or fondness.

244 In May, 1744, his death was approaching; on the sixth he was all day delirious, which he mentioned four days afterwards as a sufficient humiliation of the vanity of man⁵; he afterwards complained of seeing things as through a curtain and in false colours⁶, and one day, in the presence of Dodsley, asked what

¹ Pope, in his *Grotto*, describes how

'... the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul.'

He is the Polwarth of *Epil. Sat.* ii. 130. In 1779 Johnson called on him, and heard his anecdotes of Pope. 'Sir (said Johnson to Boswell), I would rather have given twenty pounds than not have come.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 392. See also *ib.* iii. 344.

² See Appendix M.

³ 'No excuse can be made for her abuse of the influence she had over him, or for the indifference and neglect she shewed to him throughout his whole last illness.' *Ruffhead*, p. 548. Ruffhead's authority was untrustworthy, as it was Warburton who

sided with the Allens in their quarrel with her. *Post*, POPE, 254. He himself stated 'that it was very observable that her coming in gave a new turn of spirits, or a temporary strength to him.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 367.

⁴ He left her £1,000, his household goods, plate, &c., and the life-interest in his property after the payment of the legacies. *Warton*, ix. 418. This residue did not amount, she said, to £2,000. Spence's *Anec.* p. 357. Warburton, by the legacy of Pope's copyrights, received £4,000. *Ante*, POPE, 194. Part of Pope's money had been sunk in annuities. *Ante*, POPE, 92.

⁵ Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 480; Spence's *Anec.* p. 319.

⁶ *Ib.*

arm it was that came out from the wall'. He said that his greatest inconvenience was inability to think².

Bolingbroke sometimes wept over him in this state of helpless decay³, and being told by Spence that Pope, at the intermission of his deliriousness, was always saying something kind either of his present or absent friends, and that his humanity seemed to have survived his understanding, answered, 'It has so.' And added, 'I never in my life knew a man that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or more general friendship for mankind'. At another time he said, 'I have known Pope these thirty years, and value myself more in his friendship than—'⁴ his grief then suppressed his voice.

Pope expressed undoubting confidence of a future state⁵.²⁴⁵ Being asked by his friend Mr. Hooke⁶, a papist, whether he would not die like his father and mother, and whether a priest should not be called, he answered, 'I do not think it essential, but it will be very right; and I thank you for putting me in mind of it'⁸.

¹ 'He had frequent deliriums,' writes Warton (Preface, p. 50), 'and, as Dodsley told me with tears in his eyes, Pope asked him one day as he sat by his bed-side:—"What great arm is that I see coming out of the wall?"' See also Walpole's *Letters*, i. 302.

² 'The thing that I suffer most from is that I find I cannot think.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 319.

³ Spence describes Bolingbroke as 'leaning against Mr. Pope's chair, and crying over him for a considerable time, with more concern than can be expressed. "O great God! what is man?" he said, looking on Mr. Pope, and repeating it several times, interrupted with sobs.' Spence's *Anec.* pp. 320-1.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 321; Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 510.

⁵ "And value myself more for that man's love than—" sinking his head, and losing his voice in tears.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 321.

⁶ Pope used to speak of Bolingbroke as a being of a superior order, that had condescended to visit this lower world; when the last comet approached near the earth, he told

some of his acquaintance, "it was sent only to convey Lord Bolingbroke HOME AGAIN; just as a stage-coach stops at your door to take up a passenger." WARTON, *Essay*, ii. 178. See also *post*, POPE, 272 n. 3.

⁷ 'I am so certain of the soul's being immortal that I seem to feel it within me, as it were by intuition.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 321. Ruffhead (p. 543) says that a day or two before his death he was found, in a fit of delirium, at four in the morning in his library, writing on the immortality of the soul. See also *ib.* p. 219; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), ii. 276.

⁸ For Nathaniel Hooke see Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 175. 'He was a Mystic and a Quietist, and a warm disciple of Fénelon. . . . The priest had scarce departed when Bolingbroke, coming over from Battersea, flew into a great fit of passion and indignation.' WARTON, *Essay*, ii. 202. ⁹ *Ante*, POPE, 131, 183, 191; *post*, 289.

According to Ruffhead (p. 540) and Spence (*Anec.* p. 322) Pope said:—'I do not suppose that it is essential, but it will look right.' 'Mr. Hooke

- 247 In the morning, after the priest had given him the last sacraments, he said, 'There is nothing that is meritorious but virtue and friendship, and indeed friendship itself is only a part of virtue¹.'
- 248 He died in the evening of the thirtieth day of May, 1744, so placidly that the attendants did not discern the exact time of his expiration². He was buried at Twickenham, near his father and mother, where a monument has been erected to him by his commentator, the Bishop of Gloucester³.
- 249 He left the care of his papers to his executors, first to Lord Bolingbroke, and if he should not be living to the Earl of Marchmont, undoubtedly expecting them to be proud of the trust and eager to extend his fame⁴. But let no man dream of influence beyond his life. After a decent time Dodsley the bookseller went to solicit preference as the publisher, and was told that the parcel had not been yet inspected; and whatever was the reason the world has been disappointed of what was 'reserved for the next age⁵.'

(Ruffhead adds) told Warburton that the priest came out from him penetrated to the last degree with the state of mind in which he found his penitent, resigned and wrapt up in the love of God and man.' Warton adds:—'Such was the fervour of his devotion that as Cheselden the surgeon, who was present, related to Dr. Hoadly, he exerted all his strength to throw himself out of his bed, that he might receive the last sacrament kneeling on the floor.' *Warton*, Preface, p. 51.

Mrs. Piozzi says of the passage in the text (*Auto.* ii. 156):—'This Johnson learned of Abbé Hooke when we were in France together.' On Oct. 25, 1775, Johnson recorded:—'I went with the Prior [of the Benedictines] to St. Cloud, to see Dr. Hooke.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 397.

'Pope was a deist believing in a future state: this he has often owned himself to me; but when he died, he sacrificed a cock to Aesculapius, and suffered the priests who got about him to perform all their absurd ceremonies upon his body.' CHESTERFIELD, *Misc. Works*, iv. App. p. 15. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and

Courthope), v. 358.

¹ Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 497; Spence's *Anec.* p. 322.

² *Ib.*; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 523.

³ For the epitaph he wrote for his parents and himself, see Spence's *Anec.* p. 289, and for the Bishop's, see *Warton*, Preface, p. 52. His father was buried at Chiswick. *N. & Q.* 3 S. ix. 324; *ante*, POPE, 117 n. 2. The monument in Twickenham Church, it is stated (*ib.* 8 S. x. 244), was concealed by the organ.

⁴ In the first edition Johnson wrote:—'He left the care of his papers to his executors, the Earl of Marchmont and Lord Bolingbroke, whom undoubtedly he expected, &c. For Boswell's criticism of this statement see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 51. Bolingbroke was not an executor. *Warton*, ix. 415.

⁵ 'Publish the present age; but where my text

Is vice too high, reserve it for the next.'

POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, Sat. ii. 1. 59.

'The performances of Pope were burnt by those whom he had perhaps selected from all mankind as the

He lost, indeed, the favour of Bolingbroke by a kind of post-250
humorous offence. The political pamphlet called *The Patriot King*¹ had been put into his hands that he might procure the impression of a very few copies to be distributed according to the author's direction among his friends, and Pope assured him that no more had been printed than were allowed²; but soon after his death the printer brought and resigned a complete edition of fifteen hundred copies which Pope had ordered him to print and to retain in secret³. He kept, as was observed⁴, his engagement to Pope better than Pope had kept it to his friend; and nothing was known of the transaction till, upon the death of his employer, he thought himself obliged to deliver the books to the right owner, who, with great indignation, made a fire in his yard and delivered the whole impression to the flames⁵.

Hitherto nothing had been done which was not naturally dic-251
tated by resentment of violated faith: resentment more acrimonious as the violator had been more loved or more trusted. But here the anger might have stopped; the injury was private, and there was little danger from the example.

Bolingbroke, however, was not yet satisfied; his thirst of ven-252
geance excited him to blast the memory of the man over whom

most likely to publish them.' JOHN-
SON, *The Idler*, No. 65.

¹ 'It was a mere school declamation, which, in great pomp of words, informs us of this secret, *That if a Prince could once be brought to love his country, he would always act for the good of it.*' WARBURTON, *Works*, 1811, xii. 339.

Fielding writes of Bolingbroke:—
'The temporal happiness, the civil liberties and properties of Europe, were the game of his earliest youth.' *Works*, 1806, x. 323.

² Pope 'had taken upon him further to divide the subject, and to alter and to omit passages, according to the suggestions of his own fancy.' *Patriot King*, 1749, Advertisement, p. 7. The 'very few copies' mentioned in the text must have been printed from the uncorrected text. The book was published in 1749. *Gent. Mag.* 1749, p. 195.

³ Horace Walpole wrote on May 17, 1749:—'Pope, who loved money infinitely beyond any friend, got 1,500

copies printed privately, intending to outlive Bolingbroke, and make great advantage of them; and not only did this, but altered the copy at his pleasure, and even made different alterations in different copies. . . . What seems to make Bolingbroke most angry, and I suppose does, is Pope's having presumed to correct his work.' *Letters*, ii. 159.

Lady Luxborough, Bolingbroke's half-sister, wrote on June 24, 1749:—'The letters between Pope and the printer, bargaining for the price, were found by Lord Marchmont.' *Letters of Lady Luxborough to Shennstone*, p. 105.

⁴ Johnson quotes the Advertisement to *The Patriot King*, p. 6. 'The original, corrected by Bolingbroke, is in the British Museum.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), Introd. p. 138. The printer's name was Wright. *Marchmont Papers*, ii. 338.

⁵ They were burnt on the Terrace at Battersea. *Ib.* p. 339 n.

he had wept in his last struggles, and he employed Mallet, another friend of Pope, to tell the tale to the publick with all its aggravations¹. Warburton, whose heart was warm with his legacy² and tender by the recent separation, thought it proper for him to interpose, and undertook, not indeed to vindicate the action, for breach of trust has always something criminal, but to extenuate it by an apology³. Having advanced, what cannot be denied, that moral obliquity is made more or less excusable by the motives that produce it, he enquires what evil purpose could have induced Pope to break his promise. He could not delight his vanity by usurping the work, which, though not sold in shops, had been shewn to a number more than sufficient to preserve the author's claim; he could not gratify his avarice, for he could not sell his plunder till Bolingbroke was dead; and even then, if the copy was left to another, his fraud would be defeated, and if left to himself would be useless⁴.

- 253 Warburton therefore supposes, with great appearance of reason, that the irregularity of his conduct proceeded wholly from his zeal for Bolingbroke, who might perhaps have destroyed the

¹ *Post*, MALLETT, 18. This then was the answer to Pope's address to Bolingbroke at the end of the *Essay on Man*:—

'Oh! while along the stream of time
thy name

Expanded flies, and gathers all its
fame;

Say, shall my little bark attendant
sail,

Pursue the triumph, and partake
the gale?'¹

² Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. "You shall read," saith he, "that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends." BACON, *Essays*, No. 4.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 194. The reviewer of Kilvert's *Selection from Papers of Warburton* in *The British Critic*, 1841, p. 415, says that 'he has been told by one who was much with Warburton after the decay of his powers, that one day, when Pope's character was freely censured, he waked up suddenly, and exclaimed:

—"Who talks against Pope? He was the best of friends and the best of men"; and so relapsed into his state of insensibility.'

⁴ Warburton's *Works*, 1811, xii. 60.

⁴ In *Gent. Mag.* 1749, pp. 196, 240, three pamphlets are mentioned in defence of Pope. In one of them Mallet is described as 'a fellow who, while Mr. P. lived, was as diligent in licking his feet as he is now in licking Lord B's.'

Bolingbroke, speaking of himself, says:—"He asserted long ago, and he asserts still, that he never broke the terms of friendship with any man who had not broken them previously with him. . . . The long friendship L. B. had for Mr. P. is an aggravation of a real fault committed by the latter in breaking a trust." He writes of Pope's death-bed:—"He was conscious of having betrayed his friend, and hardened enough not to own it in that moment wherein every other heart is ready to open itself." *A Familiar Epistle*, 1749, pp. 11, 16, 22.

pamphlet, which Pope thought it his duty to preserve, even without its author's approbation¹. To this apology an answer was written in a *Letter to the most impudent man living*².

He brought some reproach upon his own memory by the 254
petulant and contemptuous mention made in his will of Mr. Allen³, and an affected repayment of his benefactions. Mrs. Blount, as the known friend and favourite of Pope, had been invited to the house of Allen, where she comported herself with such indecent arrogance that she parted from Mrs. Allen in a state of irreconcilable dislike, and the door was for ever barred against her⁴. This exclusion she resented with so much bitterness as to refuse any legacy from Pope, unless he left the world with a disavowal of obligation to Allen. Having been long under her dominion, now tottering in the decline of life and unable to resist the violence of her temper, or, perhaps with the prejudice of a lover, persuaded that she had suffered improper treatment, he complied with her demand and polluted his will with female resentment⁵.

¹ *Post*, POPE, 263, 287. See Ruffhead's *Pope*, pp. 522-32, and 569-end, where Warburton's vindication is given.

² Bolingbroke quitted the Pretender because he found him incapable of making a good Prince. He himself, if in power, would have made the best of ministers. These things will be proved one of these days. The proofs are ready, and the world *will* see them.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 300. Pope referred, no doubt, to *The Patriot King*.

³ *A Familiar Epistle to the Most Impudent Man Living*. 1749. Price sixpence. 'It exists entire in Bolingbroke's hand.' Watson's *Warburton*, p. 363. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 329. [This sentence is not in the 1st ed. of the *Lives*.]

Smollett speaks of Bolingbroke in 1748 :—'Seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a public life he resided at Battersea, where he was visited like a sainted shrine by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition.' *Hist. of Eng.* iii. 237. He died on Dec. 15, 1751.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 168, 194.

⁵ Writing to Pope from Allen's house in 1743 she complained that

she experienced 'from every one of them much greater inhumanity than I could conceive anybody could show. Mr. Warburton took no notice of me. They have not one of them named your name, nor drunk your health since you went.' Pope replied :—'However well I might wish the man, the woman is a minx, and an impertinent one, and he will do what she would have him. . . . W. is a sneaking parson, and I told him he flattered.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 332-5. Allen in March, 1744, called on Pope. 'He assured me,' Pope wrote to Mrs. Blount, 'it all rested upon a *mutual misunderstanding* between you two, which appeared in two or three days, and which he spoke to his wife about, but found he could not make her at all easy in.' *Ib.* p. 337. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 358.

Hawkins says that Mrs. Blount took offence because Allen thought it his duty, as Mayor of Bath, to refuse to let his chariot take her 'to the Popish chapel.' Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iv. 90.

⁵ In the proof-sheet, 'with posthumous resentment.'

Post, POPE, 287. Johnson's autho-

Allen accepted the legacy¹, which he gave to the Hospital at Bath, observing that Pope was always a bad accomptant, and that if to 150*l.* he had put a cypher more he had come nearer to the truth².

- 255 THE person of Pope is well known not to have been formed by the nicest model³. He has, in his account of the 'Little Club,' compared himself to a spider⁴, and by another is described as protuberant behind and before⁵. He is said to have been beautiful in his infancy; but he was of a constitution originally feeble and weak, and as bodies of a tender frame are easily distorted his deformity was probably in part the effect of his application⁶. His stature was so low that, to bring him to a level with common tables, it was necessary to raise his seat⁷.

ity is Ruffhead (pp. 547, 576), whose authority, no doubt, was Warburton. She said to Spence:—'I had never read his will; but he mentioned to me the part relating to Mr. Allen, and I advised him to omit it.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 357. For *pollute* see *ante*, DRYDEN, 173.

¹ 'Item, In case Ralph Allen, Esq., shall survive me, I order my Executors to pay him the sum of £150, being, to the best of my calculation, the account of what I have received from him; partly for my own, and partly for charitable uses. If he refuses to take this himself, I desire him to employ it in a way I am persuaded he will not dislike, to the benefit of the Bath Hospital.' *Warton*, ix. 417.

'This unkind clause,' said Warburton, 'was inserted at the instigation, and to quiet the impotent passions of another.' Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 576.

² According to Ruffhead (p. 547), 'Mr. Allen doubled the legacy Mr. Pope left to his favourite servant, John Searl, and took him and his family into his protection.' The legacy was '£100, over and above a year's wages to himself and his wife.' *Warton*, ix. 418. Searl was the 'good John' of the first line of *Prol. Sat.*

³ For a list of his portraits see Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 95.

⁴ 'The figure of the man is odd enough; he is a lively little creature with long arms and legs; a spider is no ill emblem of him; he has been taken at a distance for a small windmill.' *The Guardian*, No. 92. See *ante*, POPE, 216 *n.* 2.

⁵ 'Whoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn.' BACON, *Essays*, No. 44. 'Chantez, pauvre petit.' BÉRANGER.

⁶ Pope told Spence that 'his perpetual application (after he set to study of himself) reduced him in four years to so bad a state of health that he sat down calmly in a full expectation of death in a short time.' He was saved by following Dr. Radcliffe's advice 'to apply less and to ride every day.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 7. For his portrait as a healthy child of ten see *ib.* p. 26. For his studying see *ante*, POPE, 16, 19.

⁷ In describing the Short Club he says that, before the Club-room was fitted up, 'the table was so high that one who came by chance to the door, seeing our chins just above the pewter dishes, took us for a circle of men that sate ready to be shaved, and sent in half-a-dozen barbers.' *The Guardian*, No. 91.

But his face was not displeasing, and his eyes were animated and vivid¹.

By natural deformity or accidental distortion his vital functions were so much disordered that his life was a 'long disease'. His most frequent assailant was the headach, which he used to relieve by inhaling the steam of coffee, which he very frequently required².

Most of what can be told concerning his petty peculiarities was communicated by a female domestick of the Earl of Oxford³, who knew him perhaps after the middle of life. He was then so weak as to stand in perpetual need of female attendance; extremely sensible of cold, so that he wore a kind of fur doublet under a shirt of very coarse warm linen with fine sleeves. When he rose he was invested in boddice⁴ made of stiff canvass, being scarce able to hold himself erect till they were laced, and he then put on a flannel waistcoat⁵. One side was contracted. His legs were so slender that he enlarged their bulk with three pair of stockings, which were drawn on and off by the maid; for he was not able to dress or undress himself, and neither went to bed nor rose without help. His weakness made it very difficult for him to be clean⁷.

¹ He is thus described by Thomson in *The Castle of Indolence*, ii. 33:—

'He came, the bard, a little Druid-wight,

[keen,
Of wither'd aspect; but his eye was
With sweetness mix'd. In russet
brown bedight,

As is his sister of the copses green,
He crept along, unpromising of mien.
Gross he who judges so.'

'His sister' was the nightingale.
See *ante*, POPE, 3.

'His eye,' writes Warburton, 'was fine, sharp and piercing.' *Warburton*, iv. 17.

Reynolds, who saw him about 1740, described him as 'about four feet six high; very humpbacked and deformed; he wore a black coat, and had on a little sword. He had a large and very fine eye, and a long handsome nose; his mouth had those peculiar marks which always are found in the mouths of crooked persons, and the muscles which run across the cheek were so strongly marked as to appear like small cords.

Roubiliac, who made a bust of him from life, observed that his countenance was that of a person who had been much afflicted with headache, and he should have known the fact from the contracted appearance of the skin between his eyebrows.' Prior's *Malone*, p. 429.

² Pope wrote to Aaron Hill on March 14, 1730-1:—'My whole life has been but one long disease.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 23. Four years later he wrote:—'The Muse but serv'd to ease some friend, not wife,

To help me through this long disease,
my life.' *Prol. Sat. l.* 131.

³ *Gent. Mag.* 1775, p. 435.

⁴ It is published in *ib.* Sept. 1775, p. 435. Johnson had, however, further sources of information.

⁵ ['A variant of bodies, the original phrase being a pair of bodies; even with the spelling bodice the word was treated as a plural.' *N. E. D.*]

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 3n.

⁷ Pope, in his *Letter to a Noble*

- 258 His hair had fallen almost all away, and he used to dine sometimes with Lord Oxford, privately, in a velvet cap. His dress of ceremony was black¹, with a tye-wig and a little sword.
- 259 The indulgence and accommodation which his sickness required had taught him all the unpleasing and unsocial qualities of a valetudinary man². He expected that every thing should give way to his ease or humour, as a child whose parents will not hear her cry has an unresisted dominion in the nursery.

‘C’est que l’enfant toujours est homme,
C’est que l’homme est toujours enfant³.’

When he wanted to sleep he ‘nodded in company’⁴; and once slumbered at his own table while the Prince of Wales was talking of poetry.

- 260 The reputation which his friendship gave procured him many invitations; but he was a very troublesome inmate⁵. He brought no servant, and had so many wants that a numerous attendance

Lord [Hervey], says:—‘It is true, my Lord, I am short, not well-shaped, generally ill-dressed, if not sometimes dirty.’ *Warton*, iii. 334.

‘Poor Pope was so weak and infirm, and his body required so many wrappers and coverings, that it was hardly possible for him to be neat. No poet, except Malherbe, ever wore so many pair of stockings.’ *WARTON*, *Essay*, ii. 399.

Broome thus describes him:—

‘Next in stepp’d a wight, a monkey
of man,
Through av’rice ill-clad, maliciously
wan.’

Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 151.

¹ In the account of the Short Club he says the poet has been elected President, ‘not only as he is the shortest of us all, but because he has entertained so just a sense of his stature, as to go generally in black, that he may appear yet less.’ *The Guardian*, No. 92.

² ‘JOHNSON. I do not know a more disagreeable character than a valetudinarian, who thinks he may do anything that is for his ease, and indulges himself in the grossest freedom. Sir, he brings himself to the state of a hog in a sty.’ Boswell’s

Johnson, iii. 152. See also *ib.* p. 1, and Spence’s *Anec.* p. 332.

³ Johnson quotes these lines in a letter to Mrs. Thrale written while he was writing the *Life of Pope*. *John. Lett.* ii. 183.

⁴ ‘I nod in company, I wake at night,

Fools rush into my head, and so I write.’ *Imit. Hor., Sat.* ii. 1. 13.

Lord Marchmont said ‘that if the conversation did not take something of a lively or epigrammatic turn he fell asleep, or perhaps pretended to do so.’ *John. Misc.* ii. 4.

The old Duchess of Marlborough mentions in 1742 ‘the disappointment when he falls asleep.’ *Marchmont Papers*, ii. 269. See also Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 12, ix. 508.

Warburton (Pope’s *Works*, 1757, ix. 6 n.) speaks of ‘his constant custom of sleeping after dinner.’

⁵ He thanks the second Earl of Oxford for ‘the great indulgence you gave me in my variety of negotiations at your house, in my irregular entrances and exits, in my unseasonable suppers and separate breakfasts, and in all my ways.’ Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 316.

was scarcely able to supply them. Wherever he was he left no room for another, because he exacted the attention and employed the activity of the whole family. His errands were so frequent and frivolous that the footmen in time avoided and neglected him, and the Earl of Oxford discharged some of the servants for their resolute refusal of his messages. The maids, when they had neglected their business, alleged that they had been employed by Mr. Pope. One of his constant demands was of coffee in the night, and to the woman that waited on him in his chamber he was very burthensome¹; but he was careful to recompense her want of sleep, and Lord Oxford's servant declared that in a house where her business was to answer his call she would not ask for wages.

He had another fault, easily incident to those who suffering 261 much pain think themselves entitled to whatever pleasures they can snatch. He was too indulgent to his appetite: he loved meat highly seasoned and of strong taste, and, at the intervals of the table, amused himself with biscuits and dry conserves. If he sat down to a variety of dishes he would oppress his stomach with repletion, and though he seemed angry when a dram was offered him, did not forbear to drink it². His friends, who knew

¹ Mrs. Fermor, niece to Belinda of *The Rape of the Lock*, told Mrs. Piozzi 'that she believed there was but little comfort to be found in a house that harboured poets; . . . Mr. Pope's numberless caprices would have employed ten servants to wait on him; and he gave one no amends by his talk neither; for he only sate dozing all day, when the sweet wine was out, and made his verses chiefly in the night; during which season he kept himself awake by drinking coffee, which it was one of the maids' business to make for him, and they took it by turns.' Piozzi's *Journey*, &c., i. 20; *ante*, POPE, 54.

² Dr. King describes a dinner at Lord Burlington's where 'Pope grew sick and left the room.' On his return 'my Lord asked him if he would have some wine, which Pope refused. I told my Lord that he wanted a dram. Upon which the little man expressed some resentment against me. However I persisted. My Lord ordered a large glass of cherry-

brandy to be set before him. Pope sipped it all up.' King's *Anec.* p. 12.

Arbuthnot wrote of him in 1733:— 'He really leads sometimes a very irregular life, that is, lives with people of superior health and strength.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 66. Swift wrote to him:— 'I can bear a pint better than you can a spoonful.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 143.

[See also two letters written in 1738 by W. Kent (most likely the artist). 'June 27; Pope . . . last night came to me about 8 o'clock in liquor and would have more wine. Nov. 28; My service to Mr. Bethell and tell him his friend Pope is the greatest glutton I know. He now talks of the many good things he can make; he told me of a soup that must be seven hours a making; he dined with Mr. Murray and Lady Betty, and was very drunk last Sunday night.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* ii. App. p. 19.]

the avenues to his heart, pampered him with presents of luxury, which he did not suffer to stand neglected. The death of great men is not always proportioned to the lustre of their lives. Hannibal, says Juvenal, did not perish by a javelin or a sword; the slaughters of Cannæ were revenged by a ring¹. The death of Pope was imputed by some of his friends to a silver saucepan, in which it was his delight to heat potted lampreys².

262 That he loved too well to eat is certain; but that his sensuality shortened his life will not be hastily concluded when it is remembered that a conformation so irregular lasted six and fifty years³, notwithstanding such pertinacious diligence of study and meditation.

263 In all his intercourse with mankind he had great delight in artifice, and endeavoured to attain all his purposes by indirect and unsuspected methods. 'He hardly drank tea without a stratagem⁴.' If at the house of his friends he wanted any accommodation he was not willing to ask for it in plain terms, but would mention it remotely as something convenient; though, when it was procured, he soon made it appear for whose sake it had been recommended. Thus he teized Lord Orrery till he obtained a screen. He practised his arts on such small occasions that Lady Bolingbroke used to say, in a French phrase, that 'he plaid the politician about cabbages and turnips⁵.' His unjustifiable impression of *The Patriot King*, as it can be imputed

¹ *Satires*, x. 163.

² Lord Bathurst in 1734 wrote to Mrs. Howard of Pope:—'He makes himself sick every meal at your most moderate and plain table in England.' [*Letters of Henrietta Countess of Suffolk*, 1712-1767, ed. 1824, vol. ii. p. 81.]

³ 'He certainly hastened his death by feeding much on high-seasoned dishes and drinking spirits.' DR. KING, *Anec.* p. 13.

⁴ He came of a long-lived stock. His father died at seventy-five and his mother in her ninety-first year. Spence's *Anec.* p. 289 n.; *ante*, POPE, 161 n.

⁵ 'Nor take her tea without a stratagem.'

YOUNG, *Satires*, vi. 188.

⁶ 'Johnson himself often resembled Lady Bolingbroke's lively de-

scription of Pope; that "he was *un politique aux choux et aux raves*." He would say, "I dine to-day in Grosvenor-square"; this might be with a Duke: or, perhaps, "I dine to-day at the other end of the town": or, "A gentleman of great eminence called on me yesterday." He loved thus to keep things floating in conjecture.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 324.

Addison, writing of 'the project now on foot in the Court of France for establishing a political academy,' says:—'There is no question but these young Machiavels will in a little time turn their college upside down with plots and stratagems to circumvent one another in a frog or a salad, as they may hereafter put in practice to overreach a neighbouring prince or state.' *The Spectator*, No. 305.

to no particular motive, must have proceeded from his general habit of secrecy and cunning: he caught an opportunity of a sly trick, and pleased himself with the thought of outwitting Bolingbroke¹.

In familiar or convivial conversation it does not appear that he²⁶⁴ excelled². He may be said to have resembled Dryden³, as being not one that was distinguished by vivacity in company. It is remarkable that, so near his time, so much should be known of what he has written, and so little of what he has said: traditional memory retains no sallies of raillery nor sentences of observation; nothing either pointed or solid, either wise or merry. One apophthegm only stands upon record⁴. When an objection raised against his inscription for Shakespeare was defended by the authority of Patrick, he replied,—‘horresco referens’⁵—that ‘he would allow the publisher⁶ of a Dictionary to know the meaning of a single word, but not of two words put together’⁷.

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 252; *post*, 287.

² Swift wrote to Gay in 1732:—‘Your inattention I cannot pardon. . . . Yet Mr. Pope has the same defect, and it is of all others the most mortal to conversation. Neither is my Lord Bolingbroke untinted with it; all for want of my rule, *Vive la bagatelle*. But the doctor [Arbuthnot] is the king of inattention.’ Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), vii. 276. See *ante*, SWIFT, 90 n., for the lines beginning:—‘Pope has the talent well to speak.’

‘Pope in conversation was below himself; he was seldom easy and natural, and seemed afraid that the man should degrade the poet, which made him always attempt wit and humour, often unsuccessfully, and too often unseasonably.’ CHESTERFIELD, *Misc. Works*, iv. App. 15.

‘Lord Somerville told me, that he had dined in company with Pope, and that after dinner the *little man*, as he called him, drank his bottle of Burgundy, and was exceedingly gay and entertaining.’ Boswell’s *Johnson*, iv. 50.

‘Lord Bathurst, Lord Lyttelton, and Mr. Spence have assured me that among intimates Pope had an admirable talent for telling a story. In great companies he avoided speak-

ing much.’ WARTON, *Essay*, ii. 234. See also Prior’s *Malone*, p. 348.

³ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 166.

⁴ For a second see *post*, POPE, 279 n. 2.

⁵ *Aeneid*, ii. 204.

⁶ Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, gives no instance of *publisher* in this sense.

⁷ ‘Dr. Mead objected to the Latinity of *amor publicus*, on the authority of Patrick, the dictionary-maker; to which Pope well replied, “that he would allow a dictionary-maker to understand a single word, but not two words put together.”’ Ruffhead’s *Pope*, p. 205.

‘Mead, who was a judge of pure Latinity, ended the controversy by giving up his opinion, and saying to Pope:—

“Omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori.”

[VIRGIL, *Ecl.* x. 69.]

In a public inscription at Rheims Racine used *amor publicus* in the very same sense. I believe both poets were wrong.’ WARTON, *Essay*, ii. 389.

Pope’s inscription ran:—‘Gulielmo Shakespear. Anno Post Mortem CXXIV. Amor Publicus Posuit.’ *Gent. Mag.* 1741, p. 105.

Johnson writes in the *Plan of an*

- 265 He was fretful and easily displeased, and allowed himself to be capriciously resentful¹. He would sometimes leave Lord Oxford silently, no one could tell why, and was to be courted back by more letters and messages than the footmen were willing to carry. The table was indeed infested by Lady Mary Wortley, who was the friend of Lady Oxford, and who, knowing his peevishness, could by no intreaties be restrained from contradicting him, till their disputes were sharpened to such asperity that one or the other quitted the house².
- 266 He sometimes condescended to be jocular with servants or inferiors; but by no merriment, either of others or his own, was he ever seen excited to laughter³.
- 267 Of his domestick character frugality was a part eminently remarkable. Having determined not to be dependent he determined not to be in want, and therefore wisely and magnanimously rejected all temptations to expence unsuitable to his fortune. This general care must be universally approved; but it sometimes

English Dictionary:—‘Many of the writers whose testimonies will be alleged were selected by Mr. Pope, of whom I may be justified in affirming that were he still alive, solicitous as he was for the success of this work, he would not be displeased that I have undertaken it.’ *Works*, v. 20.

¹ ‘Gray thought that Pope had a good heart in spite of his peevish temper.’ Mitford’s *Gray*, v. 37.

² *Gent. Mag.* 1775, p. 435. Lady Bute (Lady Mary’s daughter) said:—‘I am confident they never met at Lord Oxford’s table.’ Lord Oxford’s daughter, the Duchess of Portland, said:—‘If my father could have dreamed of inviting them at the same time, which his sense of propriety made impossible, my mother, who adored Lady Mary and hated Pope, would no more have consented to it than she would have put her hand in the fire.’ *Letters of Lady M. W. Montagu*, i. 65.

According to Lady Mary’s account, ‘Pope, one day, made such passionate love to her as, in spite of her utmost endeavours to be angry and look grave, provoked an immoderate fit of laughter; from which moment he

became her implacable enemy.’ *Ib.* i. 60.

He attacked her and her husband in the following couplet (*Imit. Hor., Sat.* ii. 2. 49):—

‘Avidien, or his wife (no matter which,

For him you’ll call a dog and her a bitch).’

On which Warburton remarks in a note:—‘Our Poet had the art of giving wit and dignity to his Billingsgate, which Horace seems not to have learnt.’ Warburton, iv. 83.

In the correspondence between her and Pope she had been gross and he obscene. Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 350, 362. See also *ib.* iii. 282, v. 138–41, 259.

³ *Gent. Mag.* 1775, p. 435. His sister said:—‘I never saw him laugh very heartily in all my life.’ On this Spence remarks:—‘It is very true that in the latter part of his life, when he told a story he was always the last to laugh at it; and seldom went beyond a particular easy smile.’ Spence’s *Anec.* p. 206. See *ante*, SWIFT, 122.

In his *Iliad*, v. 517 n., he says:—‘Jupiter only smiles, the other Gods laugh out.’

appeared in petty artifices of parsimony, such as the practice of writing his compositions on the back of letters, as may be seen in the remaining copy of the *Iliad*, by which perhaps in five years five shillings were saved¹; or in a niggardly reception of his friends and scantiness of entertainment, as when he had two guests in his house he would set at supper a single pint upon the table, and having himself taken two small glasses would retire and say, 'Gentlemen, I leave you to your wine².' Yet he tells his friends that 'he has a heart for all, a house for all, and, whatever they may think, a fortune for all³.'

He sometimes, however, made a splendid dinner, and is said 268 to have wanted no part of the skill or elegance which such performances require. That this magnificence should be often displayed, that obstinate prudence with which he conducted his affairs would not permit; for his revenue, certain and casual, amounted only to about eight hundred pounds a year, of which, however, he declares himself able to assign one hundred to charity⁴.

'Get all your verses printed fair,
Then let them well be dried;
And Curll must have a special care
To leave the margin wide.

Lend these to paper-sparing
Pope;
And when he sits to write,
No letter with an envelope
Could give him more delight.'

Nichols says in a note on these lines of Swift's:—'The original copy of Pope's *Homer* [see *ante*, POPE, 95] is almost entirely written on the covers of letters, and sometimes between the lines of the letters themselves.' Swift's *Works*, 1803, xi. 32. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 142.

Mr. Francis Darwin, after telling how Charles Darwin, when composing, 'wrote a rough copy straight off without the slightest attention to style,' continues:—'It was characteristic of him that he felt unable to write with sufficient want of care if he used his best paper, and thus it was that he wrote on the backs of old proofs or manuscript.' *Life of Darwin*, 1892, p. 98.

¹ Swift, telling Gay of some wine turned sour in his cellar, continues:

—'But what care you for this, who have left off drinking wine, and would not now think it hard if Mr. Pope should tell us towards the bottom of a pint, "Gentlemen, I will leave you to your wine?"' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 187. See also *ib.* p. 275, and Delany's *Observations on Orrery's Swift*, p. 181. Pope says in his *Iliad*, vi. 329 n.:—'It is a vulgar mistake to imagine the use of wine either raises the spirits or increases strength.' For Swift's frugality see *ante*, SWIFT, 103.

² In 1737 he wrote to Swift, who was far too ill to travel, pressing him to come with his 'old house-keeper, and two or three servants':—'I have room for all, a heart for all, and, think what you will, a fortune for all.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 357.

³ He wrote to Swift in 1729:—'I can afford to give away a £100 a year.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 159.

Warton reckons among his virtues 'a frugality and economy and order in his house and at his table; at the same time that his private charities were many and great, of which

- 269 Of this fortune, which as it arose from publick approbation was very honourably obtained, his imagination seems to have been too full: it would be hard to find a man, so well entitled to notice by his wit, that ever delighted so much in talking of his money. In his Letters and in his Poems, his garden and his grotto, his quincunx and his vines, or some hints of his opulence, are always to be found¹. The great topick of his ridicule is poverty²: the crimes with which he reproaches his antagonists are their debts, their habitation in the Mint³, and their want of a dinner⁴. He seems to be of an opinion, not very uncommon in the world, that to want money is to want every thing⁵.
- 270 Next to the pleasure of contemplating his possessions seems to be that of enumerating the men of high rank with whom he was acquainted⁶, and whose notice he loudly proclaims not to have been obtained by any practices of meanness or servility⁷; a boast which was never denied to be true, and to which very

Dodsley gave me several instances.' *Warton*, Preface, p. 56. See also *ante*, POPE, 92, 243 n. 4; *post*, 286.

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 118.

² *Post*, THOMSON, 8 n. Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 34, makes the clergyman point out to the Club that that paper 'would only serve to aggravate the pains of poverty if it chiefly exposed those who are already depressed, and in some measure turned into ridicule by the meanness of their conditions and circumstances.'

³ *Ante*, ROWE, 21.

⁴ 'Yet then did Gildon draw his venal quill;

I wish'd the man a dinner and sate still. [fret;

Yet then did Dennis rave in furious I never answer'd, I was not in debt.' *Prosl. Sat.* l. 151.

⁵ In a note on *The Dunciad*, ii. 282, he writes:—'Our indulgent poet, whenever he has spoken of any dirty or low work, constantly puts us in mind of the Poverty of the offenders, as the only extenuation of such practices.'

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 23; *post*, 281.

⁷ He wrote of himself in the name of Cleland:—'He has not been a follower of Fortune or Success; he has lived with the Great without flattery; been a friend to Men in power without pensions.' Pope's

Works (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 47. See also *ib.* x. 140. He was sometimes servile in his flattery. Thus in the Preface to his *Iliad*, acknowledging the honour done him by 'so many of the Great,' he continues:—'Among these it is a particular pleasure to me to find that my highest obligations are to such who have done most honour to the name of Poet; that his Grace the Duke of Buckingham was not displeased I should undertake the author to whom he has given (in his excellent *Essay*) the finest praise he ever received.' The 'finest praise' is contained in the following couplet:—

'Verse will seem Prose; but still persist to read, [you need.'

And Homer will be all the Books [Sheffield's *Works*, 'second edition corrected,' 1729, i. 44. Pope, in the first ed. of his *Iliad*, gives an earlier version:—

'Verse will seem prose, yet often on him look,

And you will hardly need another book.' *Warton*, iv. 407.

For the *Essay* see *ante*, SHEFFIELD, 23.

Prior, in *Alma*, ii. 305, says of Pope:—

'Happy the poet, blest the lays,
Which Buckingham has deign'd to praise!'

few poets have ever aspired. Pope never set genius¹ to sale: he never flattered those whom he did not love, or praised those whom he did not esteem². Savage, however, remarked that he began a little to relax his dignity when he wrote a distich for 'his Highness's dog³.'

His admiration of the Great seems to have increased in the 271 advance of life⁴. He passed over peers and statesmen to inscribe his *Iliad* to Congreve⁵, with a magnanimity of which the praise had been compleat, had his friend's virtue been equal to his wit. Why he was chosen for so great an honour it is not now possible to know⁶; there is no trace in literary history of any particular intimacy between them⁷. The name of Congreve appears in the Letters among those of his other friends, but without any observable distinction or consequence.

To his latter works, however, he took care to annex names 272 dignified with titles, but was not very happy in his choice; for, except Lord Bathurst⁸, none of his noble friends were such as

¹ In the first edition, 'his genius.'

² 'I have never flattered any man,' he said, 'nor ever received anything of any man for my verses.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 141. See also *ib.* p. 308 for a statement that Alderman Barber tried in vain by a great bribe 'to have a stroke in his commendation inserted in some part of Pope's writings.' In this Pope was above Dryden. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 172. For Barber see Swift's *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 180.

³ 'I am his Highness' dog at Kew; Pray tell me, Sir, whose dog are you?'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 449. See *ante*, POPE, 217.

⁴ *Post*, POPE, 281.

⁵ *Ante*, CONGREVE, 30.

⁶ It is stated in Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 175, that, among the Homer MSS., 'at the back of a letter (part of the rough draft of the *Iliad*) Pope has written:—'End the notes with a dedication to Mr. Congreve, as a memorial of our friendship occasioned by his translation of this last part of Homer.' The dedication is printed at the end of the *Iliad*. In a note on Bk. xxiv. l. 934, quoting the following couplet:—

'Why gav'st thou not to me thy dying hand?

And why receiv'd not I thy last command?'

he continues:—'I have taken these two lines from Mr. Congreve, whose translation of this part was one of his first essays in poetry.'

'Pope could not with propriety inscribe to a chief of either party a work which had been munificently patronised by both [*ante*, POPE, 74]. . . . Congreve lived on terms of civility with men of all parties.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iii. 270.

⁷ In the first edition this sentence concludes:—'nor does the name of Congreve appear in the Letters.'

On Congreve's death Pope wrote:—'You know the value I bore him, and a long twenty years' friendship.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 246. See also *ib.* vii. 434.

⁸ JOHNSON. How foolish was it in Pope to give all his friendship to Lords, who thought they honoured him by being with him; and to choose such Lords as Burlington, and Cobham, and Bolingbroke! Bathurst was negative, a pleasing man; and I have heard no ill of Marchmont; and then always saying, "I do not

that a good man would wish to have his intimacy with them known to posterity: he can derive little honour from the notice of Cobham¹, Burlington², or Bolingbroke³.

- 273 Of his social qualities, if an estimate be made from his Letters⁴, an opinion too favourable cannot easily be formed; they exhibit a perpetual and unclouded effulgence of general benevolence and particular fondness⁵. There is nothing but liberality, gratitude, constancy, and tenderness. It has been so long said as to be commonly believed that the true characters of men may be found in their letters, and that he who writes to his friend lays his heart open before him⁶. But the truth is that such were

value you for being a Lord"; which was a sure proof that he did.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 347.

For Pope's praise of 'Bathurst yet unspoiled by wealth' see *Moral Essays*, iii. 226. For a humorous letter of Bathurst's to him see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 337. See also *ib.* viii. 322, 338 n., ix. 309; *ante*, POPE, 198.

Bathurst is the 'auspicious youth' in a famous passage in Burke's speech *On Conciliation with America*. *John. Misc.* i. 173; Payne's *Burke*, i. 173.

¹ *Ante*, HAMMOND, 4; POPE, 202. 'And you, brave Cobham! to the latest breath

Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:

Such in those moments as in all the past,

"O, save my country, Heav'n!" shall be your last.'

POPE, *Moral Essays*, i. 262.

For what he really did do at his 'latest breath' see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 72.

Thomson praises his valour in *Autumn*, l. 1070.

He married the only daughter of Thrale's predecessor in the brewery now known as Barclay and Perkins. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 490.

Gray (*post*, GRAY, 11) in *A Long Story*, l. 31, describing her, refers to Cobham:—

'The other amazon kind heav'n

Had arm'd with spirit, wit and satire;

But Cobham had the polish giv'n,
And tipp'd her arrows with good nature.'

² *Ante*, GAY, 12; POPE, 156.

'Never were protection and great wealth more generously and more judiciously diffused than by this great person, who had every quality of a genius and artist except envy.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Anec. of Painting*, iv. 229.

'Lord Burlington has, to a certain degree, lessened himself by knowing the minute and mechanical parts of architecture too well.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters to his Son*, ii. 240.

³ Pope wrote to Swift of Bolingbroke in 1736:—'Nothing can depress his genius. Whatever befalls him, he will still be the greatest man in the world, either in his own time, or with posterity.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 342.

Swift wrote of him to Pope in 1738:—'That superior universal genius you describe . . . has made me both proud and happy. . . . He began in the Queen's time to be my patron, and then descended to be my friend.' *Id.* p. 364. See also *ante*, POPE, 245 n. 5.

⁴ For his forgeries see *ante*, POPE, 162.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 34, 167.

⁶ 'Ut clavis portam, sic pandit epistola pectus.

As keys do open chests,

So letters open breasts.'

J. HOWELL, *Familiar Letters*, ed. 1890, p. 647.

'C'est dans de telles lettres, qui ne sont pas d'abord destinées à être publiques, qu'on voit les véritables sentiments des hommes.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, iii. 39.

See Johnson's mockery of 'this

simple friendships of the *Golden Age*, and are now the friendships only of children. Very few can boast of hearts which they dare lay open to themselves, and of which, by whatever accident exposed, they do not shun a distinct and continued view; and certainly what we hide from ourselves we do not shew to our friends'. There is, indeed, no transaction which offers stronger temptations to fallacy and sophistication than epistolary intercourse. In the eagerness of conversation the first emotions of the mind often burst out before they are considered; in the tumult of business interest and passion have their genuine effect; but a friendly letter is a calm and deliberate performance in the cool of leisure, in the stillness of solitude, and surely no man sits down to depreciate by design his own character.

Friendship has no tendency to secure veracity, for by whom 274 can a man so much wish to be thought better than he is as by him whose kindness he desires to gain or keep? Even in writing to the world there is less constraint²: the author is not confronted with his reader, and takes his chance of approbation among the different dispositions of mankind; but a letter is addressed to a single mind of which the prejudices and partialities are known, and must therefore please, if not by favouring them, by forbearing to oppose them.

To charge those favourable representations, which men give of 275 their own minds³, with the guilt of hypocritical falsehood, would shew more severity than knowledge. The writer commonly

great truth, sounded by the knowing to the ignorant, and so echoed by the ignorant to the knowing,' in *John. Letters*, ii. 52.

¹ In the Preface to his *Letters* (1737) Pope said that they showed 'what were his real sentiments, as they flowed warm from the heart, and fresh from the occasion, without the least thought that ever the world should be a witness to them.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. Introd. p. 40.

In the letter published by him as written to Addison on Dec. 14, 1713, he says:—'I am conscious I write with more unreservedness than ever man wrote, or perhaps talked to another. I trust your good-nature with the whole range of my follies.' *Ib.* vi.

405. This letter he forged. It had been really written to Caryll on Aug. 14, 1713. *Ib.* p. 190.

² 'The Bishop of St. Asaph said, it appeared from Horace's writings that he was a cheerful contented man. JOHNSON. We have no reason to believe that, my Lord. Are we to think Pope was happy, because he says so in his writings? We see in his writings what he wished the state of his mind to appear. Dr. Young, who pined for preferment, talks with contempt of it in his writings, and affects to despise every thing that he did not despise.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 251.

³ In the first edition:—'which every man gives of himself.'

believes himself¹. Almost every man's thoughts, while they are general, are right; and most hearts are pure while temptation is away. It is easy to awaken generous sentiments in privacy; to despise death when there is no danger; to glow with benevolence when there is nothing to be given². While such ideas are formed they are felt, and self-love does not suspect the gleam of virtue to be the meteor of fancy.

276 If the Letters of Pope are considered merely as compositions they seem to be premeditated and artificial³. It is one thing to write because there is something which the mind wishes to discharge, and another to solicit the imagination because ceremony or vanity requires something to be written. Pope confesses his early letters to be vitiated with 'affectation and ambition⁴': to know whether he disentangled himself from these perverters of epistolary integrity his book and his life must be set in comparison.

277 One of his favourite topicks is contempt of his own poetry. For this, if it had been real, he would deserve no commendation, and in this he certainly was not sincere; for his high value of himself was sufficiently observed, and of what could he be proud but of his poetry? He writes, he says, when 'he has just nothing else to do⁵': yet Swift complains that he was never at leisure for conversation because he 'had always some poetical scheme in

¹ Pope wrote to Aaron Hill on Feb. 5, 1730-1:—'Of my life and manners I do not yet repent one jot.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 19.

² 'BOSWELL. I have often blamed myself, Sir, for not feeling for others as sensibly as many say they do. JOHNSON. Sir, don't be duped by them any more. You will find these very feeling people are not very ready to do you good. They pay you by feeling.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 95.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 167, 172. Pope wrote to Swift on Nov. 28, 1729:—'It is many years ago since I wrote as a Wit.' On this Warburton remarks:—'He used to value himself on this particular.' Warburton, ix. 111.

⁴ 'Mr. Pope laboured his letters as much as the *Essay on Man*, and as they were written to everybody they do not look as if they had been

written to anybody.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, vi. 422.

⁵ Johnson quotes Pope's Preface (1737):—'If in these letters . . . there appear too much of a juvenile ambition of wit, or affectation of gaiety, he [the author] may reasonably hope it will be considered to *whom*, and at *what age*, he was guilty of it, as well as how soon it was over.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. Introd. p. 38.

⁶ 'There is no proof,' writes Mr. Elwin, 'that we have any of Pope's genuine correspondence till we come to that with Cromwell, of which the published part commenced when he was close upon twenty.' *Ib.* vi. 15.

⁷ 'I writ because it amused me. . . . I have reason to think my productions can have no reputation which will continue long, or which deserves to do so.' Preface to *Works*, 1717, *ib.* i. 7.

his head.¹ It was punctually required that his writing-box should be set upon his bed before he rose; and Lord Oxford's domestick related that, in the dreadful winter of Forty², she was called from her bed by him four times in one night to supply him with paper, lest he should lose a thought³.

He pretends insensibility to censure and criticism, though it 278 was observed by all who knew him that every pamphlet disturbed his quiet, and that his extreme irritability laid him open to perpetual vexation⁴; but he wished to despise his criticks, and therefore hoped that he did despise them.

As he happened to live in two reigns when the Court paid 279 little attention to poetry he nursed in his mind a foolish disesteem of Kings⁵, and proclaims that 'he never sees

¹ Swift, in 1733, wrote of him and Bolingbroke:—"Mr. Pope can neither eat nor drink, loves to be alone, and hath always some poetical scheme in his head. Thus the two best companions and friends I ever had have utterly disqualified themselves for my conversation and my way of living." *Swift's Works*, xviii. 138.

² Swift wrote on Jan. 18 of this year:—"It is now 25 days since we have found nothing but frost and misery." On Feb. 3 he wrote:—"My garden is still all in white." *Ib.* xix. 217, 221. For the 'Frost Fair' on the Thames see *Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 35.

³ *Post*, POPE, 297. Horace Walpole (*Works*, i. 383) tells how the poetical Duchess of Newcastle (*ante*, DRYDEN, 43) 'had a servant who lay in a truckle-bed within her bed-chamber, and whenever in the night she felt inspiration, she called out, "John, I conceive"; on which summons he rose, and wrote down the fruits of her reveries.'

⁴ *Ante*, BLACKMORE, 11; POPE, 239. Warburton, in a note on *Epil. Sat.* ii. 220, says:—"There is now in his Library a complete collection of all the horrid Libels against him. These he had bound up in several volumes; and to each of them hath affixed this motto out of *Job* (xxx. 35-6):—"Behold, my desire is that mine adversary should write a book. Surely I should take it upon my

shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me." *Warburton*, iv. 330.

⁵ Johnson hesitated between '*contempt* or *disregard* of Kings,' before he selected *disesteem*. Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 52.

'Pope,' writes Warton, 'is so perpetually expressing an affected contempt for Kings that it becomes almost a nauseous cant. "The pride of Kings" [*Essay on Man*, l. 2]. "Some monster of a King" [*Imit. Hor., Epis.* ii. l. 210]. "Pity Kings" [Pope's *Donne's Sat.* iv. 187]. "The gifts of Kings" [*Imit. Hor., Epis.* i. 6. 15]. "Gods of Kings" [*Epil. Sat.* ii. 225]. "Much above a King" [*Imit. Hor., Epis.* i. l. 186]. "Settle writ of Kings" [*Ib.* ii. l. 417]. "Midas and a King" [*Prol. Sat.* l. 70]. Hawkins Brown laughed at him for his affectation in the *Imitations of English Poets, On Tobacco*—"Come let me taste thee, unexercised by Kings."

[Campbell's *British Poets*, p. 444.] Kings have been of late years [written in 1797] spoken of with even much more disrespect." *Warton*, iv. 116.

Warton, in his *Essay*, ii. 393, quotes Montaigne:—"Since we cannot attain to greatness, let us have our revenge by railing at it."

'To a Catholic like Pope,' writes Mr. Courthope, 'the Brunswick dynasty was identified with the revival of the Penal Laws, with double taxes, and harsh restrictions of per-

Courts'. Yet a little regard shewn him by the Prince of Wales melted his obduracy, and he had not much to say when he was asked by his Royal Highness 'how he could love a Prince while he disliked Kings'.

260 He very frequently professes contempt of the world³, and represents himself as looking on mankind, sometimes with gay indifference, as on emmets of a hillock below his serious attention, and sometimes with gloomy indignation, as on monsters more worthy of hatred than of pity. These were dispositions apparently counterfeited. How could he despise those whom he lived by pleasing, and on whose approbation his esteem of himself was superstructed⁴? Why should he hate those to whose favour he owed his honour and his ease? Of things that terminate in human life the world is the proper judge⁵: to despise its sentence, if it were possible, is not just; and if it were just is not possible. Pope was far enough from this unreasonable temper; he was sufficiently 'a fool to Fame⁶,' and his fault was that he pretended to neglect it. His levity and his sullenness were only in his letters; he passed through common life, sometimes vexed and sometimes pleased, with the natural emotions of common men.

sonal liberty.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 31.

¹ He wrote to Swift in 1728:—
'Courts I see not, courtiers I know not, kings I adore not, queens I compliment not.' *Ib.* vii. 111.

² 'When Mr. Pope met the Prince [ante, POPE, 217, 259] at the water-side, he expressed the sense of the honour done him, &c. On which the Prince said:—"It is very well; but how shall we reconcile your love to a Prince with your professed indisposition to Kings, since Princes will be Kings in time?" "Sir," replied Pope, "I consider royalty under that noble and authorized type of the Lion; while he is young, and before his nails are grown, he may be approached, and caressed with safety and pleasure."'*Ruffhead*, p. 535. See Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 50, for Wilkes's version of this repartee, and ante, POPE, 264, for his 'one apophthegm.'

³ Pope wrote to Swift:—"I despise

the world yet, I assure you, more than either Gay or you.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 123. He wrote to Bethell:—"A few honest people is all the world is worth; but you shall never find them agree to stand by one another and despise the rest." *Ib.* ix. 167.

⁴ Writing to Swift of 'the praises given by men of virtue,' Pope continues:—"All other praise, whether from poets or peers, is contemptible alike, and I am old enough, and experienced enough, to know, that the only praises worth having are those bestowed by virtue for virtue." *Ib.* vii. 311. The wonder is that he should thus cant to such a man as Swift.

⁵ Ante, SMITH, 49; ADDISON, 136; Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 200.

⁶ 'As yet a child, nor yet a fool to fame,

I lisp'd in numbers, for the numbers came.' *Prolog. Sat.* l. 127.

His scorn of the Great is repeated too often to be real¹: no 281
man thinks much of that which he despises; and as falsehood
is always in danger of inconsistency he makes it his boast at
another time that he lives among them².

It is evident that his own importance swells often in his mind³. 282
He is afraid of writing lest the clerks of the Post-office should
know his secrets⁴; he has many enemies; he considers himself
as surrounded by universal jealousy; 'after many deaths, and many
dispersions, two or three of us,' says he, 'may still be brought
together, not to plot, but to divert ourselves, and the world too,
if it pleases'; and they can live together, and 'shew what friends
wits may be, in spite of all the fools in the world⁵.' All this
while it was likely that the clerks did not know his hand: he
certainly had no more enemies than a publick character like his
inevitably excites, and with what degree of friendship the wits
might live very few were so much fools as ever to enquire.

Some part of this pretended discontent he learned from Swift, 283
and expresses it, I think, most frequently in his correspondence
with him. Swift's resentment was unreasonable, but it was
sincere⁶; Pope's was the mere mimicry of his friend, a fictitious
part which he began to play before it became him. When he
was only twenty-five years old he related that 'a glut of study

¹ *Ante*, SAVAGE, 258 n.

² *Ante*, POPE, 271.

³ 'Pope was our first and only dictator.' SOUTHEY, Cowper's *Works*, ii. 109.

⁴ 'It is probable his hand was not so very well known, nor his letters so eagerly opened, by the clerks of the office as he seems always to think.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 85.

Pope wrote to Swift in 1734, about the authorship of the first *Essay on Man*:—'I beg your pardon for not telling you . . . ; but no secret can cross your Irish Sea, and every clerk in the post-office had known it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 324. See also *ib.* viii. 411. Swift wrote to him in 1738:—'I have an ill name in the post-office of both kingdoms, which makes the letters addressed to me not seldom miscarry, or be opened and read.' *Ib.* vii. 364.

In 1735 many members of the

House of Commons complained of the common practice of opening letters. 'It enabled the little clerks about the post-office to pry into the private affairs of every gentleman in the kingdom.' *Parl. Hist.* ix. 842. For Walpole's defence of the practice see *ib.* p. 839.

Gray wrote to Wharton in 1753:—'Remember this election-time letters are apt to be opened at the offices.' *Gray's Letters*, i. 244.

In 1783 Pitt wrote to his mother:—'I believe the fashion which prevails of opening almost every letter that is sent makes it almost impossible to write anything worth reading.' Stanhope's *Pitt*, 1861, i. 136.

⁵ Johnson quotes, not quite accurately, two letters of Pope to Swift, dated Sept. 14, 1725, March 23, 1736-7. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 50, 357.

⁶ *Ante*, SWIFT, 135.

and retirement had thrown him on the world,' and that there was danger lest 'a glut of the world should throw him back upon study and retirement'. To this Swift answered with great propriety that Pope had not yet either acted or suffered enough in the world to have become weary of it. And, indeed, it must be some very powerful reason that can drive back to solitude him who has once enjoyed the pleasures of society².

284 In the letters both of Swift and Pope there appears such narrowness of mind as makes them insensible of any excellence that has not some affinity with their own, and confines their esteem and approbation to so small a number, that whoever should form his opinion of the age from their representation would suppose them to have lived amidst ignorance and barbarity, unable to find among their contemporaries either virtue or intelligence, and persecuted by those that could not understand them³.

285 When Pope murmurs at the world, when he professes contempt of fame, when he speaks of riches and poverty, of success and disappointment, with negligent indifference, he certainly does not express his habitual and settled sentiments, but either wilfully disguises his own character, or, what is more likely, invests himself with temporary qualities, and sallies out in the colours of the present moment. His hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows,

¹ The letter quoted by Johnson was dated by Pope in the edition of 1737, 'August, 1723,' and in the edition of 1741, 'Jan. 12, 1723.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 37. The date of Swift's reply—Sept. 20, 1723 (*ib.* p. 44)—makes the former date probable. Pope was thirty-five. Two years later Swift wrote to him:—'To hear boys like you talk of millenniums and tranquillity!' *ib.* p. 63.

² Johnson, amidst the ruins of the Cathedral at St. Andrews, said:—'I have thought of retiring, and have talked of it to a friend, but I find my vocation is rather to active life.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 63.

³ *Ante*, SWIFT, 135. Pope wrote to Swift in 1730:—'If there be any virtue in England I would try to stir it up in your behalf, but it dwells not with power. It is got into so narrow a circle that it is hard, very

hard, to know where to look for it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 192. See also *ib.* pp. 46, 264.

Lady M. W. Montagu wrote in 1755 (*Letters*, iii. 117):—'Bolingbroke's confederacy with Swift and Pope puts me in mind of that of Bessus and his sword-men in the *King and no King* [by Beaumont and Fletcher], who endeavour to support themselves by giving certificates of each other's merit.'

Mr. Courthope says of Pope's intimacy with the men opposed to Walpole:—'No atmosphere could have been more congenial to Pope's habits of self-deception. An Opposition... assumes to itself the monopoly of virtue and enlightenment.... He caught with readiness the cant of Opposition.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 30.

acted strongly upon his mind, and if he differed from others it was not by carelessness. He was irritable and resentful: his malignity to Philips¹, whom he had first made ridiculous, and then hated for being angry, continued too long. Of his vain desire to make Bentley contemptible, I never heard any adequate reason². He was sometimes wanton in his attacks, and before Chandos³, Lady Wortley⁴, and Hill⁵, was mean in his retreat.

The virtues which seem to have had most of his affection were 286 liberality and fidelity of friendship, in which it does not appear that he was other than he describes himself⁶. His fortune did not suffer his charity to be splendid and conspicuous, but he assisted Dodsley with a hundred pounds that he might open a shop⁷; and of the subscription of forty pounds a year that he

¹ *Ante*, GAY, 4; POPE, 68; *post*, A. PHILIPS, 20.

² Pope meeting Bentley 'at Dr. Mead's addressed him thus:—"Dr. Bentley, I ordered my bookseller to send you your books. I hope you received them." Bentley, who had purposely avoided saying anything about *Homer*, pretended not to understand him, and asked, "Books! books! what books?" "My *Homer*," replied Pope, "which you did me the honour to subscribe for."—"Oh," said Bentley, "ay, now I recollect—your translation:—it is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope; but you must not call it *Homer*." Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iv. 126; *post*, POPE, 349.

Monk (*Life of Bentley*, ii. 372) lays the scene of this meeting at Atterbury's table, and adds that 'Bentley, when asked what had been the cause of Pope's dislike, replied:—"I talked against his *Homer*, and the portentous cub never forgives."' Monk points out that Bentley was the enemy of Swift, Atterbury, Bolingbroke, and Oxford; the friend of Queen Caroline; 'but, above all, the head of the verbal critics of the age, a race against whom Pope had denounced war ever since his own failure as a critical editor of Shakespeare.' Another version of Bentley's saying is given in *Gent. Mag.* 1773, p. 499.

'Swift,' writes Warton, 'imbibed from Temple, and Pope from Swift, aversion and contempt for Bentley.'

Essay on Pope, ii. 295. See *ante*, SWIFT, 28.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 157.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 216 n. 5, 265. Having grossly libelled her as Sappho (*Imit. Hor.*, Sat. ii. 1. 83) he said in his *Letter to a Noble Lord*:—"I protest I never applied that name to her in any verse of mine, public or private." Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 430.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 154.

⁶ Warburton mentions 'his unfeigned pleasure in acknowledging his mistakes.' Warburton, iv. 110.

'Pope was as great an instance as any he quotes of the contrarieties and inconsistencies of human nature, for, notwithstanding the malignancy of his satires, and some blamable passages of his life, he was charitable to his power, and active in doing good offices.' CHESTERFIELD, *Misc. Works*, iv. App. p. 15.

⁷ 'Dodsley, by his literary merit, had raised himself from the station of a footman.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 446. In 1732 he published *A Muse in Livery: or the Footman's Miscellany*. Six years later he bought the copyright of Johnson's *London*. *Ib.* i. 124. In the spring of 1734-5 a play he had written under the title of *The Toy-Shop* was, by Pope's recommendation to Rich (*ante*, GAY, 18), brought upon the stage. Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*, iii. 460; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 536.

raised for Savage¹ twenty were paid by himself. He was accused of loving money, but his love was eagerness to gain, not solicitude to keep it².

287 In the duties of friendship he was zealous and constant: his early maturity of mind commonly united him with men older than himself, and therefore, without attaining any considerable length of life, he saw many companions of his youth sink into the grave³; but it does not appear that he lost a single friend by coldness or by injury: those who loved him once continued their kindness. His ungrateful mention of Allen in his will was the effect of his adherence to one whom he had known much longer, and whom he naturally loved with greater fondness⁴. His violation of the trust reposed in him by Bolingbroke could have no motive inconsistent with the warmest affection; he either thought the action so near to indifferent that he forgot it, or so laudable that he expected his friend to approve it⁵.

288 It was reported, with such confidence as almost to enforce belief, that in the papers intrusted to his executors was found a defamatory *Life of Swift*, which he had prepared as an instrument of vengeance to be used, if any provocation should be ever given. About this I enquired of the Earl of Marchmont⁶, who assured me that no such piece was among his remains.

289 The religion in which he lived and died was that of the Church of Rome, to which in his correspondence with Racine he professes himself a sincere adherent⁷. That he was not scrupulously pious

¹ 'The subscription did not amount to fifty pounds a year.' *Ante*, SAVAGE, 272, 325.

² *Ante*, POPE, 268.

³ Swift wrote to Pope in 1736:— 'I was the other day recollecting twenty-seven great ministers, or men of wit and learning, who are all dead, and all of my acquaintance, within twenty years past.' Pope, in his reply, quoted 'the motto prefixed to my book of letters. It is from Catullus:—

"Quo desiderio veteres revocamus amores, [amicitias!]"

Atque olim amissas flemus
Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), vii. 347, 350. [Pope substituted 'revocamus' for 'renovamus.' *Catulli Veronensis Liber*, ed. Robinson Ellis, Carm. xcvi. l. 2.]

Pope's affection may have been as real as Swift's, but it is hidden beneath the affectation of his letters. Thus in the same letter he wrote:— 'You ask me if I have got any supply of new friends to make up for those that are gone. . . . As when the continual washing of a river takes away our flowers and plants, it throws weeds and sedges in their room, so the course of time brings us something, as it deprives us of a great deal,' and so on with this rhetorical rubbish.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 254.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 252, 263.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 243.

⁷ *Ante*, POPE, 131, 246. Louis Racine was the poet's son. 'Il accuse Pope d'irréligion. . . . Pope fut très piqué des accusations de Racine.

in some part of his life is known by many idle and indecent applications of sentences taken from the Scriptures¹; a mode of merriment which a good man dreads for its profaneness, and a witty man disdains for its easiness and vulgarity. But to whatever levities he has been betrayed, it does not appear that his principles were ever corrupted, or that he ever lost his belief of Revelation². The positions which he transmitted from Bolingbroke he seems not to have understood, and was pleased with an interpretation that made them orthodox³.

A man of such exalted superiority and so little moderation 290 would naturally have all his delinquences observed and aggravated: those who could not deny that he was excellent would rejoice to find that he was not perfect.

Perhaps it may be imputed to the unwillingness with which 291 the same man is allowed to possess many advantages that his learning has been depreciated⁴. He certainly was in his early

Ramsay entreprit de les concilier. . . . Il imagina d'écrire à Racine une lettre sous le nom de Pope, dans laquelle celui-ci semble se justifier. J'avais vécu une année entière avec Pope; je savais qu'il était incapable d'écrire en français. . . . J'avertis Racine que cette lettre était de Ramsay, et non de Pope. Je voulus lui faire sentir le ridicule de cette supercherie; j'en instruisis même le public dans un chapitre sur Pope, qui a été imprimé plusieurs fois du vivant de Pope même.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xvii. 146. See also *ib.* xxiv. 136.

Racine attacked Pope in his poem, *La Religion*. Ramsay's letter, says Mr. Elwin, was a translation of one written by Pope in English. 'Voltaire was annoyed that Pope should "retract" his deism, and wanted to have it believed that Ramsay alone was responsible for the sentiments in the letter.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 291. This letter is not printed by Mr. Elwin, who refers to *Œuvres de Louis Racine*, 1808, i. 444. Pope's letter in English dated Sept. 1, 1742, and a translation of Racine's reply are given in *Gent. Mag.* 1754, p. 177. Racine ends by saying that 'the greatest poet in England is one of the humblest sons of the Church.'

Warburton told Spence that he said to Pope:—"Why should you not conform with the religion of your country?" He seemed in himself not averse to it (Warburton added), and replied, there were but two reasons that kept him from it: one, that the doing so would make him a great many enemies, and the other that it would do nobody else any good.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 364.

¹ *Ante*, BLACKMORE, 31.

Pope, in *Epil. Sat.* i. 37—

'Why yes; with Scripture still you may be free,'
implies that impiety was allowed at Court.

In l. 102 he describes how in Court
'All tears are wiped for ever from
all eyes.'

On this Mr. Courthope remarks:—
'The parody in this line is but one among the offences of the same kind against decency and good taste which abound in his writings. The line itself is an adaptation of a verse in his *Messiah*, as it was first printed,
"He wipes the tears for ever from
our eyes."

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 466. See also *ante*, POPE, 46 n. 3.

² *Ante*, POPE, 246.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 191.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 83.

life a man of great literary curiosity, and when he wrote his *Essay on Criticism* had for his age a very wide acquaintance with books¹. When he entered into the living world it seems to have happened to him as to many others that he was less attentive to dead masters²: he studied in the academy of Paracelsus, and made the universe his favourite volume. He gathered his notions fresh from reality, not from the copies of authors, but the originals of Nature. Yet there is no reason to believe that literature ever lost his esteem; he always professed to love reading, and Dobson, who spent some time at his house translating his *Essay on Man*, when I asked him what learning he found him to possess, answered, 'More than I expected³.' His frequent references to history, his allusions to various kinds of knowledge, and his images selected from art and nature, with his observations on the operations of the mind and the modes of life, shew an intelligence perpetually on the wing, excursive, vigorous, and diligent, eager to pursue knowledge, and attentive to retain it.

- 292 From this curiosity arose the desire of travelling, to which he alludes in his verses to Jervas⁴, and which, though he never found an opportunity to gratify it, did not leave him till his life declined.
- 298 Of his intellectual character the constituent and fundamental principle was Good Sense⁵, a prompt and intuitive perception of consonance and propriety⁶. He saw immediately, of his own

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 32, 34 n. 6.

² Johnson here draws his own character, as he drew it in Dryden's. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 211. Johnson told the King 'that he thought more than he read.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 36. See also *ante*, POPE, 32 n., for his early reading.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 195. Warton (v. 239) says that 'Dobson had no great stock of general literature, and was by no means qualified to pronounce on what degree of learning Pope possessed.'

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 69.

'What flatt'ring scenes our wand'ring fancy wrought,
Rome's pompous glories rising to our thought!
Together o'er the Alps methinks we fly,

Fir'd with ideas of fair Italy.' l. 23.

He told Spence 'he should have

travelled had it not been for his ill-health (and, on every occasion that offered, had a desire to travel to the very end of his life).' Spence's *Anec.* p. 8.

Johnson had the same curiosity and desire of travelling. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 449.

⁵ 'Something there is more needful than expense,
And something previous ev'n to taste—'tis sense:
Good sense which only is the gift of Heaven,
And though no science, fairly worth the seven.'

Moral Essays, iv. 41. See on this Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 66.

⁶ 'It is perhaps singularly remarkable in Mr. Pope, that his judgment was stronger than his imagination

conceptions, what was to be chosen, and what to be rejected; and, in the works of others, what was to be shunned, and what was to be copied¹.

But good sense alone is a sedate and quiescent quality, which 294 manages its possessions well, but does not increase them; it collects few materials for its own operations, and preserves safety, but never gains supremacy. Pope had likewise genius; a mind active, ambitious, and adventurous, always investigating, always aspiring; in its widest searches² still longing to go forward, in its highest flights still wishing to be higher; always imagining something greater than it knows, always endeavouring more than it can do.

To assist these powers he is said to have had great strength 295 and exactness of memory³. That which he had heard or read was not easily lost; and he had before him not only what his own meditation suggested, but what he had found in other writers that might be accommodated to his present purpose⁴.

These benefits of nature he improved by incessant and un- 296 wearied diligence; he had recourse to every source of intelligence, and lost no opportunity of information; he consulted the living as well as the dead; he read his compositions to his friends, and was never content with mediocrity when excellence could be attained. He considered poetry as the business of his life⁵, and, however he might seem to lament his occupation, he

when he was young; his imagination stronger than his judgment when he grew old, and produced the *Essay on Man*.¹ WARBURTON, Spence's *Anec.* p. 367.

² Coleridge speaks of 'the almost faultless position and choice of words in Pope's original compositions, particularly in his *Satires* and *Moral Essays*.' *Biog. Lit.* i. 39 n.

³ Johnson at first wrote, 'in its noblest researches.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 52.

⁴ Pope said that in his youth he had had 'a vast memory and been full of application.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 280. Spence, writing towards the close of Pope's life, says:—'When I consulted him about the Hades of the antients he referred immediately to Pindar's second *Olympic Ode*, Plu-

tarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, the four places that relate to it in the *Odyssey*, Plato, Lucretius and some others; and turned to the very passages in most of them with a surprising readiness.' *Ib.* p. 285.

⁴ 'Johnson had accumulated a vast and various collection of learning and knowledge, which was so arranged in his mind as to be ever in readiness to be brought forth.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 427.

⁵ In his twentieth year he wrote:—'Every day with me is literally another to-morrow; it is exactly the same with yesterday; it has the same business, which is poetry, and the same pleasure, which is idleness.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 67.

followed it with constancy: to make verses was his first labour, and to mend them was his last ¹.

- 297 From his attention to poetry he was never diverted. If conversation offered anything that could be improved he committed it to paper; if a thought, or perhaps an expression more happy than was common, rose to his mind, he was careful to write it ²; an independent distich was preserved for an opportunity of insertion, and some little fragments have been found containing lines, or parts of lines, to be wrought upon at some other time.
- 298 He was one of those few whose labour is their pleasure ³; he was never elevated to negligence, nor wearied to impatience; he never passed a fault unamended by indifference, nor quitted it by despair. He laboured his works first to gain reputation, and afterwards to keep it.
- 299 Of composition there are different methods ⁴. Some employ at once memory and invention, and, with little intermediate use of the pen, form and polish large masses by continued meditation, and write their productions only when, in their own opinion, they have completed them ⁵. It is related of Virgil that his custom was to pour out a great number of verses in the morning, and pass the day in retrenching exuberances and correcting

¹ 'The sense of my faults,' he wrote, 'made me correct; besides that it was as pleasant to me to correct as to write.' *Warburton*, Preface, p. 20.

² *Ante*, POPE, 277.

³ *Ante*, J. PHILIPS, 32; DRYDEN, 201. 'JOHNSON. No man loves labour for itself. BOSWELL. Yes, Sir, I know a person who does. He is a very laborious Judge, and he loves the labour. JOHNSON. Sir, that is because he loves respect and distinction. Could he have them without labour he would like it less. BOSWELL. He tells me he likes it for itself. JOHNSON. Why, Sir, he fancies so, because he is not accustomed to abstract.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 99.

'JOHNSON. It has been said there is pleasure in writing, particularly in writing verses. I allow you may have pleasure from writing alter it is over, if you have written well; but you don't go willingly to it again.' *Ib.*

iv. 219.

'There is not a more painful action of the mind than invention.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 487.

'The motto of Lord Chancellor King was *Labor ipse voluptas*.' Watts's *Improvement of the Mind*, ch. i. sec. 6.

'Sainte-Beuve's motto was *Laboremus*. "Work," he confesses to a friend, "is my sore burden, but it is also my great resource. I eat my heart out when I am not up to the neck in work; there you have the secret of the life I lead." M. Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, 1888, p. 322.

⁴ *Ante*, MILTON, 123; *post*, GRAY, 26.

⁵ 'It has always been my practice to cast a long paragraph in a single mould, to try it by my ear, to deposit it in my memory, but to suspend the action of the pen till I had given the last polish to my work.' GIBBON, *Memoirs*, p. 201.

inaccuracies¹. The method of Pope, as may be collected from his translation², was to write his first thoughts in his first words, and gradually to amplify, decorate, rectify, and refine them.

With such faculties and such dispositions he excelled every 300 other writer in *poetical prudence*; he wrote in such a manner as might expose him to few hazards. He used almost always the same fabrick of verse; and, indeed, by those few essays which he made of any other, he did not enlarge his reputation³. Of this uniformity the certain consequence was readiness and dexterity. By perpetual practice language had in his mind a systematical arrangement; having always the same use for words, he had words so selected and combined as to be ready at his call. This increase of facility he confessed himself to have perceived in the progress of his translation⁴.

But what was yet of more importance, his effusions were 301 always voluntary, and his subjects chosen by himself⁵. His independence secured him from drudging at a task, and labouring upon a barren topick: he never exchanged praise for money, nor opened a shop of condolence or congratulation. His poems, therefore, were scarce ever temporary. He suffered coronations and royal marriages to pass without a song, and derived no opportunities from recent events, nor any popularity from the accidental disposition of his readers⁶. He was never reduced to the necessity of soliciting the sun to shine upon a birth-day, of calling the Graces and Virtues to a wedding⁷, or of saying what multitudes have said before him. When he could produce nothing new, he was at liberty to be silent.

¹ See the *Life of Virgil* attributed to Donatus, *Delphin Virgil*, 1822, Preface.

² *Ante*, POPE, 94. 'In translating both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* my usual method was to take advantage of the first heat; and then to correct each book, first by the original text, then by other translations; and lastly to give it a reading for the versification only.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 270.

'After writing a poem, one should correct it all over, with one single view at a time. Thus for language; if an elegy—"these lines are very good, but are not they of too heroic a strain?" and so *vice versa*.' POPE,

ib. p. 23.

³ *Post*, POPE, 320, for the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*. Of *The Universal Prayer* Warton writes:—"I am surprised Johnson should not make any mention of it." Warton, iii. 163.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 81; Spence's *Anec.* p. 218.

⁵ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 230.

⁶ For 'temporary poems' see *ante*, COWLEY, 35; WALLER, 65, 68; JOHN PHILIPS, 5; DRYDEN, 7, 8, 22, 135; ADDISON, 25; PRIOR, 8, 13, 19; CONGREVE, 36; GAY, 8; GRANVILLE, 2, 3, 4; TICKELL, 5, 7, 13; SAVAGE, 173; *post*, GRAY, 197.

⁷ Like Settle. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 115.

- 302 His publications were for the same reason never hasty¹. He is said to have sent nothing to the press till it had lain two years under his inspection: it is at least certain that he ventured nothing without nice examination. He suffered the tumult of imagination to subside, and the novelties of invention to grow familiar. He knew that the mind is always enamoured of its own productions, and did not trust his first fondness². He consulted his friends, and listened with great willingness to criticism; and, what was of more importance, he consulted himself, and let nothing pass against his own judgement³.
- 308 He professed to have learned his poetry from Dryden⁴, whom, whenever an opportunity was presented, he praised through his whole life with unvaried liberality⁵; and perhaps his character may receive some illustration if he be compared with his master.
- 304 Integrity of understanding and nicety of discernment were not allotted in a less proportion to Dryden than to Pope. The rectitude of Dryden's mind was sufficiently shewn by the dismissal of his poetical prejudices, and the rejection of unnatural thoughts and rugged numbers⁶. But Dryden never desired to apply all the judgement that he had. He wrote, and professed to write, merely for the people; and when he pleased others, he contented himself. He spent no time in struggles to rouse latent powers; he never attempted to make that better which was already good, nor often to mend what he must have known to be faulty. He wrote, as he tells us, with very little consideration⁷; when occasion or necessity called upon him, he poured out what the present moment happened to supply, and, when

¹ In *The Rambler*, No. 169, Johnson says that 'Pope's compositions were delayed more than once till the incidents to which they alluded were forgotten, till his enemies were secure from his satire, and, what to an honest mind must be more painful, his friends were deaf to his encomiums.' See *ante*, POPE, 212.

² *Ante*, MILTON, 146.

³ 'That "true deacon of the craft," as Scott often called Pope.' Lockhart's *Scott*, iv. 163.

⁴ 'I learned versification wholly from Dryden, who had improved it much beyond any of our former poets, and would probably have brought it to its perfection, had not he been

unhappily obliged to write so often in haste.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 281.

For the influence Milton had on Pope see *post*, POPE, 344 n.

⁵ He twice censures him, though with tenderness—

'Unhappy Dryden!—in all Charles's days

Roscommon only boasts unspotted lays.' *Imit. Hor., Epis.* ii. l. 213.

⁶ 'Ev'n copious Dryden wanted, or forgot,

The last and greatest art, the art to blot.' *Ib.* l. 280.

⁷ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 236.

⁸ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 201, 228.

once it had passed the press, ejected it from his mind; for when he had no pecuniary interest, he had no further solicitude¹.

Pope was not content to satisfy; he desired to excel, and 805 therefore always endeavoured to do his best: he did not court the candour, but dared the judgement of his reader, and, expecting no indulgence from others, he shewed none to himself. He examined lines and words with minute and punctilious observation, and retouched every part with indefatigable diligence, till he had left nothing to be forgiven².

For this reason he kept his pieces very long in his hands, 806 while he considered and reconsidered them. The only poems which can be supposed to have been written with such regard to the times as might hasten their publication, were the two satires of *Thirty-eight*³; of which Dodsley told me that they were brought to him by the author, that they might be fairly copied. 'Almost every line,' he said, 'was then written twice over; I gave him a clean transcript, which he sent some time afterwards to me for the press, with almost every line written twice over a second time'⁴.

His declaration that his care for his works ceased at their 807 publication was not strictly true⁵. His parental attention never abandoned them; what he found amiss in the first edition, he silently corrected in those that followed⁶. He appears to have revised the *Iliad*, and freed it from some of its imperfections; and the *Essay on Criticism* received many improvements after its first appearance. It will seldom be found that

¹ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 227, 340-1.

² For Pope's 'correctness' see *ante*, POPE, 30.

³ 'It is enough for those who make one poem the business of their lives to leave that correct; yet, excepting Virgil, I never met with any which was so in any language.' DRYDEN, *Works*, ii. 291.

Pope wrote to Broome in 1722:—
'You do not need any man to make you a good poet. You need no more than what every good poet needs, time and diligence, and doing something every day. *Nulla dies sine linea*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 49.

⁴ 'To touch and retouch is the secret of almost all good writing, especially

in verse.' COWPER, Southey's *Cowper*, iv. 26.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 217.

⁶ Dodsley gave Warton the same account. *Warton*, iv. 294.

Pope in *Epil. Sat. i.* 3 makes his friend say to him:—

'You grow correct that once with rapture writ.'

⁷ In *The Guardian*, No. 40, he describes himself as one 'whose character it is, that he takes the greatest care of his works before they are published, and has the least concern for them afterwards.'

⁸ For corrections due to Dennis's criticism see *ante*, POPE, 39; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 43, vi. 146.

he altered without adding clearness, elegance, or vigour¹. Pope had perhaps the judgement of Dryden; but Dryden certainly wanted the diligence of Pope².

808 In acquired knowledge the superiority must be allowed to Dryden, whose education was more scholastick, and who before he became an author had been allowed more time for study, with better means of information³. His mind has a larger range, and he collects his images and illustrations from a more extensive circumference of science. Dryden knew more of man in his general nature, and Pope in his local manners. The notions of Dryden were formed by comprehensive speculation, and those of Pope by minute attention. There is more dignity in the knowledge of Dryden, and more certainty in that of Pope.

809 Poetry was not the sole praise of either, for both excelled likewise in prose⁴; but Pope did not borrow his prose from his predecessor. The style of Dryden is capricious and varied, that of Pope is cautious and uniform; Dryden obeys the motions of his own mind, Pope constrains his mind to his own rules of composition. Dryden is sometimes vehement and rapid; Pope is always smooth, uniform, and gentle. Dryden's page is a natural field, rising into inequalities, and diversified by the varied exuberance of abundant vegetation; Pope's is a velvet lawn, shaven by the scythe, and levelled by the roller⁵.

810 Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet; that quality without which judgement is cold and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates—the superiority must, with some hesitation, be allowed to Dryden⁶.

¹ Sir Walter Scott said of Campbell:—'He is a great corrector, which succeeds as ill in composition as in education.' Lockhart's *Scott*, viii. 376.

² Lander places Pope 'among our best critics on poetry, while Dryden is knee-deep below John Dennis.' *Imag. Conv.* ed. Crump, iv. 275. See *ante*, DRYDEN, 193.

³ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 208, 321.

⁴ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 214.

⁵ 'Reading the *Iliad* is like travelling through a country uninhabited, where the fancy is entertained with a thousand savage prospects of vast deserts, wide uncultivated marshes,

huge forests, misshapen rocks and precipices. On the contrary, the *Aeneid* is like a well-ordered garden,' &c. ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 417.

⁶ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 321. 'Johnson observed that in Dryden's poetry there were passages drawn from a profundity which Pope could never reach.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 85.

'Si Pope n'avait pas, sur la fin de sa vie, fait son *Essai sur l'homme*, il ne serait pas comparable à Dryden.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xviii. 273.

'Dryden's faults are those of a great man, and his beauties are such (at least sometimes) as Pope, with all

It is not to be inferred that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more, for every other writer since Milton must give place to Pope; and even of Dryden it must be said that if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems. Dryden's performances were always hasty, either excited by some external occasion, or extorted by domestick necessity; he composed without consideration, and published without correction. What his mind could supply at call, or gather in one excursion, was all that he sought, and all that he gave. The dilatory caution of Pope enabled him to condense his sentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that study might produce, or chance might supply. If the flights of Dryden therefore are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing. If of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope's the heat is more regular and constant. Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it. Dryden is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight¹.

This parallel will, I hope, when it is well considered, be found 811 just; and if the reader should suspect me, as I suspect myself, of some partial fondness for the memory of Dryden, let him not too hastily condemn me; for meditation and enquiry may, perhaps, shew him the reasonableness of my determination.

his touching and retouching, could never equal.' COWPER, Southey's *Cowper*, iv. 169.

'Wordsworth held Pope to be a greater poet than Dryden; but Dryden to have most talent and the strongest understanding.' H. C. Robinson's *Diary*, iii. 194.

"'What a difference," Tennyson would add, "between Pope's little poisonous barbs and Dryden's strong invective! And how much more real poetic force there is in Dryden! Look at Pope:—

'He said, observant of the blue-ey'd maid,

Then in the sheath return'd the shining blade.' [*Iliad*, i. 291.]

Then at Dryden:—

'He said; with surly faith observ'd [believ'd] her word,

And in the sheath reluctant plung'd the sword.' " [*Iliad*, i. 328.]

Tennyson's *Life*, ii. 287.

¹ 'I told Dr. Johnson that Voltaire, in a conversation with me, had distinguished Pope and Dryden thus:—"Pope drives a handsome chariot, with a couple of neat trim nags; Dryden a coach, and six stately horses." JOHNSON. Why, Sir, the truth is, they both drive coaches and six; but Dryden's horses are either galloping or stumbling: Pope's go at a steady even trot.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 5.

'Ovid, with all his sweetness, has as little variety of numbers and sound as Claudian; he is always, as it were, upon the hand-gallop, and his verse runs upon carpet-ground.' DRYDEN, *Works*, xii. 286.

'Dryden's genius was of that sort which catches fire by its own motion; his chariot wheels get hot by driving fast.' COLERIDGE, *Table Talk*, 1884, p. 245.

- 812 THE Works of Pope are now to be distinctly examined, not so much with attention to slight faults or petty beauties, as to the general character and effect of each performance.
- 818 It seems natural for a young poet to initiate himself by Pastorals, which, not professing to imitate real life, require no experience, and, exhibiting only the simple operation of unmingled passions, admit no subtle reasoning or deep enquiry¹. Pope's *Pastorals* are not however composed but with close thought²; they have reference to the times of the day, the seasons of the year, and the periods of human life. The last, that which turns the attention upon age and death, was the author's favourite³. To tell of disappointment and misery, to thicken the darkness of futurity, and perplex the labyrinth of uncertainty, has been always a delicious employment of the poets. His preference was probably just. I wish, however, that his fondness had not overlooked a line in which the 'Zephyrs' are made 'to lament in silence'⁴.
- 814 To charge these *Pastorals* with want of invention is to require what never was intended⁵. The imitations are so ambitiously frequent that the writer evidently means rather to shew his literature than his wit. It is surely sufficient for an author of sixteen⁶ not only to be able to copy the poems of antiquity with judicious selection, but to have obtained sufficient power

¹ *Ante*, COWLEY, 7; MILTON, 182; *post*, LYTTTELTON, 3.

² 'There is scarce any work of mine in which the versification was more laboured than in my *Pastorals*.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 312.

³ *Warburton*, i. 30.

⁴ 'The balmy Zephyrs, silent since her death,
Lament the ceasing of a sweeter breath.' *Pastorals*, iv. 49.

It admits perhaps of the same kind of defence as that made by Johnson of Dryden's line (*ante*, DRYDEN, 10):—
'An horrid stillness first invades the ear.'

⁵ The charge was Warton's (*Essay on Pope*, i. 2):—'It is somewhat strange that in the pastorals of a young poet there should not be found a single rural image that is new.'

Johnson, in a review of this *Essay*, says:—'He remarks, I am afraid

with too much justice, that there is not a single new thought in the *Pastorals*; and with equal reason declares that their chief beauty consists in their correct and musical versification, which has so influenced the English ear as to render every moderate rhymers harmonious.' *Works*, vi. 38. See also *post*, A. PHILIPS, 18.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 24, 33. 'There is no evidence, except the poet's own assertion, to prove that they were composed at sixteen. They appeared on May 2, 1709 [when Pope was nearly twenty-one]. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 240-1. Tonson had seen one of them (in whatever form it was) before Pope was quite eighteen. *Ante*, POPE, 33 *n.* So also had Lord Lansdowne. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 27.

of language and skill in metre to exhibit a series of versification, which had in English poetry no precedent, nor has since had an imitation ¹.

The design of *Windsor Forest*² is evidently derived from *315 Cooper's Hill*³, with some attention to Waller's poem on *The Park*⁴; but Pope cannot be denied to excel his masters in variety and elegance, and the art of interchanging description, narrative, and morality. The objection made by Dennis is the want of plan, of a regular subordination of parts terminating in the principal and original design⁵. There is this want in most descriptive poems, because as the scenes, which they must exhibit successively, are all subsisting at the same time, the order in which they are shewn must by necessity be arbitrary, and more is not to be expected from the last part than from the first. The attention, therefore, which cannot be detained by suspense, must be excited by diversity, such as his poem offers to its reader⁶.

But the desire of diversity may be too much indulged: the *316* parts of *Windsor Forest* which deserve least praise are those which were added to enliven the stillness of the scene, the appearance of Father Thames and the transformation of Lodona. Addison had in his *Campaign* derided the 'Rivers' that 'rise from their oozy beds' to tell stories of heroes⁷, and it is therefore strange that Pope should adopt a fiction not only unnatural but lately censured. The story of Lodona⁸ is told with sweetness; but a new metamorphosis is a ready and puerile expedient: nothing is easier than to tell how a flower was once a blooming virgin, or a rock an obdurate tyrant.

The Temple of Fame has, as Steele warmly declared, 'a thousand *317*

¹ 'The *Pastorals*,' writes Mr. Courthope, 'are to be regarded as primarily experiments in versification. Pope's imitation of the ideas of the ancients ended in the merest mechanism, but his imitation of their melody led him to something of real invention.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 32.

² *Ante*, POPE, 65.

³ *Ante*, DENHAM, 27.

⁴ *On St. James's Park*, *Eng. Poets*, xvi. 152.

⁵ *Remarks on Pope's Homer, &c.*, p. 40.

⁶ *Post*, THOMSON, 49.

⁷ 'When actions unadorn'd are faint and weak,
Cities and countries must be taught to speak.

Gods may descend in factions from the skies,
And rivers from their oozy beds arise.' Addison's *Works*, i. 54.

⁸ 'In that blest moment, from his oozy bed
Old Father Thames advanc'd his rev'rend head.'

Windsor Forest, l. 329.

⁹ *Ib.* l. 171.

beauties¹. Every part is splendid; there is great luxuriance of ornaments; the original vision of Chaucer was never denied to be much improved²; the allegory is very skilfully continued, the imagery is properly selected and learnedly displayed: yet, with all this comprehension of excellence, as its scene is laid in remote ages, and its sentiments, if the concluding paragraph be excepted, have little relation to general manners or common life, it never obtained much notice, but is turned silently over, and seldom quoted or mentioned with either praise or blame.

- 318 That *The Messiah* excels the *Pollio* is no great praise, if it be considered from what original the improvements are derived³.
- 319 The *Verses on the unfortunate Lady*⁴ have drawn much attention by the illaudable singularity of treating suicide with respect⁵, and they must be allowed to be written in some parts with vigorous animation, and in others with gentle tenderness; nor has Pope produced any poem in which the sense predominates more over the diction⁶. But the tale is not skilfully told: it is not easy to discover the character of either the lady or her guardian. History relates that she was about to disparage herself by a marriage with an inferior; Pope praises her for the dignity of ambition, and yet condemns the unkle to detestation for his pride: the ambitious love of a niece may be opposed by the interest, malice, or envy of an unkle, but never by his pride. On such an occasion a poet may be allowed to be obscure, but inconsistency never can be right.
- 320 The *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* was undertaken at the desire of Steele: in this the author is generally confessed to have miscarried, yet he has miscarried only as compared with Dryden⁷;

¹ 'A thousand thousand beauties,' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 395. *Ante*, POPE, 61.

² 'When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece [Chaucer's *House of Fame*], I think I am walking among the modern monuments unsuitably placed in Westminster Abbey.' T. WARTON, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, 1774, i. 396.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 46. The 'original' was *Isaiah*. Steele wrote to Pope in 1712:—'Your poem is already better than the *Pollio*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 390.

For Johnson's Latin version of *The*

Messiah see his *Works*, i. 155; Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 61.

For Warton's criticism of Johnson's version, as containing 'many hard and unclassical expressions, a great want of harmony, and many unequal and un-Virgilian lines,' see *Warton*, i. 159; *John. Misc.* i. 459 n.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 47.

⁵ For Johnson on suicide see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 150, v. 54.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 293.

⁷ 'It was at the request of Mr. Steele that I wrote my *Ode*; and not with any thought of rivalling that great man, whose memory I do, and

for he has far outgone other competitors¹. Dryden's plan is better chosen; history will always take stronger hold of the attention than fable: the passions excited by Dryden are the pleasures and pains of real life, the scene of Pope is laid in imaginary existence. Pope is read with calm acquiescence², Dryden with turbulent delight; Pope hangs upon the ear, and Dryden finds the passes of the mind.

Both the odes want the essential constituent of metrical compositions, the stated recurrence of settled numbers³. It may be alleged that Pindar is said by Horace to have written 'numeris lege solutis'⁴, but as no such lax performances have been transmitted to us, the meaning of that expression cannot be fixed; and perhaps the like return might properly be made to a modern Pindarist, as Mr. Cobb⁵ received from Bentley, who, when he found his criticisms upon a Greek exercise, which Cobb had presented, refuted one after another by Pindar's authority, cried out at last, 'Pindar was a bold fellow, but thou art an impudent one.'

If Pope's Ode be particularly inspected it will be found that the first stanza consists of sounds well chosen indeed, but only sounds.

The second consists of hyperbolical common-places, easily to

always have revered.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 158.

Pope's Ode was written in 1708. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 397. See also *ib.* vi. 387 for Steele's request to him in 1711 to write 'some words for music.'

'We have had in our language no other odes of the sublime kind than that of Dryden on St. Cecilia's Day. . . . That of Pope is not worthy of so great a man.' GRAY, *Mitford's Gray*, i. 36.

'St. Cecilia's music-book is interlined with epigrams; and *Alexander's Feast* smells of gin at second-hand, with true Briton fiddlers full of native talent in the orchestra.' LANDOR, *Imag. Convers.* iv. 275.

¹ For *Odes for St. Cecilia's Day* see ante, DRYDEN, 150, 279, 318; ADDISON, 128; HUGHES, 6; CONGREVE, 39. Yalden, in 1693, wrote an Ode which was set to music by Purcell. *Biog. Brit.* p. 4379.

* 'Thus song could prevail
O'er death and o'er hell,
A conquest how hard and how
glorious!
Tho' fate had fast bound her
With Styx nine times round
her,

Yet music and love were victorious.'

Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, l. 87.

On these lines Warton justly remarks:—'These numbers are of so burlesque, so low and ridiculous a kind, and have so much the air of a vulgar drinking song, that one is amazed to find them in a serious ode.' Warton, i. 203.

³ Ante, COWLEY, 141; post, GRAY, 42.

⁴ HORACE, *Odes*, iv. 2. 11.

⁵ In *The Gent. Mag.* 1753, p. 282, is an *Ode Attempted in the Style of Pindar*, by S. Cobb; described by Dr. Watts as 'the best and truest Pindaric that ever I read.'

be found, and perhaps without much difficulty to be as well expressed.

- 324 In the third, however, there are numbers, images, harmony, and vigour, not unworthy the antagonist of Dryden. Had all been like this—but every part cannot be the best ¹.
- 325 The next stanzas place and detain us in the dark and dismal regions of mythology ², where neither hope nor fear, neither joy nor sorrow can be found: the poet however faithfully attends us; we have all that can be performed by elegance of diction or sweetness of versification; but what can form avail without better matter?
- 326 The last stanza recurs again to common-places ³. The conclusion is too evidently modelled by that of Dryden; and it may be remarked that both end with the same fault, the comparison of each is literal on one side, and metaphorical on the other ⁴.
- 327 Poets do not always express their own thoughts; Pope, with all this labour in the praise of musick, was ignorant of its principles, and insensible of its effects ⁵.
- 328 One of his greatest though of his earliest works is the *Essay on Criticism* ⁶, which if he had written nothing else would have placed him among the first criticks and the first poets, as it exhibits every mode of excellence that can embellish or dignify didactick composition, selection of matter, novelty of arrange-

¹ Johnson says that the best line in the poem is the eighth in this stanza: 'Transported demi-gods stood round, And men grew heroes at the sound.' *Works*, vi. 40.

² *Ante*, BUTLER, 41.

³ 'Criticism disdains to chase a schoolboy to his common-places.' *Post*, GRAY, 34.

⁴ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 280, 320.

'So when the last and dreadful hour
This crumbling pageant shall devour,
The trumpet shall be heard on high,
The dead shall live, the living die,
And music shall untune the sky.'

DRYDEN.

'Of Orpheus now no more let Poets
tell,
To bright Cecilia greater power is
giv'n;
His numbers rais'd a shade from hell,
Hers lift the soul to heav'n.'

POPE.

⁵ Hawkins gives the Ode as altered by Pope at the request of Maurice Greene, who set it to music. Hawkins adds:—'Pope once said:—"Dr. Arbuthnot speaks strongly of the effect that music has on his mind, and I believe him; but I own myself incapable of any pleasure from it."' *History of Music*, v. 328, 414.

⁶ The Duchess of Queensberry told me that Gay could play on the flute, and that this enabled him to adapt so happily some airs in *The Beggar's Opera*. WARTON, *Essay*, i. 203.

'Wyndham said that four of the greatest men he knew had no relish for music—Burke, Fox, Johnson and Pitt. To these we may add Pope, and in our own time Southey and O'Connell.' *Corres. of Southey and C. Bowles*, p. 245 n. See also *John. Misc.* ii. 103 n.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 34.

ment, justness of precept, splendour of illustration, and propriety of digression¹. I know not whether it be pleasing to consider that he produced this piece at twenty², and never afterwards excelled it: he that delights himself with observing that such powers may be so soon attained, cannot but grieve to think that life was ever after at a stand.

To mention the particular beauties of the *Essay* would be 329 unprofitably tedious; but I cannot forbear to observe that the comparison of a student's progress in the sciences with the journey of a traveller in the Alps is perhaps the best that English poetry can shew³. A simile, to be perfect, must both illustrate and ennoble the subject; must shew it to the understanding in a clearer view, and display it to the fancy with greater dignity: but either of these qualities may be sufficient to recommend it. In didactic poetry, of which the great purpose is instruction, a simile may be praised which illustrates, though it does not ennoble; in heroicks, that may be admitted which ennobles, though it does not illustrate. That it may be complete it is required to exhibit, independently of its references, a pleasing image; for a simile is said to be a short episode. To this antiquity was so attentive that circumstances were

¹ Addison wrote of it:—'As for those observations which are the most known and the most received, they are placed in so beautiful a light, and illustrated with such apt allusions, that they have in them all the graces of novelty, and make the reader who was before acquainted with them still more convinced of their truth and solidity.' *Spectator*, No. 253.

For the varying judgements passed on the *Essay*, see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 45.

² Johnson calls it 'the stupendous performance of a youth not yet twenty years old.' *Works*, vi. 41. 'At whatever period the poem was first written it did not appear till May, 1711, and represents the capacity of Pope at twenty-three.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 11.

Warton points out that in it there is no mention of Milton. *Warton*, i. 280.

³ 'Fir'd at first sight with what the Muse imparts,

In fearless youth we tempt the heights of Arts,
While from the bounded level of our mind
Short views we take, nor see the lengths behind;
But more advanc'd, behold with strange surprise
New distant scenes of endless science rise!
So pleas'd at first the tow'ring Alps we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky,
Th' eternal snows appear already past,
And the first clouds and mountains seem the last:
But, those attain'd, we tremble to survey
The growing labours of the lengthen'd way,
Th' increasing prospect tires our wand'ring eyes,
Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise.'

Essay on Criticism, ll. 219-32.

sometimes added, which, having no parallels, served only to fill the imagination, and produced what Perrault ludicrously called 'comparisons with a long tail'. In their similes the greatest writers have sometimes failed: the ship-race, compared with the chariot-race, is neither illustrated nor aggrandised²; land and water make all the difference: when Apollo running after Daphne is likened to a greyhound chasing a hare, there is nothing gained; the ideas of pursuit and flight are too plain to be made plainer, and a god and the daughter of a god are not represented much to their advantage by a hare and dog³. The simile of the Alps has no useless parts, yet affords a striking picture by itself: it makes the foregoing position better understood, and enables it to take faster hold on the attention; it assists the apprehension, and elevates the fancy.

380 Let me likewise dwell a little on the celebrated paragraph, in which it is directed that 'the sound should seem an echo to the sense'⁴; a precept which Pope is allowed to have observed beyond any other English poet.

381 This notion of representative metre, and the desire of discovering frequent adaptations of the sound to the sense, have produced, in my opinion, many wild conceits and imaginary beauties⁵. All that can furnish this representation are the sounds of the words considered singly, and the time in which they are pronounced. Every language has some words framed

² Addison censures Perrault as 'a man of vitiated relish,' who 'for that very reason has endeavoured to turn into ridicule several of Homer's similitudes, which he calls "*comparaisons à longue queue*," long-tailed comparisons.' *The Spectator*, No. 303. See *Réflexions critiques*, vi, *Œuvres de Boileau*, 1748, ii. 288.

³ VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, v. 144.

⁴ OVID, *Meta.* i. 533.

⁵ 'Tis not enough no harshness gives offence,
The sound must seem an echo to the sense.'

Essay on Criticism, l. 364.

Roscommon had said in his *Essay on Translated Verse* :—

'The sound is still a comment to the sense.'

Eng. Poets, xv. 90.

'I have followed the significance of the numbers, and the adapting

them to the sense, much more even than Dryden.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 316.

In his *Iliad*, xiii. 1005, on the line :—

'Wide-rolling, foaming high, and tumbling to the shore,'

Pope says in a note :—'I have endeavoured to imitate the confusion and broken sound of the original [ll. 798–9], which images the tumult and roaring of many waters.'

In his *Iliad*, xxiii. 18, he says of ll. 13–16 in the original :—'Every word has a melancholy cadence, and the Poet has not only made the sands and the arms, but even his very verse to lament with Achilles.' See also *ante*, COWLEY, 194.

⁵ Much of the criticism that follows is found in *The Rambler*, Nos. 92, 94.

to exhibit the noises which they express, as *thump, rattle, growl, hiss*¹. These, however, are but few, and the poet cannot make them more, nor can they be of any use but when sound is to be mentioned. The time of pronunciation was in the dactylic measures of the learned languages capable of considerable variety; but that variety could be accommodated only to motion or duration, and different degrees of motion were perhaps expressed by verses rapid or slow, without much attention of the writer, when the image had full possession of his fancy: but our language having little flexibility our verses can differ very little in their cadence. The fancied resemblances, I fear, arise sometimes merely from the ambiguity of words; there is supposed to be some relation between a *soft* line and a *soft* couch, or between *hard* syllables and *hard* fortune.

Motion, however, may be in some sort exemplified; and yet 882 it may be suspected that even in such resemblances the mind often governs the ear, and the sounds are estimated by their meaning. One of the most successful attempts has been to describe the labour of Sisyphus:

‘With many a weary step, and many a groan,
Up a [the] high hill he heaves a huge round stone;
The huge round stone, resulting with a bound,
Thunders impetuous down, and smoaks along the ground’².

Who does not perceive the stone to move slowly upward, and roll violently back? But set the same numbers to another sense;

‘While many a merry tale, and many a song,
Chear’d the rough road, we wish’d the rough road long’³.
The rough road then, returning in a round,
Mock’d our impatient steps, for all was fairy ground’⁴.

¹ ‘Such are *stridor, balo*, and *beatus* in Latin; and in English to *growl*, to *buzz*, to *hiss*, and to *jar*.’ *The Rambler*, No. 94.

² These lines come in a book translated by Broome. *Ante*, BROOME, 5. It would be interesting to see his version, before Pope (to use his own words) ‘loaded the second verse with monosyllables.’ *Odyssey*, xi. 736 n.

Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 253, quoting the Greek, continues:—‘This double motion of the stone is admirably described in the numbers

of these verses; as in the four first it is heaved up by several spondees, intermixed with proper breathing-places, and at last trundles down in a continued line of dactyls.’

³ In the 1783 edition *long* is misprinted *along*.

⁴ Conington writes of Johnson’s parody:—‘The numbers are not really the same. “Merry” has a much less tedious sound than “weary”; the sense of panting occasioned by the five aspirates in Pope’s second line is not analogous to anything in Johnson’s; “thunders

We have now surely lost much of the delay, and much of the rapidity.

- 333 But to shew how little the greatest master of numbers can fix the principles of representative harmony, it will be sufficient to remark that the poet, who tells us that

‘When Ajax strives some rock’s vast weight to throw,
The line too labours and the words move slow:

Not so when swift Camilla scours the plain,
Flies o’er th’ unbending corn, and skims along the main¹’;
when he had enjoyed for about thirty years the praise of Camilla’s lightness of foot, tried another experiment upon *sound* and *time*, and produced this memorable triplet:

‘Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught to join }
The varying verse, the full resounding line, }
The long majestick march, and energy divine².’ }

Here are the swiftness of the rapid race and the march of slow-paced majesty exhibited by the same poet in the same sequence of syllables, except that the exact prosodist will find the line of *swiftness* by one time longer than that of *tardiness*³.

- 334 Beauties of this kind are commonly fancied; and when real are technical and nugatory, not to be rejected and not to be solicited.

- 335 To the praises which have been accumulated on *The Rape of the Lock* by readers of every class, from the critick to the waiting-maid, it is difficult to make any addition⁴. Of that which is universally allowed to be the most attractive of all ludicrous compositions, let it rather be now enquired from what sources the power of pleasing is derived.

impetuous,” which is nearly equivalent to two dactyls, has a more rapid movement than “mocked our impatient.” Johnson forgets too that a poet is not bound to produce a line where the sound of the words shall tell its own tale quite irrespectively of the sense, but only one where the sound will assist the impression which the sense is already making.’ Conington’s *Misc. Writings*, i. 24.

¹ *Essay on Criticism*, l. 370. Johnson writes of the last line:—‘The Alexandrine, by its pause in the midst, is a tardy and stately measure; and the word *unbending*, one of the

most sluggish and slow which our language affords, cannot much accelerate its motion.’ *The Rambler*, No. 92. [Johnson does not quote the first couplet fully.]

² *Imit. Hor., Epist. ii. l. 1. 267; ante, WALLER, 144; DRYDEN, 342.*

³ For Mr. Elwin’s criticism of this passage see Pope’s *Works* (E. & C.), ii. 27, and for Pope’s note on the Alexandrine see *Iliad*, iv. 176.

⁴ *Ante, POPE, 53.* ‘It is probable, if our country were called upon to show a specimen of their genius to foreigners, *The Rape of the Lock* would be the work fixed upon.’ GOLD-SMITH, *Works*, iii. 435.

Dr. Warburton, who excelled in critical perspicacity¹, has 336 remarked that the preternatural agents are very happily adapted to the purposes of the poem². The heathen deities can no longer gain attention: we should have turned away from a contest between Venus and Diana. The employment of allegorical persons always excites conviction of its own absurdity³: they may produce effects, but cannot conduct actions; when the phantom is put in motion, it dissolves; thus Discord may raise a mutiny, but Discord cannot conduct a march, nor besiege a town. Pope brought into view a new race of Beings, with powers and passions proportionate to their operation. The sylphs and gnomes act at the toilet and the tea-table, what more terrifick and more powerful phantoms perform on the stormy ocean or the field of battle; they give their proper help, and do their proper mischief.

Pope is said by an objector not to have been the inventor 337 of this petty nation⁴; a charge which might with more justice have been brought against the author of the *Iliad*, who doubtless adopted the religious system of his country; for what is there but the names of his agents which Pope has not invented? Has he not assigned them characters and operations never heard of before? Has he not, at least, given them their first poetical existence? If this is not sufficient to denominate his work original, nothing original ever can be written.

In this work are exhibited in a very high degree the two 338 most engaging powers of an author: new things are made familiar, and familiar things are made new. A race of aerial people never heard of before is presented to us in a manner so clear and easy, that the reader seeks for no further information, but immediately mingles with his new acquaintance, adopts

¹ The reader of Warburton's notes on Shakespeare would think that Johnson sufficiently praised him when he said:—'Warburton may be absurd, but he will never be weak; he flounders well.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 93 n.

² *Warburton*, i. 169, iv. 28; *ante*, POPE, 59.

³ *Ante*, MILTON, 256; BUTLER, 41.

⁴ 'He took the idea of these invisible beings from a little French

book entitled *Le Comte de Gabalis*. . . . On a diligent perusal of this book I cannot find that he has borrowed any particular circumstances relating to these spirits, but merely the general idea of their existence.' WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, i. 217, 220. Pope mentions this book in his Dedication. See Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Court-hope), ii. 127, for his debt to Spenser; also *ib.* v. 97, 109.

their interests and attends their pursuits, loves a sylph and detests a gnome.

339 That familiar things are made new every paragraph will prove. The subject of the poem is an event below the common incidents of common life; nothing real is introduced that is not seen so often as to be no longer regarded, yet the whole detail of a female-day is here brought before us invested with so much art of decoration that, though nothing is disguised, every thing is striking, and we feel all the appetite of curiosity for that from which we have a thousand times turned fastidiously away.

840 The purpose of the Poet is, as he tells us, to laugh at 'the little unguarded follies of the female sex'.¹ It is therefore without justice that Dennis charges *The Rape of the Lock* with the want of a moral, and for that reason sets it below *The Lutrin*, which exposes the pride and discord of the clergy.² Perhaps neither Pope nor Boileau has made the world much better than he found it; but if they had both succeeded, it were easy to tell who would have deserved most from publick gratitude. The freaks, and humours, and spleen, and vanity of women, as they embroil families in discord and fill houses with disquiet, do more to obstruct the happiness of life in a year than the ambition of the clergy in many centuries.³ It has been well observed that the misery of man proceeds not from any single crush of overwhelming evil, but from small vexations continually repeated.⁴

¹ 'It was intended only to divert a few young ladies, who have good sense and good humour enough to laugh not only at their sex's little unguarded follies, but at their own.' Dedication.

² *Remarks on The Rape of the Lock*, p. 8. "'The Rape of the Lock,'" said Dennis, "is an empty trifle, which cannot have a moral." *The Lutrin*, he maintains, is "an important satirical poem upon the luxury, pride, and animosities of the *popish clergy*, and the moral is, that when Christians, and especially the *clergy*, run into great heats about *religious* trifles, their animosity proceeds from the want of that *religion* which is the pretence of their quarrel." Pope [in his copy of Dennis's *Remarks*] erased the epithet "*religious*," and substituting "*femalesex*" for "*po-*

ish clergy," "*ladies*" for "*clergy*," and "*sense*" for "*religion*" claimed the description for *The Rape of the Lock*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 132. See also *ib.* v. 101.

Warburton quotes a letter of Voltaire's dated Oct. 15, 1726, in which he says:—"The Rape of the Lock is, in my opinion, above *The Lutrin*." Warburton, iv. 41.

³ 'Johnson,' writes Warton, 'might have recollected that Grotius in his *Annals* relates that more than 100,000 Protestants perished in the Netherlands by the executioner of Charles V.' Warton, i. 341 n.

⁴ Johnson seems to be quoting himself. In his *Journey to the Hebrides* (*Works*, ix. 89) he wrote:—"Misery is caused for the most part not by a heavy crush of disaster, but by the corrosion of less visible evils,

It is remarked by Dennis likewise that the machinery is ⁸⁴¹superfluous; that by all the bustle of preternatural operation the main event is neither hastened nor retarded¹. To this charge an efficacious answer is not easily made. The sylphs cannot be said to help or to oppose, and it must be allowed to imply some want of art that their power has not been sufficiently intermingled with the action. Other parts may likewise be charged with want of connection; the game at *ombre* might be spared², but if the lady had lost her hair while she was intent upon her cards, it might have been inferred that those who are too fond of play will be in danger of neglecting more important interests. Those perhaps are faults; but what are such faults to so much excellence!

The *Epistle of Eloise to Abelard*³ is one of the most happy ³⁴²productions of human wit: the subject is so judiciously chosen that it would be difficult, in turning over the annals of the world, to find another which so many circumstances concur to recommend. We regularly interest ourselves most in the fortune of those who most deserve our notice. Abelard and Eloise were conspicuous in their days for eminence of merit. The heart naturally loves truth. The adventures and misfortunes of this illustrious pair are known from undisputed history. Their fate does not leave the mind in hopeless dejection; for they both found quiet and consolation in retirement and piety. So new and so affecting is their story that it supersedes invention, and imagination ranges at full liberty without straggling into scenes of fable⁴.

which canker enjoyment and undermine security. The visit of an invader is necessarily rare, but domestic animosities allow no cessation.'

In 1762 he wrote:—'We all have good and evil, which we feel more sensibly than our petty part of publick miscarriage or prosperity.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 381. Two years later he put the same thought into a couplet for Goldsmith's *Traveller*:—

'How small of all that human hearts endure

That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.' *Ib.* ii. 6.

'They neither promote nor retard the danger of Belinda,' wrote Dennis. *Remarks*, p. 24. For Mr.

Elwin's criticism of this see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 130.

² 'The subject of the poem is the exaltation of a beautiful young lady throughout a day of glittering fashion, till the hollow pomp ends in humiliation, anger, and tears. Whatever amusements and pageantry entered into a day of the kind belonged directly to the theme, provided they could be made subservient to poetic effect.' *Ib.* ii. 130.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 63.

⁴ 'I do not find much human feeling in Pope (said Tennyson), except perhaps in *Eloisa to Abelard*.' Tennyson's *Life*, ii. 287.

- 343 The story thus skilfully adopted has been diligently improved. Pope has left nothing behind him which seems more the effect of studious perseverance and laborious revisal. Here is particularly observable the 'curiosa felicitas', a fruitful soil, and careful cultivation. Here is no crudeness of sense, nor asperity of language.
- 344 The sources from which sentiments which have so much vigour and efficacy have been drawn are shewn to be the mystick writers by the learned author of the *Essay on the Life and Writings of Pope*²; a book which teaches how the brow of criticism may be smoothed, and how she may be enabled, with all her severity, to attract and to delight.
- 345 The train of my disquisition has now conducted me to that poetical wonder, the translation of the *Iliad*; a performance which no age or nation can pretend to equal³. To the Greeks translation was almost unknown; it was totally unknown to the inhabitants of Greece⁴. They had no recourse to the Bar-

¹ 'Petronius [118. 5] says of him [Horace], "Et Horatii curiosa felicitas."' Dryden's *Works*, iv. 235. See also *ib.* xii. 299, xiii. 33, xvii. 332, for repetitions of this.

"Horatii curiosa felicitas" is surely a very unclassical inversion; for he ought to have called it the *happy carefulness* of Horace rather than his *careful happiness*.' WARTON, *Essay*, p. 172.

Gibbon translated *curiosa felicitas* 'laboured felicity,' and referring to Warton says:—'I cannot forbear thinking that the expression *is itself* what Petronius wished to describe; the happy union of such ease as seems the gift of fortune with such justness as can only be the result of care and labour.' *Misc. Works*, iv. 505.

'Some beauties yet no precepts can declare,
For there's a happiness as well as care.'

POPE, *Essay on Criticism*, l. 141.
'Led by some rule that guides but not constrains;
And finish'd more through happiness than pains.'

Epistle to Mr. Jervas, l. 67.

² Dr. Warton, who remarks on ll. 217-22:—'What a judicious and

poetical use hath Pope here made of the opinions of the mystics and quietists.' *Essay on Pope*, i. 319.

Johnson, reviewing the *Essay* in 1756, praises it as 'a just specimen of literary moderation.' *Works*, vi. 46. Before the *Lives of the Poets* were published the two men were estranged. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 270 n., ii. 41 n. Johnson nevertheless—perhaps all the more on that account—repeats the praise. Warton in his edition of Pope's *Works* frequently carps at Johnson.

Warton's brother says in his edition of Milton's *Poems*, Preface, p. 10, that through their father Pope first discovered Milton's minor poems. 'We find him soon afterwards sprinkling his *Eloisa* and *Abelard* with epithets and phrases pilfered from *Comus* and the *Penseroso*.' See also *ante*, MILTON, 59 n.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 93. 'The phrase of John Selden's became "household words" with Jowett: "The best translation in the world" (of the English Version of the Bible).' *Life of Jowett*, 1897, i. 133. [See Selden's *Table Talk*, ed. by S. W. Singer, 2nd ed. 1856, p. 5.]

⁴ 'There is not, I believe, from Dionysius to Libanius a single Greek

barians for poetical beauties, but sought for every thing in Homer, where, indeed, there is but little which they might not find.

The Italians have been very diligent translators; but I can 346 hear of no version, unless perhaps Anguillara's *Ovid*¹ may be excepted, which is read with eagerness. The *Iliad* of Salvini² every reader may discover to be punctiliously exact; but it seems to be the work of a linguist skilfully pedantick, and his countrymen, the proper judges of its power to please, reject it with disgust.

Their predecessors the Romans have left some specimens of 347 translation behind them, and that employment must have had some credit in which Tully and Germanicus engaged³; but unless we suppose, what is perhaps true, that the plays of Terence were versions of Menander, nothing translated seems ever to have risen to high reputation. The French, in the meridian hour of their learning, were very laudably industrious to enrich their own language with the wisdom of the ancients; but found themselves reduced, by whatever necessity, to turn the Greek and Roman poetry into prose⁴. Whoever could read an author could translate him. From such rivals little can be feared.

The chief help of Pope in this arduous undertaking was drawn 348 from the versions of Dryden. Virgil had borrowed much of his imagery from Homer, and part of the debt was now paid by

critic who mentions Virgil or Horace. They seem ignorant that the Romans had any good writers.' GIBBON, *Decline*, &c., i. 38 n.

¹ *Le Metamorfosi d' Ovidio*, tradotte in ottava rima, 1584. 'I prefer it to all the translations I ever read.' BARETTI, *The Italian Library*, 1757, p. 135.

² These translations [Salvini's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into blank verse, 1523] are reckoned literal, but I could never find them delightful to read.' *Ib.* p. 126.

Berkeley wrote to Pope from Naples in 1717:—'A friend of mine told me that he found Salvini reading your *Homer*; he liked the notes extremely, and could find no other fault with the version but that he thought it approached too near a paraphrase.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 5. Salvini translated some of Pope's works. *Ib.* iv. 47.

³ Only fragments are extant of Cicero's translations. 'We possess the remains of Germanicus's translation of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus.' Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.*

⁴ See *ante*, DRYDEN, 223, where Johnson speaks of 'poetical translations' as 'a work which the French seem to relinquish in despair.'

Olivet records Boileau as saying to him:—'Savez-vous pourquoi les anciens ont si peu d'admirateurs? C'est parce que les trois quarts, tout au moins, de ceux qui les ont traduits, étaient des ignorans ou des sots.' Boileau wished the Academy to reform translations. *Œuvres de Boileau*, v. 118.

Grimm wrote in Aug. 1768:—'La langue française est de toutes les langues modernes la moins propre aux traductions.' *Mémoires*, &c., 1814, iii. 266.

his translator. Pope searched the pages of Dryden for happy combinations of heroick diction¹, but it will not be denied that he added much to what he found. He cultivated our language with so much diligence and art that he has left in his *Homer* a treasure of poetical elegances to posterity. His version may be said to have tuned the English tongue², for since its appearance no writer, however deficient in other powers, has wanted melody. Such a series of lines so elaborately corrected and so sweetly modulated took possession of the publick ear; the vulgar was enamoured of the poem, and the learned wondered at the translation³.

349 But in the most general applause discordant voices will always be heard. It has been objected by some, who wish to be numbered among the sons of learning, that Pope's version of *Homer* is not Homeric⁴; that it exhibits no resemblance of the original and characteristick manner of the Father of Poetry, as it wants his awful simplicity, his artless grandeur, his unaffected majesty. This cannot be totally denied, but it must be remembered that 'necessitas quod cogit defendit,' that may be lawfully done which cannot be forborne. Time and place will always enforce regard. In estimating this translation consideration must be had of the nature of our language, the form of our metre, and, above all, of the change which two thousand years have made in the modes of life and the habits of thought. Virgil wrote in

¹ 'Before the time of Dryden,' writes Johnson, 'those happy combinations of words which distinguish poetry from prose had been rarely attempted.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 221. See also *ante*, POPE, 13; *post*, 374.

Pope, writing of Dryden's version of 'the Episode of Hector and Andromache,' says:—'I am unwilling to remark upon an author to whom every English poet owes so much.' *Iliad*, vi. 462 n.

² 'Dryden tuned the numbers of English poetry.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 216, 311.

³ Lyttelton, according to Stockdale, had said to Pope, while still at work on translating the *Iliad*, that he was surprised at his not using blank verse. The poet answered that 'he could translate it more easily into rhyme. When,' continues Stockdale, 'I com-

municated this anecdote to Dr. Johnson, his remark was:—"Sir, when Pope said that, he knew that he lied."'
John. Misc. ii. 332. Lyttelton was but eleven years old when the last volume of the *Iliad* was published. Pope's answer very likely was given, though not to a child.

Cowper, in the Preface to his *Homer*, maintains that it costs more trouble to write in blank verse than in rhyme on account of the variety in the pauses. Southey's *Cowper*, xi. Preface, p. 14. See also *ib.* vii. 75. In a criticism on Pope's *Homer* in *Gent. Mag.* 1785, p. 610 (see Southey's *Cowper*, v. 167, xv. 182), he says that Pope, 'who managed the bells of rhyme with more dexterity than any man, tied them about Homer's neck.' See also *post*, PITT, 10.

⁴ See Appendix N.

a language of the same general fabrick with that of Homer, in verses of the same measure, and in an age nearer to Homer's time by eighteen hundred years; yet he found even then the state of the world so much altered, and the demand for elegance so much increased, that mere nature would be endured no longer; and perhaps, in the multitude of borrowed passages, very few can be shewn which he has not embellished.

There is a time when nations emerging from barbarity, and 850 falling into regular subordination, gain leisure to grow wise, and feel the shame of ignorance and the craving pain of unsatisfied curiosity. To this hunger of the mind plain sense is grateful; that which fills the void removes uneasiness, and to be free from pain for a while is pleasure; but repletion generates fastidiousness, a saturated intellect soon becomes luxurious, and knowledge finds no willing reception till it is recommended by artificial diction. Thus it will be found in the progress of learning that in all nations the first writers are simple, and that every age improves in elegance. One refinement always makes way for another, and what was expedient to Virgil was necessary to Pope¹.

I suppose many readers of the English *Iliad*, when they have 851 been touched with some unexpected beauty of the lighter kind, have tried to enjoy it in the original, where, alas! it was not to be found. Homer doubtless owes to his translator many Ovidian graces not exactly suitable to his character; but to have added can be no great crime if nothing be taken away. Elegance² is surely to be desired if it be not gained at the expence of dignity³. A hero would wish to be loved as well as to be revered.

¹ Pope in his *Iliad*, xi. 668 n., says:—'A translator owes so much to the taste of the age in which he lives as not to make too great a compliment to the former; and this induced me to omit the mention of the word *Ass* in the translation.'

On the lines (*ib.* xvii. 642-5)—
'So burns the vengeful hornet (soul all o'er),' &c.

he says in a note:—'It is literally in the Greek, "she inspired the hero with the boldness of a fly." . . . I have done my best in the translation to keep up the dignity of my author.'

See also his Postscript to the *Odyssey*, ed. 1760, v. 267; and *ante*, DRYDEN, 220.

'It is when Pope comes to level passages, passages of narrative or description, that he and his style are sorely tried and prove themselves weak.' MATTHEW ARNOLD, *On Translating Homer*, 1896, p. 20.

² For *elegance* see *ante*, POPE, 99, 349, 350.

³ Cowper (*Works*, vii. 7), writing of a French and an English print 'on *Iliad* subjects,' says:—'In the former Agamemnon addresses Achilles

- 352 To a thousand cavils one answer is sufficient ; the purpose of a writer is to be read, and the criticism which would destroy the power of pleasing must be blown aside. Pope wrote for his own age and his own nation : he knew that it was necessary to colour the images and point the sentiments of his author ; he therefore made him graceful, but lost him some of his sublimity¹.
- 353 The copious notes with which the version is accompanied and by which it is recommended to many readers, though they were undoubtedly written to swell the volumes², ought not to pass without praise : commentaries which attract the reader by the pleasure of perusal have not often appeared ; the notes of others are read to clear difficulties, those of Pope to vary entertainment.
- 354 It has, however, been objected with sufficient reason that there is in the commentary too much of unseasonable levity and affected gaiety ; that too many appeals are made to the ladies, and the ease which is so carefully preserved is sometimes the ease of a trifler. Every art has its terms and every kind of instruction its proper style ; the gravity of common criticks may be tedious, but is less despicable than childish merriment³.

exactly in the attitude of a dancing-master turning miss in a minuet ; in the latter the figures are plain, and the attitudes plain also. This is, in some considerable measure I believe, the difference between my translation and Pope's.'

¹ *Ante*, COWLEY, 115. Johnson is the 'learned critic' in the following passage in Reynolds's *Fifteenth Discourse* (*Works*, 1824, ii. 152) :— 'Michael Angelo's strength thus qualified, and made more palatable to the general taste, reminds me of an observation which I heard a learned critic make, when it was incidentally remarked that our translation of Homer, however excellent, did not convey the character, nor had the grand air of the original. He replied that if Pope had not clothed the naked majesty of Homer with the graces and elegancies of modern fashions—though the real dignity of Homer was degraded by such a dress—his translation would not have met with such a favourable reception, and he must have been contented with fewer readers.' See *ante*, POPE, 110 n.

Matthew Arnold, quoting Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, xii. 322, Sarpedon's speech to Glaucus (Pope's *Iliad*, xii. 387), says :— 'It is one of those passages in which he is at his best, a passage of strong emotion and oratorical movement ; not of simple narrative or description. Nothing could better exhibit his prodigious talent, and nothing could be better in its own way. . . . Even here he does not render Homer ; but he and his style are in themselves strong.' *On Translating Homer*, p. 19.

² *Ante*, POPE, 86.

³ The following note on the *Iliad*, xiv. 191, is an instance of Pope's flippancy :— 'This passage may be of consideration to the Ladies, and, for their sakes, I take a little pains to observe upon it. Homer tells us that the very Goddesses, who are all over charms, never dress in sight of any one : the Queen of Heaven adorns herself in private, and the doors lock after her. In Homer there are no *Dieux des ruelles*, no Gods are admitted to the toilet.'

Of the *Odyssey* nothing remains to be observed; the same 335 general praise may be given to both translations, and a particular examination of either would require a large volume. The notes were written by Broome, who endeavoured not unsuccessfully to imitate his master¹.

Of *The Dunciad*² the hint is confessedly taken from Dryden's 356 *Mac Flecknoe*³, but the plan is so enlarged and diversified as justly to claim the praise of an original, and affords perhaps the best specimen that has yet appeared of personal satire ludicrously pompous.

That the design was moral, whatever the author might tell 357 either his readers or himself, I am not convinced⁴. The first motive was the desire of revenging the contempt with which Theobald had treated his *Shakespeare*⁵, and regaining the honour which he had lost, by crushing his opponent. Theobald was not of bulk enough to fill a poem, and therefore it was necessary to find other enemies with other names, at whose expence he might divert the publick.

In this design there was petulance and malignity enough; 358 but I cannot think it very criminal⁶. An author places himself uncalled before the tribunal of criticism, and solicits fame at the hazard of disgrace. Dulness or deformity are not culpable in themselves, but may be very justly reproached when they pretend to the honour of wit or the influence of beauty. If bad writers were to pass without reprehension what should restrain them? 'impune diem consumpserit ingens Telephus'⁷; and upon bad writers only will censure have much effect. The

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 133.

² *Ante*, POPE, 144.

³ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 136.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 148. 'JOHNSON. He wrote his *Dunciad* for fame. That was his primary motive. Had it not been for that, the Dunces might have railed against him till they were weary, without his troubling himself about them. He delighted to vex them, no doubt; but he had more delight in seeing how well he could vex them.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 334.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 126, 145.

⁶ 'I have often wondered that the same poet who wrote *The Dunciad* should have written these lines:—

"The mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me."

[*The Universal Prayer*, l. 39.]

Alas! for Pope, if the mercy he showed to others was the measure of the mercy he received. He was the less pardonable too, because experienced in all the difficulties of composition.' COWPER, *Works*, vi. 254.

⁷ JUVENAL, *Sat.* i. 4.

'Shall this man's elegies and t' other's play
Unpunished murder a long summer's day?
Huge Telephus, a formidable page,
Cries vengeance.'

DRYDEN, *Works*, xiii. 125.

satire which brought Theobald and Moore¹ into contempt, dropped impotent from Bentley², like the javelin of Priam³.

859 All truth is valuable, and satirical criticism may be considered as useful when it rectifies error and improves judgement: he that refines the publick taste is a publick benefactor.

860 The beauties of this poem are well known; its chief fault is the grossness of its images. Pope and Swift had an unnatural delight in ideas physically impure, such as every other tongue utters with unwillingness, and of which every ear shrinks from the mention⁴.

861 But even this fault, offensive as it is, may be forgiven for the excellence of other passages; such as the formation and dissolution of Moore⁵, the account of the Traveller⁶, the misfortune of the Florist⁷, and the crowded thoughts and stately numbers which dignify the concluding paragraph⁸.

862 The alterations which have been made in *The Dunciad*, not always for the better, require that it should be published, as in the last collection⁹, with all its variations.

863 The *Essay on Man* was a work of great labour and long consideration, but certainly not the happiest of Pope's performances¹⁰. The subject is perhaps not very proper for poetry, and the poet was not sufficiently master of his subject; metaphysical morality was to him¹¹ a new study, he was proud of his

¹ James Moore (afterwards James Moore Smythe). *Dunciad*, ii. 35-50, 109-20; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 326, v. 219; *Warton*, v. 126 n.

Fielding, in *Tom Jones*, Bk. xii. ch. 1, describes how Pope 'imprisoned Moore in the loathsome dungeon of *The Dunciad*, where his unhappy memory now remains, and eternally will remain, as a proper punishment for his unjust dealings in the poetical trade.' See *post*, LYTTELTON, 7.

² *Ante*, POPE, 285.

³ In the first edition was added, 'thrown at Neoptolemus.' *Aeneid*, ii. 544.

⁴ *Ante*, SWIFT, 137.

⁵ *The Dunciad*, ii. 35-50, 109-20; *post*, A. PHILIPS, 4 n.

⁶ *The Dunciad*, iv. 293-336.

⁷ *Ib.* iv. 403-36.

⁸ Gray wrote in 1742:—'As to *The*

Dunciad, it is greatly admired: the Genii of Operas and Schools, with their attendants, the pleas of the Virtuoso and Florists, and the yawn of dulness in the end, are as fine as anything he has written. The Metaphysicians' part is to me the worst; and here and there a few ill-expressed lines, and some hardly intelligible.' *Gray's Letters*, i. 95.

⁹ In the first edition, 'as in this edition [i. e. *Eng. Poets*].' For 'the alterations' see *ante*, POPE, 237.

¹⁰ *Ante*, POPE, 173. 'L'Essai sur l'homme de Pope me parait le plus beau poëme didactique, le plus utile, le plus sublime qu'on ait jamais fait dans aucune langue.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 135. See also *ib.* x. 115.

¹¹ 'To him' is not in the first edition. For 'reasoning in verse' see *ante*, BLACKMORE, 46.

acquisitions, and, supposing himself master of great secrets, was in haste to teach what he had not learned. Thus he tells us, in the first Epistle, that from the nature of the Supreme Being may be deduced an order of beings such as mankind, because Infinite Excellence can do only what is best. He finds out that these beings must be 'somewhere,' and that 'all the question is whether man be in a wrong place'.¹ Surely if, according to the poet's Leibnitian reasoning, we may infer that man ought to be only because he is, we may allow that his place is the right place, because he has it. Supreme Wisdom is not less infallible in disposing than in creating. But what is meant by 'somewhere' and 'place' and 'wrong place' it had been vain to ask Pope, who probably had never asked himself.

Having exalted himself into the chair of wisdom he tells us ³⁶⁴ much that every man knows, and much that he does not know himself; that we see but little, and that the order of the universe is beyond our comprehension², an opinion not very uncommon; and that there is a chain of subordinate beings 'from infinite to nothing'³, of which himself and his readers are equally ignorant. But he gives us one comfort which, without his help, he supposes unattainable, in the position 'that though we are fools, yet God is wise'⁴.

This *Essay* affords an egregious instance of the predominance of ³⁶⁵ genius, the dazzling splendour of imagery, and the seductive powers of eloquence. Never were penury of knowledge and vulgarity of sentiment so happily disguised⁵. The reader feels his mind full, though he learns nothing; and when he meets it in its new array no longer knows the talk of his mother and his nurse⁶. When these wonder-working sounds sink into sense and the doctrine of the *Essay*, disrobed of its ornaments, is left to the powers of its naked excellence, what shall we discover? That we are, in comparison with our Creator, very weak and ignorant⁷; that we do not uphold the chain of existence⁸; and that we could not make one another with more skill than we are made⁹. We may learn yet more: that the arts of human life

¹ In the first edition, 'He finds out that all the question is,' &c.

The reference is to the *Essay on Man*, i. 43-50.

² *Ib.* i. 60-8.

³ *Ib.* i. 235-46.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 293-4.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 180.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 179 n.

⁷ *Essay on Man*, i. 17-32.

⁸ *Ib.* i. 33, 34.

⁹ *Ib.* i. 35-42.

were copied from the instinctive operations of other animals¹; that if the world be made for man, it may be said that man was made for geese². To these profound principles of natural knowledge are added some moral instructions equally new: that self-interest well understood will produce social concord³; that men are mutual gainers by mutual benefits⁴; that evil is sometimes balanced by good⁵; that human advantages are unstable and fallacious, of uncertain duration and doubtful effect⁶; that our true honour is not to have a great part, but to act it well⁷; that virtue only is our own; and that happiness is always in our power⁸.

366 Surely a man of no very comprehensive search may venture to say that he has heard all this before, but it was never till now recommended by such a blaze of embellishment or such sweetness of melody. The vigorous contraction of some thoughts, the luxuriant amplification of others, the incidental illustrations, and sometimes the dignity, sometimes the softness of the verses, enchain philosophy, suspend criticism, and oppress judgement by overpowering pleasure⁹.

367 This is true of many paragraphs; yet if I had undertaken to exemplify Pope's felicity of composition before a rigid critick I should not select the *Essay on Man*, for it contains more lines unsuccessfully laboured, more harshness of diction, more thoughts imperfectly expressed¹⁰, more levity without elegance, and more

¹ *Essay on Man*, iii. 169-200.

² *Ib.* iii. 45, 46.

³ *Ib.* iii. 269-82, 318, iv. 353, 396.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 249-56, iii. 112.

⁵ *Ib.* iv. 114.

⁶ *Ib.* iv. 67-76, 167-92.

⁷ *Ib.* iv. 193-4.

⁸ *Ib.* iv. 29-32, 309-end.

⁹ Ruffhead, writing in 1769, says of the *Essay on Man*:—'No work was ever more frequently quoted by readers of every class. There is scarce a line which has not been committed to the memory both of the learned and unlearned.' *Life of Pope*, p. 457.

¹⁰ In the most sectarian period of my Benthamism I happened to look into Pope's *Essay on Man*, and though every opinion in it was contrary to mine, I well remember how

powerfully it acted on my imagination.' J. S. MILL, *Auto.* p. 113.

Pattison, after noticing Mr. Elwin's 'furious denunciation of the *Essay* as shallow metaphysics' [*Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 270-339], continues:—'It is much to be lamented that Pope attempted philosophy. He was very ignorant; ignorant of everything except the art of versification. . . . But what he was engaged in building was a beautifully contrived and adorned piece of verse, not a philosophical system.' Pattison's *Essays*, ii. 386. See also 'Christopher North' in *Blackwood*, 1845, p. 382.

¹⁰ Swift wrote of it to Pope:—'I confess, in some few places I was forced to read twice.' *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 328.

heaviness without strength, than will easily be found in all his other works.

The *Characters of Men and Women*¹ are the product of 368 diligent speculation upon human life; much labour has been bestowed upon them, and Pope very seldom laboured in vain. That his excellence may be properly estimated I recommend a comparison of his *Characters of Women* with Boileau's *Satire*²; it will then be seen with how much more perspicacity female nature³ is investigated and female excellence selected; and he surely is no mean writer to whom Boileau shall be found inferior⁴. The *Characters of Men*, however, are written with more, if not with deeper, thought, and exhibit many passages exquisitely beautiful. 'The Gem and the Flower' will not easily be equalled⁵. In the women's part are some defects: the character of Atossa⁶ is not so neatly finished as that of Clodio⁷, and some of the female characters may be found perhaps more frequently among men; what is said of Philomede was true of Prior⁸.

In the *Epistles to Lord Bathurst* and *Lord Burlington* Dr. 369 Warburton has endeavoured to find a train of thought which was never in the writer's head, and, to support his hypothesis, has printed that first which was published last⁹. In one, the

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 202, 207.

² *Satire* x.

³ In the proof-sheet, 'female wit.'

⁴ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 141. 'Pope, though he imitated Boileau, is in fact as much superior to him as the English language is to the French. There is in him a bottom of sound sense, not to be found amid all the wit of his master. He is the first of his kind.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, Preface, p. 31.

⁵ *Moral Essays*, i. 141.

⁶ *Ante*, POPE, 208.

⁷ *Moral Essays*, i. 179. In the later editions Wharton was substituted for Clodio.

⁸ *Ib.* ii. 83; *ante*, PRIOR, 49 n. 4.

⁹ The *Moral Essays* had appeared at the following dates:—

No. iv. *Epistle to Burlington*, 1731, *ante*, POPE, 156; No. iii. *Epistle to Bathurst*, 1732-3, *ante*, POPE, 198; No. i. *Epistle to Cobham*, 1733-4, *ante*, POPE, 202; No. ii. *Epistle to a Lady*, 1734-5, *ante*, POPE, 207.

'The *Epistles* were arranged by

Pope himself in their present order for the edition of his poems of 1735, four years at least before he knew Warburton.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 119. These two epistles became the third and fourth in the second book of *Ethic Epistles*. *Ib.* p. 46. The term *Moral Essays* first appears in the edition of 1743, the last published during Pope's lifetime. *Ib.* p. 49.

Pope, writing to Swift in 1733, about 'the whole scheme of the present work,' continues:—'You will see pretty soon that the *Letter to Lord Bathurst* is a part of it, and you will find a plain connection between them, if you read them in the order just contrary to that they were published in.' *Ib.* vii. 297.

Warburton, in a note on the *Epistle to Cobham*, says that 'he saw that if the *Epistle* was put into a different form, on an idea he then conceived, it would have all the clearness of method and force of connected reasoning. The Author appeared as

most valuable passage is perhaps the elogy on Good Sense¹, and in the other the End of the Duke of Buckingham².

- 870 The *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, now arbitrarily called the *Prologue to the Satires*³, is a performance consisting, as it seems, of many fragments wrought into one design⁴, which by this union of scattered beauties contains more striking paragraphs than could probably have been brought together into an occasional work. As there is no stronger motive to exertion than self-defence, no part has more elegance, spirit, or dignity than the poet's vindication of his own character⁵. The meanest passage is the satire upon Sporus⁶.

- 871 Of the two poems which derived their names from the year⁷, and which are called the *Epilogue to the Satires*, it was very justly remarked by Savage that the second was in the whole more strongly conceived and more equally supported, but that it had no single passages equal to the contention in the first for the dignity of Vice⁸ and the celebration of the triumph of Corruption⁹.

- 372 The *Imitations of Horace* seem to have been written as relaxations of his genius¹⁰. This employment became his favourite

much struck with the thing as the Editor, and agreed to put the poem into the present order; which has given it all the justness of a true composition. The introduction to the *Epistle on Riches* [to Bathurst] was in the same condition, and underwent the same reform.' Warburton, iii. 181.

¹ *Moral Essays*, iv. 39.

² *Ib.* iii. 299.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 212. The title was given by Warburton after Pope's death, to supply a gap left by a cancelled note. 'To carry out his idea he called the two *Dialogues*, published originally under the title of *Seventeen Hundred and Thirty Eight*, the *Epilogue to the Satires*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 533.

⁴ Pope, in the Advertisement to the *Epistle*, says:—'This paper is a sort of bill of complaint, begun many years since, and drawn up by snatches, as the several occasions offered.' *Ib.* iii. 239.

⁵ 'More than three-fourths of the *Epistle*,' writes Mr. Courthope, 'was

written in direct answer to *Verses to the Imitator of Horace*, and the *Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity* [*ante*, POPE, 216 n.], while the remaining fourth was radically altered to suit the new context.' *Ib.* v. 268. See also *ib.* iii. 236.

⁶ *Prolog. Sat.* l. 125.

⁷ *Ib.* l. 305. *Ante*, POPE, 216.

⁸ 'Set down the character of Sporus, with all the wonderful play of fancy which is scattered over it, and place by its side an equal number of verses from any two existing poets, of the same power and the same variety—where will you find them?' BYRON, *Works*, 1851, ix. 89.

⁹ *Ante*, POPE, 217.

¹⁰ *Epil. Sat.* i. 114.

¹¹ *Ib.* i. 142.

¹² *Ante*, POPE, 209. Pope wrote to Caryl on March 8, 1732–3, of *Satire* ii. 1:—'You may have seen my last piece of song, which has met with such a flood of favour that my ears need no more flattery for this twelvemonth. However, it was a slight thing, the work of two days,

by its facility; the plan was ready to his hand, and nothing was required but to accommodate as he could the sentiments of an old author to recent facts or familiar images; but what is easy is seldom excellent: such imitations cannot give pleasure to common readers. The man of learning may be sometimes surprised and delighted by an unexpected parallel; but the comparison requires knowledge of the original, which will likewise often detect strained applications¹. Between Roman images² and English manners there will be an irreconcilable dissimilitude, and the work will be generally uncouth and party-coloured; neither original nor translated, neither ancient nor modern³.

Pope had, in proportions very nicely adjusted to each other, 873 all the qualities that constitute genius. He had Invention, by which new trains of events are formed and new scenes of imagery displayed, as in *The Rape of the Lock*, and by which extrinsick and adventitious embellishments and illustrations are connected with a known subject, as in the *Essay on Criticism*; he had Imagination, which strongly impresses on the writer's mind and enables him to convey to the reader the various forms of nature, incidents of life, and energies of passion, as in his *Eloisa*, *Windsor Forest*, and the *Ethick Epistles*⁴; he had Judgement, which selects from life or nature what the present purpose requires, and, by separating the essence of things from its concomitants, often makes the representation more powerful than the reality; and he had colours of language always before him ready to decorate his matter with every grace of elegant expression, as when he accommodates his diction to the wonderful multiplicity of Homer's sentiments and descriptions.

whereas that to Lord Bathurst was the work of two years by intervals.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 338.

¹ 'I am mistaken if a common reader may not enjoy these imitations nearly as much as any of Pope's more original satires.' CONINGTON, *Misc. Writings*, i. 69.

² 'In the proof-sheet, "Roman sentiments."

³ *Post*, WEST, 14. 'I will venture this piece of classical blasphemy, which is that, however Pope may be supposed to be obliged to Horace, Horace is more obliged to him.'

iii †

CHESTERFIELD, *Misc. Works*, iv. App., p. 15.

⁴ These verses in Pope's *Imitations of Horace* [*Epis.* ii. 2. 72-5], verses which Lord Holland is so fond of hearing me repeat, are as good as any in Horace himself;—

"Years following years steal something every day;

At last they steal us from ourselves away; [end,

In one our frolics, one amusements
In one a mistress drops, in one
a friend."

Rogers's *Table-Talk*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 369 n. 9.

- 374 Poetical expression includes sound as well as meaning. 'Musick,' says Dryden, 'is inarticulate poetry'; among the excellences of Pope, therefore, must be mentioned the melody of his metre. By perusing the works of Dryden he discovered the most perfect fabrick of English verse², and habituated himself to that only which he found the best; in consequence of which restraint his poetry has been censured as too uniformly musical³, and as glutting the ear with unvaried sweetness⁴. I suspect this objection to be the cant of those who judge by principles rather than perception; and who would even themselves have less pleasure in his works if he had tried to relieve attention by studied discords, or affected to break his lines and vary his pauses⁵.

² 'By the harmony of words we elevate the mind to a sense of devotion, as our solemn music, which is inarticulate poesy, does in churches.' DRYDEN, *Works*, iii. 377.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 13, 348. 'In the school of Dryden Pope is an original master. Dryden is, properly speaking, without imitators. His manner . . . baffles transcribers. But Pope completed an art which could be learnt, and he left a world full of copyists.' 'CHRISTOPHER NORTH,' *Blackwood*, 1845, p. 380.

⁴ 'The great rule of verse is to be musical.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 316.

⁵ 'There is this difference, among others, between soft and sweet verses: that the former may be very effeminate, whereas the latter are not at all so.' *Ib.* p. 155.

'There is a sweetness that is the distinguishing character of pastoral versification. The fourth and fifth syllables, and the last but two, are chiefly to be minded; and one must tune each line over in one's head to try whether they go right or not.' *Ib.* p. 312.

'Il [Pope] a réduit les sifflements aigres de la trompette anglaise aux sons doux de la flûte.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 134.

'But he (his musical finesse was such,
So nice his ear, so delicate his touch)
Made poetry a mere mechanic art,

And every warbler has his tune by heart.'

COWPER, *Works*, viii. 141.

In a letter Cowper says:—'Unless we could imitate Pope in the closeness and compactness of his numbers we had better drop the imitation, which serves no other purpose than to emasculate and weaken all we write.' *Ib.* vi. 347.

Wordsworth describes his versification as 'too timidly balanced.' *Memoirs*, 1851, ii. 221.

'Tennyson felt what Cowper calls the "musical finesse" of Pope, and admired single lines and couplets very much; but he found "the regular da da, da da" of his heroic metre monotonous. He quoted "What dire offence from amorous causes springs."

"'Amorus causiz springs,' horrible! I would sooner die than write such a line.'" Tennyson's *Life*, ii. 286.

⁵ 'The want of pauses is the main blemish in Pope's versification. I cannot recollect at this moment any pause he has except that in his fine Prologue to *Cato*:—

"The triumph ceas'd; tears gush'd from ev'ry eye;

The world's great victor pass'd unheeded by."

* Rogers's *Table-Talk*, p. 28.

Rogers might have instanced also the pause in the *Essay on Man*, ii. 101: 'In lazy apathy let Stoics boast
Their virtue fix'd; 'tis fix'd as in a frost.'

But though he was thus careful of his versification he did not 375 oppress his powers with superfluous rigour¹. He seems to have thought with Boileau that the practice of writing might be refined till the difficulty should overbalance the advantage. The construction of his language is not always strictly grammatical²; with those rhymes which prescription had conjoined he contented himself, without regard to Swift's remonstrances, though there was no striking consonance; nor was he very careful to vary his terminations or to refuse admission at a small distance to the same rhymes.

To Swift's edict for the exclusion of alexandrines and triplets 376 he paid little regard³; he admitted them, but, in the opinion of Fenton, too rarely: he uses them more liberally in his translation than his poems⁴.

See Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 51, for Pope's letter to Walsh in 1706 on versification; see also *The Rambler*, No. 86.

¹ In the proof-sheet, 'unremitted rigour.'

² 'The late Archbishop of Armagh, objecting one day, in Swift's company, to an expression of Pope, as not being the purest English, Swift answered with his usual roughness: "I could never get the blockhead to study his grammar."' WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 116.

In *The Rape of the Lock*, iv. 57, he begins:—

'Hail, wayward queen!

Who rule the sex to fifty from fifteen';

and continues:—

'A nymph there is that all thy pow'r disdains.'

The editor says in a note:—'Bishop Lowth notices Pope's frequent violation of grammar in joining a pronoun in the singular to a verb in the plural. See *Messiah*, ll. 5-6.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 169.

³ Swift wrote to Pope in 1715:—'I borrowed your *Homer* from the bishop—mine is not yet landed—and read it out in two evenings. . . . I am angry at some bad rhymes and triplets; and pray in your next do not let me have so many unjustifiable rhymes to war and gods.' *Ib.* vii. 10.

Pope wrote to him in 1733:—'These things [some poems] shall lie by till you come to carp at them, and alter rhymes, and grammar, and triplets, and cacophonies of all kinds.' *Ib.* p. 307.

In 1735 Swift wrote:—'I absolutely did prevail with Mr. Pope, and Gay, and Dr. Young, and one or two more to reject them [triplets and alexandrines]. Mr. Pope never used them till he translated Homer . . . and I think in one or two of his last poems he has, out of laziness, done the same thing, though very seldom.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 270. Swift objected particularly to *delight* being made to rhyme with *wit* in the *Essay on Criticism*. Warton, iv. 111.

⁴ He has an early alexandrine in *Windsor Forest*, l. 218. 'He has not,' writes Warton, 'admitted one alexandrine or triple rhyme into his *Essay on Man*, *Ethic Epistles*, *Eloisa* or *Dunciad*; and but rarely, too rarely Fenton thought, into his *Iliad*; the ear, in so long a work, wanting some variety.' Warton, vii. 79. See also Warton's *Essay*, i. 147. For other alexandrines see *ante*, POPE, 332, 333. See also *ante*, COWLEY, 196, 199; DRYDEN, 344, 349. Johnson has one triplet in *London* [ll. 129-32], and none in *The Vanity of Human Wishes*.

- 377 He has a few double rhymes, and always, I think, unsuccessfully, except once in *The Rape of the Lock*¹.
- 378 Expletives he very early ejected from his verses²; but he now and then admits an epithet rather commodious than important. Each of the six first lines of the *Iliad* might lose two syllables with very little diminution of the meaning³; and sometimes, after all his art and labour, one verse seems to be made for the sake of another⁴. In his latter productions the diction is sometimes vitiated by French idioms, with which Bolingbroke had perhaps infected him⁵.
- 379 I have been told that the couplet by which he declared his own ear to be most gratified was this:

‘Lo, where Mæotis sleeps, and hardly flows
The freezing Tanais thro’ a waste of snows⁶.’

But the reason of this preference I cannot discover.

¹ ‘The meeting points the sacred
hair dissever

From the fair head, for ever and
for ever.’ Canto iii. l. 153.

There are double rhymes in some of Pope’s lighter pieces, such as *Macer* and *Umbra*. See also *ante*, BUTLER, 50 n. 2.

² ‘While expletives their feeble aid
do join.’

Essay on Criticism, l. 346.

³ Warton says that Pope was led into this ‘over-laboured ornament by the difficulty of translating Homer into rhyme. He never falls into it in his other works, which are remarkable for brevity of style.’ *Warton*, vi. 212.

For Goldsmith’s ‘mending Gray’s *Elegy* by leaving out an idle word in every line’ see Boswell’s *Johnson*, i. 404 n.

⁴ ‘A good poet never establishes the first line till he has sought out such a rhyme as may fit the sense, already prepared to heighten the second.’ DRYDEN, *Works*, xv. 363.

⁵ Quand le second vers était plus faible que le premier M. Despréaux [Boileau] l’appelait *le Frère-Chapeau*, faisant allusion à l’usage des moines qui sont accompagnés d’un Frère, quand ils sortent du couvent. “On ne verra point,” disait-il, “de Frère-

Chapeau parmi mes vers.” *Œuvres*, iii. 196 n. See also *ib.* i. 46 n.

⁶ This sentence is not in the first edition.

‘LORD MARCHMONT. “Do you know the history of Dr. Johnson’s aversion to the word *transpire*?” Then taking down the folio *Dictionary*, he showed it with this censure on its secondary sense: “To escape from secrecy to notice; a sense lately innovated from France, without necessity.” “The truth was Lord Bolingbroke, who left the Jacobites, first used it; therefore, it was to be condemned.”’ Boswell’s *Johnson*, iii. 343.

Johnson in his *Dictionary* under *Owe* has the following:—“A practice has long prevailed among writers to use *owing*, the active participle of *owe*, in a passive sense, for *owed* or *due*. Of this impropriety Bolingbroke was aware, and, having no quick sense of the force of English words, has used *due*, in the sense of consequence or imputation, which by other writers is used only of *debt*. We say, the money is *due* to me; Bolingbroke says, the effect is *due* to the cause.”

⁶ *Dunciad*, iii. 87. For Johnson’s favourite line in his Latin version of Pope’s *Messiah* see Boswell’s *Johnson*, i. 272.

It is remarked by Watts¹ that there is scarcely a happy combination of words or a phrase poetically elegant in the English language which Pope has not inserted into his version of Homer. How he obtained possession of so many beauties of speech it were desirable to know. That he gleaned from authors, obscure as well as eminent, what he thought brilliant or useful, and preserved it all in a regular collection, is not unlikely. When, in his last years, Hall's *Satires* were shewn him he wished that he had seen them sooner².

New sentiments and new images others may produce, but to attempt any further improvement of versification will be dangerous³. Art and diligence have now done their best, and what shall be added will be the effort of tedious toil and needless curiosity.

After all this it is surely superfluous to answer the question that has once been asked, Whether Pope was a poet? otherwise than by asking in return, If Pope be not a poet, where is poetry to be found? To circumscribe poetry by a definition will only shew the narrowness of the definer⁴, though a definition which shall exclude Pope will not easily be made. Let us look round upon the present time, and back upon the past; let us enquire to whom the voice of mankind has decreed the wreath of poetry; let their productions be examined and their claims stated, and the pretensions of Pope will be no more disputed⁵. Had he

¹ 'If you read his translation of Homer's *Iliad* you will find almost all the terms or phrases in our tongue that are needful to express anything that is grand or magnificent, but if you peruse his *Odyssey*, which descends much more into common life, there is scarce any usual subject of discourse or thought, or any ordinary occurrence, which he has not cultivated and dressed in the most proper language; and yet still he has ennobled and enlivened even the lower subjects with the brightest and most agreeable ornaments.' *The Improvement of the Mind* [post, WATTS, 26], ch. xx. sec. 36.

² *Ante*, POPE, 211 n. 2. For Hall see *ante*, MILTON, 46; DRYDEN, 344.

³ 'I remember once to have heard Johnson say, "Sir, a thousand years may elapse before there shall appear another man with a power of versi-

fication equal to that of Pope." Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 46.

⁴ Pope had no thought, no mind, no ideas, but he had the art of rhymed language in a degree in which no English poet before or since has possessed it.' PATTISON, *Essays*, ii. 375.

⁵ In the proof-sheet, 'To circumscribe poetry by a definition is the pedantry of a narrow mind.'

⁶ Boswell records the following talk in 1778:—'RAMSAY. I am old enough to have been a contemporary of Pope. His poetry was highly admired in his lifetime, more a great deal than after his death. JOHNSON. Sir, it has not been less admired since his death. . . . It has only not been as much talked of, but that is owing to its being more distant. . . . We must read what the world reads at the moment.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 332.

For the reaction which, unperceived

given the world only his version the name of poet must have been allowed him; if the writer of the *Iliad* were to class his successors he would assign a very high place to his translator, without requiring any other evidence of genius¹.

388 THE following Letter, of which the original is in the hands of Lord Hardwicke, was communicated to me by the kindness of Mr. Jodrell²:

'To Mr. BRIDGES, at the Bishop of London's at Fulham³.

'SIR,

'The favour of your Letter with your Remarks can never be enough acknowledged, and the speed with which you discharged so troublesome a task doubles the obligation.

'I must own you have pleased me very much by the commendations so ill bestowed upon me, but, I assure you, much more by the frankness of your censure, which I ought to take the more kindly of the two, as it is more advantageous to a scribbler to be improved in his judgement than to be soothed in his vanity. The greater part of those deviations from the Greek, which you have observed, I was led into by Chapman and Hobbes⁴; who are (it seems) as much celebrated for their knowledge of the original, as they are decryed for the badness of their translations. Chapman pretends to have restored the genuine sense of the author, from the mistakes of all former explainers, in several hundred places; and the Cambridge editors of the large *Homer*, in Greek and Latin, attributed so much to Hobbes, that they confess they have corrected the old Latin interpretation very often by his version. For my part, I generally took the author's meaning to be as you have explained it; yet their authority, joined to the knowledge of my

of Johnson, had set in against Pope's school of poetry see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 364, and Professor Phelps's *Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*.

De Quincey wrote in 1838:—'Not therefore for superior correctness, but for qualities the very same as belong to his most distinguished brethren, is Pope to be considered a great poet; for impassioned thinking, powerful description, pathetic reflection, brilliant narration.' *Works*, 1863, xv. 143.

¹ Tennyson said that as a boy he had "delighted in Pope's *Homer*"; but he added, "though Pope is a consummate artist, in the lower sense

of the term," he could not now read him.' Tennyson's *Life*, ii. 69. See also Byron's *Works*, 1851, ix. 89.

² In the proof-sheet the sentence ended, 'he would assign no humble seat to his translator.'

³ See Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 437; *John. Letters*, ii. 133.

⁴ 'The Rev. Ralph Bridges, a nephew of Sir William Trumbull [*ante*, POPE, 23], and Domestic Chaplain to Compton, Bishop of London.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 4. The letter was written in 1708, soon after Pope had sent Trumbull a translation of some 'pieces of Homer.' *Ib.* pp. 3, 11.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 85.

own imperfectness in the language, over-ruled me. However, Sir, you may be confident I think you in the right, because you happen to be of my opinion (for men, let them say what they will, never approve any other's sense, but as it squares with their own): but you have made me much more proud of and positive in my judgement, since it is strengthened by yours. I think your criticisms which regard the expression very just and shall make my profit of them: to give you some proof that I am in earnest, I will alter three verses on your bare objection, though I have Mr. Dryden's example for each of them¹. And this, I hope, you will account no small piece of obedience from one who values the authority of one true poet above that of twenty criticks or commentators². But though I speak thus of commentators I will continue to read carefully all I can procure, to make up that way for my own want of critical understanding in the original beauties³ of Homer. Though the greatest of them are certainly those of the Invention and Design, which are not at all confined to the language; for the distinguishing excellences of Homer are (by the consent of the best criticks of all nations) first in the manners (which include all the speeches, as being no other than the representations of each person's manners by his words); and then in that rapture and fire, which carries you away with him with that wonderful force that no man who has a true poetical spirit is master of himself while he reads him, Homer makes you interested and concerned before you are aware, all at once, whereas Virgil does it by soft degrees. This, I believe, is what a translator of Homer ought principally to imitate; and it is very hard for any translator to come up to it, because the chief reason why all translations fall short of their originals is that the very constraint they are obliged to renders them heavy and dispirited.

'The great beauty of Homer's language, as I take it, consists in that noble simplicity, which runs through all his works (and yet his diction, contrary to what one would imagine consistent with simplicity, is at the same time very copious). I don't know how I have run into this pedantry in a Letter, but I find I have said too much, as well as spoken too inconsiderately. What farther thoughts I have upon this subject I shall be glad to communicate to you (for my own improvement) when we meet, which is a happiness I very earnestly desire, as I do likewise some opportunity of proving how much I think myself obliged to your friendship, and how truly I am, Sir,

'Your most faithful, humble servant,

'A. POPE.'

¹ Dryden had translated 'the first *Iliad* as a specimen of a version of the whole.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 151.

² *Ante*, POPE, 26, 127.

³ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 304.

884 The criticism upon Pope's *Epitaphs*, which was printed in *The Visitor*, is placed here, being too minute and particular to be inserted in the *Life*¹.

885 EVERY art is best taught by example. Nothing contributes more to the cultivation of propriety than remarks on the works of those who have most excelled. I shall therefore endeavour *at this visit*² to entertain the young students in poetry, with an examination of Pope's *Epitaphs*.

886 To define an epitaph is useless; every one knows that it is an inscription on a tomb³. An epitaph, therefore, implies no particular character of writing, but may be composed in verse or prose. It is indeed commonly panegyrical⁴, because we are seldom distinguished with a stone but by our friends; but it has no rule to restrain or modify it, except this, that it ought not to be longer than common beholders may be expected to have leisure and patience to peruse.

I.

887 *On CHARLES Earl of DORSET*⁵, *in the Church of Wythyham in Sussex.*

'Dorset, the grace of courts, the Muses' pride,
Patron of arts, and judge of nature, dy'd.
The scourge of pride, tho' sanctify'd or great,
Of fops in learning, and of knaves in state;
Yet soft in [his] nature, tho' severe his lay,
His anger moral, and his wisdom gay.
Blest satyrist! who touch'd the mean so true,
As show'd, Vice had his hate and pity too.
Blest courtier! who could king and country please,
Yet sacred kept his friendship, and his ease.

¹ In *Gent. Mag.* Dec. 1740, p. 593, is *An Essay on Epitaphs* by Johnson. *Works*, v. 259. In May, 1756, he wrote for *The Universal Visitor* [sic] *A Dissertation on the Epitaphs written by Pope*. Both these Essays were 'added to *The Idler*, when it was collected in volumes.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 306, 335. For *The Universal Visitor* see *ib.* ii. 345.

² In the reprint in *The Idler* he omits these words, which only suited

the Magazine in which the *Dissertation* was published.

³ 'An epitaph signifies, in the general acceptation, an inscription engraven on a tomb in honour of the person deceased.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 260.

⁴ 'JOHNSON. In lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 407.

⁵ *Ante*, DORSET.

Blest peer! his great forefather's¹ ev'ry grace
 Reflecting, and reflected on his race;
 Where other Buckhursts, other Dorsets shine,
 And patriots still, or poets, deck the line².'

The first distich of this epitaph contains a kind of information 888 which few would want, that the man for whom the tomb was erected 'died.' There are indeed some qualities worthy of praise ascribed to the dead, but none that were likely to exempt him from the lot of man, or incline us much to wonder that he should die. What is meant by 'judge of nature' is not easy to say. Nature is not the object of human judgement; for it is vain to judge where we cannot alter. If by nature is meant, what is commonly called *nature* by the criticks, a just representation of things really existing and actions really performed, nature cannot be properly opposed to *art*; nature being, in this sense, only the best effect of *art*.

The scourge of pride—

889

Of this couplet the second line is not, what is intended, an illustration of the former. *Pride* in the *Great* is indeed well enough connected with knaves in state, though *knaves* is a word rather too ludicrous and light; but the mention of *sanctified* pride will not lead the thoughts to '*fops in learning*,' but rather to some species of tyranny or oppression, something more gloomy and more formidable than foppery.

¹ 'Forefathers ev'ry grace,' in *The Universal Visiter*, p. 208, in the reprint in *The Idler*, and in the editions of Warburton and Warton. 'Forefathers' ev'ry grace,' in Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 382. 'Forefather's,' as in the text, is, I believe, the correct reading, the reference being to Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, first Earl of Dorset. 'He was,' said Pope, 'the best English poet between Chaucer's and Spenser's time. His tragedy of *Gorboduc* is written in a much purer style than Shakespeare's was in several of his first plays.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 21. Spence reprinted it in 1736. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 67. See also DRYDEN, 207.

Horace Walpole (*Works*, i. 330) describes him as 'the patriarch of

a race of genius and wit.' See also Walpole's *George II.* in his *Works*, vii. 509, and Walpole's *Letters*, vii. 435, for an epigram on the Dorsets.

² Horace Walpole wrote of the grandson of the subject of the epitaph, Charles Sackville, second Duke of Dorset:—'He possessed the hereditary talent of his family; and, though a poet of no eminence, had a genteel style in his verses that spoke the man of quality, without subjecting him to the ridicule that has been so justly lavished on what were formerly called poems by a person of honour.' Walpole's *Works*, i. 460.

From Richard Sackville, great-uncle of the first Earl, Shelley was descended. Collins's *Peerage*, ed. 1756, i. 708, and Burke's *Peerage*, &c., under SHELLEY.

890 *Yet soft his nature—*

This is a high compliment, but was not first bestowed on Dorset by Pope¹. The next verse is extremely beautiful.

891 *Blest satyrists!*²—

In this distich is another line of which Pope was not the author. I do not mean to blame these imitations with much harshness; in long performances they are scarcely to be avoided, and in shorter they may be indulged, because the train of the composition may naturally involve them, or the scantiness of the subject allow little choice. However, what is borrowed is not to be enjoyed as our own, and it is the business of critical justice to give every bird of the Muses his proper feather.

892 *Blest courtier!*—

Whether a courtier can properly be commended for keeping his *ease sacred*, may perhaps be disputable. To please king³ and country, without sacrificing friendship to any change of times, was a very uncommon instance of prudence or felicity, and deserved to be kept separate from so poor a commendation as care of his ease. I wish our poets would attend a little more accurately to the use of the word *sacred*, which surely should never be applied in a serious composition but where some reference may be made to a higher Being, or where some duty is exacted or implied. A man may keep his friendship *sacred*, because promises of friendships are very awful ties; but methinks he cannot, but in a burlesque sense, be said to keep his ease *sacred*.

893 *Blest peer!*

The blessing ascribed to the *peer* has no connection with his peerage: they might happen to any other man, whose ancestors were remembered, or whose posterity were likely to be regarded.

394 I know not whether this epitaph be worthy either of the writer or of the man entombed.

¹ Johnson refers to Rochester's line on Dorset—

'The best-good man, with the worst-natured Muse.'

Ante, DORSET, 13 n. 1.

The compliment is somewhat the same as that on Gay. *Post*, POPE, 427.

² 'All his satires were little personal invectives.' *Ante*, DORSET, 14.

³ 'He received some favourable notice from King James. . . . He became a favourite of King William.' *Ante*, DORSET, 10, 12.

II.

*On Sir WILLIAM TRUMBAL¹, one of the principal Secretaries 895
of State to King WILLIAM III., who, having resigned his place,
died in his retirement at Easthampsted in Berkshire, 1716.*

'A pleasing form, a firm, yet cautious mind,
Sincere, tho' prudent; constant, yet resign'd;
Honour unchang'd, a principle profest,
Fix'd to one side, but mod'rate to the rest:
An honest courtier, yet a patriot too,
Just to his prince, and to his country true.
Fill'd with the sense of age, the fire of youth,
A scorn of wrangling, yet a zeal for truth;
A gen'rous faith, from superstition free;
A love to peace, and hate of tyranny;
Such this man was; who now, from earth remov'd,
At length enjoys that liberty he lov'd.'

In this epitaph, as in many others, there appears at the first 896
view a fault which I think scarcely any beauty can compensate.
The name is omitted². The end of an epitaph is to convey
some account of the dead; and to what purpose is any thing
told of him whose name is concealed? An epitaph and
a history of a nameless hero are equally absurd, since the
virtues and qualities so recounted in either are scattered at the
mercy of fortune to be appropriated by guess. The name, it is
true, may be read upon the stone; but what obligation has it to
the poet whose verses wander over the earth and leave their
subject behind them, and who is forced, like an unskilful painter,
to make his purpose known by adventitious help?

This epitaph is wholly without elevation, and contains nothing 897
striking or particular; but the poet is not to be blamed for
the defects of his subject. He said perhaps the best that could
be said. There are, however, some defects which were not
made necessary by the character in which he was employed.

¹ The name is written Trumbal, Trumball, Trumbul, and Trumbull. *Ante*, POPE, 23. The first six lines of this epitaph Pope took from one he wrote on John, titular Lord Caryll, who died in 1711. *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 156. The 'prince' in the sixth line must have

been originally James II, whom Caryll followed into exile. *Ante*, POPE, 53. In the epitaph it means William III, whom Trumbull served as Secretary of State.

² *Ante*, COWLEY, 103, 107; *post*, POPE, 412; Johnson's *Works*, v. 264.

There is no opposition between an *honest courtier* and a *patriot*; for an *honest courtier* cannot but be a *patriot*¹.

398 It was unsuitable to the nicety required in short compositions to close his verse with the word *too*; every rhyme should be a word of emphasis², nor can this rule be safely neglected, except where the length of the poem makes slight inaccuracies excusable, or allows room for beauties sufficient to overpower the effects of petty faults.

399 At the beginning of the seventh line the word *filled* is weak and prosaic, having no particular adaptation to any of the words that follow it.

400 The thought in the last line is impertinent, having no connexion with the foregoing character, nor with the condition of the man described. Had the epitaph been written on the poor conspirator³ who died lately in prison, after a confinement of more than forty years, without any crime proved against him, the sentiment had been just and pathetic; but why should Trumbal be congratulated upon his liberty, who had never known restraint⁴?

III.

401 *On the Hon. SIMON HARCOURT, only Son of the Lord Chancellor HARCOURT*⁵, at the Church of Stanton-Harcourt in Oxfordshire, 1720.

'To this sad shrine, whoe'er thou art, draw near;
Here lies the friend most lov'd, the son most dear:

¹ Johnson forgot his description of *patriotism* as 'the last refuge of a scoundrel.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 348.

² *Ante*, COWLEY, 187.

³ Bernardi. JOHNSON. In the List of Deaths in *Gent. Mag.* 1736, p. 553, is 'Major John Bernardi, in Newgate, where he had been a state prisoner 40 years, for a conspiracy against King William III.' See also *ib.* 1780, 125, and Macaulay's *History*, vii. 284, 297. He was never tried. 'An Act was passed confining him and other conspirators during the pleasure of King William. Similar Acts were passed on the accession of Anne, George I and II. In 1712 he was married in Newgate. His wife bore him ten children.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.* iv. 390.

⁴ He had known the restraint of office, for he had served under three Kings. Pope in his first *Pastoral* (l. 7) thus addresses him:—

'You that too wise for pride, too good for pow'r,
Enjoy the glory to be great no more,
And carrying with you all the world can boast,
To all the world illustriously are lost!'

⁵ *Ante*, J. PHILIPS, 8; SHEFFIELD, Appendix EE.

Swift wrote to Stella on April 21, 1711:—'We dined to-day according to appointment; Lord-Keeper went away at near eight, I at eight, and I believe the rest will be fairly fuddled; for young Harcourt, Lord-Keeper's

Who ne'er knew joy, but friendship might divide,
Or gave his father grief but when he dy'd¹.

'How vain is reason, eloquence how weak!
If Pope must tell what Harcourt cannot speak².
Oh, let thy once-lov'd friend inscribe thy stone,
And with a father's sorrows mix his own!'

This epitaph is principally remarkable for the artful intro- 402
duction of the name, which is inserted with a peculiar felicity,
to which chance must concur with genius, which no man can
hope to attain twice³, and which cannot be copied but with
servile imitation.

I cannot but wish that, of this inscription, the two last lines 403
had been omitted, as they take away from the energy what
they do not add to the sense.

IV.

On JAMES CRAGGS, Esq., 404
in Westminster-Abbey⁴.

JACOBVS CRAGGS,
REGI MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ A SECRETIS
ET CONSILIIS SANCTIORIBVS
PRINCIPIS PARITER AC POPVLI AMOR ET
DELICIAE:

VIXIT TITVLIS ET INVIDIA MAJOR,
ANNOS HEV PAVCOS, XXXV.
OB. FEB. XVI. MDCCXX.

son, began to prattle before I came
away.' Swift's *Works*, ii. 234.

Gay, in *Mr. Pope's Welcome from
Greece*, thus describes the son, who
outlived the verses but a few months
at most:—

'Harcourt I see, for eloquence re-
nown'd,
The mouth of justice, oracle of
law.

Another Simon is beside him found,
Another Simon like as straw to
straw.'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope),
v. 175.

¹ For earlier instances of this conceit see *ib.* iv. 383.

² This line had originally stood:—

'Harcourt stands dumb, and Pope is
forc'd to speak.'

Lord Harcourt wrote to Pope:—'I
cannot perfectly reconcile myself to
the first part of that line; and the
word *forc'd* (which was my own, and,
I persuade myself, for that reason
only submitted to by you) seems to
carry too doubtful a construction for
an epitaph, which, as I apprehend,
ought as easily to be understood as
read.' *Ib.* x. 197.

³ *Ante*, DENHAM, 31; ADDISON,
135; *post*, POPE, 428.

⁴ *Ante*, ADDISON, 103; FENTON,
9; POPE, 91, 123 *n.*

'Old Peter Le Neve, the herald,
who thought ridicule consisted in not

'Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
 In action faithful, and in honour clear!
 Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end¹,
 Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend;
 Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd,
 Prais'd, wept, and honour'd, by the Muse he lov'd.'

405 The lines on Craggs were not originally intended for an epitaph²; and therefore some faults are to be imputed to the violence with which they are torn from the poem that first contained them. We may, however, observe some defects. There is a redundancy of words in the first couplet: it is superfluous to tell of him who was *sincere*, *true*, and *faithful*, that he was *in honour clear*.

406 There seems to be an opposition intended in the fourth line, which is not very obvious: where is the relation between the two positions, that he *gained no title* and *lost no friend*?

407 It may be proper here to remark the absurdity of joining in the same inscription Latin and English, or verse and prose³. If either language be preferable to the other, let that only be used; for no reason can be given why part of the information should be given in one tongue and part in another on a tomb, more than in any other place on any other occasion; and to tell all that can be conveniently told in verse, and then to call

being of an old family, made this epitaph, and it was a good one, for young Craggs, whose father had been a footman:—"Here lies the last, who died before the first, of his family." HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, ii. 222.

For the refutation of Lady M. W. Montagu's gossip (*Letters*, i. 117), repeated by Macaulay (*History*, vii. 175), that the elder Craggs had been a footman see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 321.

¹ ['He was, with his father (the postmaster-general) deeply involved in the South Sea scheme; according to the Secret Committee's Report £36,000 of fictitious stock was held for him.' *Pol. State*, xxii. 444. 'He died (of small-pox) on Feb. 16 (1721) at the very time the Report was reading in the House of Commons.' His burial in the Abbey was by night and private. Among the pall-bearers were the Speaker and several minis-

ters; the Dean officiated. *Ib.* xxi. 183, 327]; *ante*, POPE, 123 n.

² They were intended for a medal. 'Then shall thy Craggs (and let me call him mine)

On the cast ore, another Pollio, shine: [head,
 With aspect open shall erect his
 And round the orb in lasting notes
 be read—
 Statesman,' &c.

Epistle to Addison, l. 63.

³ 'Is this a motto for a medal or a mill-stone?' asked Concanen, one of *The Dunciad* heroes. Hawkins's *Johnson*, p. 538.

'Il est absurde de faire une déclamation autour d'une médaille, ou au bas d'un tableau.' BOILEAU, *Œuvres*, iii. 73.

³ *Post*, POPE, 438. On Johnson's monument in St. Paul's there is a mixture of Greek and Latin. Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 445.

in the help of prose, has always the appearance of a very artless expedient, or of an attempt unaccomplished. Such an epitaph resembles the conversation of a foreigner, who tells part of his meaning by words, and conveys part by signs.

V.

*Intended for Mr. ROWE.
In Westminster-Abbey¹.*

408

'Thy reliques, Rowe, to this fair urn we trust,
And sacred, place by Dryden's awful dust²:
Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies,
To which thy tomb shall guide inquiring eyes.
Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest!
Blest in thy genius, in thy love too, blest!
One grateful woman³ to thy fame supplies
What a whole thankless land to his denies.'

Of this inscription the chief fault is that it belongs less to 409 Rowe, for whom it was written, than to Dryden, who was buried near him⁴; and indeed gives very little information concerning either.

To wish *Peace to thy shade* is too mythological to be admitted 410 into a christian temple: the ancient worship has infected almost all our other compositions, and might therefore be contented to spare our epitaphs. Let fiction, at least, cease with life, and let us be serious over the grave⁵.

¹ *Ante*, ROWE, 26. 'Pope altered this epitaph much for the better, as it now stands on the monument in the Abbey.' Warburton, vi. 76. In the amended epitaph, which is given there (also in Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 385), only the third couplet is retained.

² *Ante*, DRYDEN, 156 n.

³ The 'grateful woman,' writes Malone, was Rowe's widow, 'who married, not long afterwards, Colonel Deane; and, as Lord Hailes informed me, was the widow supposed to be alluded to by Pope in the following lines:—

"Find you the virtue, and I'll find the verse.

But random praise—the task can ne'er be done;

Each mother asks it for her booby son,

Each widow asks it for the best of men, [weds again."

For him she weeps, and him she [Epil. Sat. ii. 105.]'

Malone's *Dryden*, i. 386.

⁴ Dean Stanley, in his *Westminster Abbey*, 1868, 2nd ed. p. 294, absurdly says:—'So completely had Dryden's grave come to be regarded as the most interesting spot in Poets' Corner, that when Pope wrote the epitaph for Rowe, the highest honour he could pay to him was that his tomb should point the way to Dryden's.' Pope was not honouring Dryden, but reproaching those who had so long left him covered by a 'rude and nameless stone.'

⁵ *Ante*, COWLEY, 47 n. 8; Johnson's *Works*, v. 262.

Addison 'strictly requires' every

VI.

411

*On Mrs. CORBET¹,
who died of a Cancer in her Breast.*

'Here rests a woman, good without pretence,
Blest with plain reason, and with sober sense:
No conquest she, but o'er herself, desir'd;
No arts essay'd, but not to be admir'd.
Passion and pride were to her soul unknown,
Convinc'd that Virtue only is our own.
So unaffected, so compos'd a mind,
So firm, yet soft, so strong, yet so refin'd,
Heav'n, as its purest gold, by tortures try'd;
The saint sustain'd it, but the woman dy'd.'

412 I have always considered this as the most valuable of Pope's epitaphs; the subject of it is a character not discriminated by any shining or eminent peculiarities, yet that which really makes, though not the splendour, the felicity of life, and that which every wise man will choose for his final and lasting companion in the languor of age, in the quiet of privacy, when he departs weary and disgusted from the ostentatious, the volatile, and the vain. Of such a character, which the dull overlook and the gay despise, it was fit that the value should be made known, and the dignity established*. Domestick virtue, as it is exerted without great occasions or conspicuous consequences in an even unnoted tenor, required the genius of Pope to display it in such a manner as might attract regard, and enforce reverence. Who can forbear to lament that this amiable woman has no name in the verses³?

413 If the particular lines of this inscription be examined it will appear less faulty than the rest. There is scarce one line taken from common-places, unless it be that in which *only Virtue* is said to be *our own*. I once heard a lady of great beauty and excellence⁴ object to the fourth line, that it contained

one writing on the subject of a general peace 'to remember that he is a Christian, and not to sacrifice his catechism to his poetry.' *The Spectator*, No. 523.

¹ 'In the north aisle of St. Margaret's, Westminster.' Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iv. 149. She was the daughter of Sir Uvedale Corbett, Bart. *N. & Q.* 8 S. xi. 150.

* 'The best subject for epitaphs is private virtue; virtue exerted in the same circumstances in which the bulk of mankind are placed and which therefore may admit of many imitators.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 265.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 396.

⁴ Miss Molly Aston, according to Mrs. Piozzi. *John. Misc.* i. 258.

an unnatural and incredible panegyrick. Of this let the ladies judge.

VII.

On the Monument of the Hon. ROBERT DIGBY, and of his Sister 414
MARY, erected by their Father the Lord DIGBY, in the Church
of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, 1727¹.

'Go! fair example of untainted youth,
 Of modest wisdom, and pacifick truth:
 Compos'd in suffrings, and in joy sedate,
 Good without noise, without pretension great.
 Just of thy word, in ev'ry thought sincere,
 Who knew no wish but what the world might hear:
 Of softest manners, unaffected mind,
 Lover of peace, and friend of human kind:
 Go, live! for heav'n's eternal year is thine,
 Go, and exalt thy mortal to divine.

'And thou, blest maid! attendant on his doom,
 Pensive hast follow'd to the silent tomb,
 Steer'd the same course to the same quiet shore',
 Not parted long, and now to part no more!
 Go, then, where only bliss sincere is known!
 Go, where to love and to enjoy are one!

'Yet take these tears, Mortality's relief,
 And till we share your joys, forgive our grief:
 These little rites, a stone, a verse receive,
 'Tis all a father, all a friend can give!'

This epitaph contains of the brother only a general indis-⁴¹⁵
 criminate character, and of the sister tells nothing but that she
 died². The difficulty in writing epitaphs is to give a particular
 and appropriate praise. This, however, is not always to be per-
 formed, whatever be the diligence or ability of the writer, for the
 greater part of mankind 'have no character at all',³ have little

¹ 'This can scarcely have been the case, for Mary died of small-pox on April 5, 1729.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 386. Perhaps her epitaph was an addition.

'My father,' writes Warton, 'who was contemporary at Magdalen College, Oxford, with Mr. Digby, was always saying that this character was not overdrawn.' Warton, ii. 374.

² 'To die is landing on some silent shore,

Where billows never break nor tempests roar.'

GARTH, *The Dispensary*, iii. 225.

³ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 283.

⁴ 'Most women have no characters at all.'

POPE, *Moral Essays*, ii. 2.

'Every man has a character of his own, to the eye that has skill to perceive it. The real cause of the acknowledged want of discrimination in sepulchral memorials is this:—That

that distinguishes them from others equally good or bad, and therefore nothing can be said of them which may not be applied with equal propriety to a thousand more. It is indeed no great panegyrick that there is inclosed in this tomb one who was born in one year and died in another; yet many useful and amiable lives have been spent which yet leave little materials for any other memorial. These are, however, not the proper subjects of poetry, and whenever friendship or any other motive obliges a poet to write on such subjects, he must be forgiven if he sometimes wanders in generalities and utters the same praises over different tombs.

- 416 The scantiness of human praises can scarcely be made more apparent than by remarking how often Pope has, in the few epitaphs which he composed, found it necessary to borrow from himself. The fourteen epitaphs which he has written comprise about an hundred and forty lines, in which there are more repetitions than will easily be found in all the rest of his works. In the eight lines which make the character of Digby there is scarce any thought or word which may not be found in the other epitaphs.
- 417 The ninth line, which is far the strongest and most elegant, is borrowed from Dryden¹. The conclusion is the same with that on Harcourt, but is here more elegant and better connected.

VIII.

418

*On Sir GODFREY KNELLER.
In Westminster-Abbey, 1723².*

'Kneller, by heav'n, and not a master, taught,
Whose art was nature, and whose pictures thought;

to analyse the characters of others, especially of those whom we love, is not a common or natural employment of men at any time. . . . Least of all do we incline to these refinements when under the pressure of sorrow, admiration, or regret.' WORDSWORTH, *Works*, 1857, vi. 316.

¹ 'Thou wilt have time enough for hymns divine,
Since Heaven's eternal year is thine.'

To Mrs. Anne Killigrew, l. 14.

² Pope wrote in 1725:—'My Lady

Kneller has petitioned the Doctors' Commons to pull down my father's monument [in Twickenham Church]. She wished to set up in its stead 'a large one to Sir G. and herself with both their figures.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 177, 201. He adds that Kneller on his death-bed 'said, "By God, I will not be buried in Westminster." I asked him why? He answered, "They do bury fools there." He desired me to take down my father's monument, for it was the best place in the church to

Now for two ages, having snatch'd from fate
 Whate'er was beauteous, or whate'er was great,
 Lies crown'd with Princes' honours, Poets' lays,
 Due to his merit, and brave thirst of praise.

'Living, great Nature fear'd he might outvie
 Her works; and dying, fears herself may die.'

Of this epitaph the first couplet is good, the second not bad, 419
 the third is deformed with a broken metaphor, the word *crowned*
 not being applicable to the *honours* or the *lays*, and the fourth
 is not only borrowed from the epitaph on Raphael, but of very
 harsh construction².

be seen at a distance. . . . I said I
 feared it would be indecent, and that
 my mother must be asked as well as
 I. He fell crying again, and seemed
 so violently moved, that in pure
 humanity to a dying man . . . I said
 I would do for him all that I could
with decency.¹ Pope adds an epitaph
 for Lady Kneller:—

'One day I mean to fill Sir Godfrey's
 tomb,

If for my body all this church has
 room.

Down with more monuments! more
 room (she cried),

For I am very large and very wide.'

Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), x. 179.

'Being unable to get the spot in
 Twickenham Church which he de-
 sired, Kneller left money for his
 monument in Westminster Abbey.'
Dict. Nat. Biog. xxxi. 242. ['He is
 said to have been buried in the gar-
 den of his manor at Whitton, now
 Kneller Hall (in the parish of Twic-
 kenham); but of the place of his in-
 terment there is no trace.' Cobbett's
Hist. of Twickenham, pp. 65, 386.
 His burial appears in the Twicken-
 ham Parish Church Register, Nov.
 7, 1723. *Ib.* p. 64.]

'Pope laid a wager that there
 was no flattery so gross but Kneller
 would swallow. To prove it, Pope
 said to him as he was painting:—
 "Sir Godfrey, I believe if God Al-
 mighty had had your assistance the
 world would have been formed more
 perfect." "Fore God, Sir," replied
 Kneller, "I believe so." WALPOLE,

Anecdotes of Painting, 1782, iii. 207.
 For other versions of this story see
 Warton's *Essay on Pope*, ii. 463 and
 his *Pope's Works*, ii. 357.

Pope wrote to him on Feb. 18,
 1717-8:—"I really believe (from the
 conviction I have how much better
 you make things than Nature herself)
 that even a Man in love would think
 his Mistress improved by you." Pope's
Works (Elwin and Courthope), ix.
 511.

Gay laughed at him in *Mr. Pope's
 Welcome from Greece*:—

'Kneller amid the triumph bears his
 part,

Who could (were mankind lost)
 anew create;

What can th' extent of his vast soul
 confine?

A painter, critic, engineer, divine!'
Ib. v. 176.

² In *The Universal Visitor*, p. 215,
 the sentence ran:—"the fourth wants
 grammatical construction, the word
dying being no substantive."

According to Hawkins (*Life of
 Johnson*, p. 539), Johnson's criticism
 'was productive of the total erasure
 of the epitaph, which had long been
 objected to as being a very indifferent
 imitation of Cardinal Bembo's distich
 on Raphael:—

"Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo
 sospite vinci

Rerum magna parens, et mo-
 riente mori."

[The monument, now in the south
 aisle of the choir, is placed so high,
 that the inscription cannot be read.]

IX.

420

*On General HENRY WITHERS.
In Westminster-Abbey, 1729¹.*

'Here, Withers, rest! thou bravest, gentlest mind,
Thy country's friend, but more of human kind.
O! born to arms! O! worth in youth approv'd!
O! soft humanity in age belov'd!
For thee the hardy vet'ran drops a tear,
And the gay courtier feels the sigh sincere.

'Withers, adieu! yet not with thee remove
Thy martial spirit, or thy social love!
Amidst corruption, luxury, and rage,
Still leave some ancient virtues to our age:
Nor let us say (those English glories gone)
The last true Briton lies beneath this stone³.'

- 421 The epitaph on Withers affords another instance of common-places, though somewhat diversified by mingled qualities and the peculiarity of a profession.
- 422 The second couplet is abrupt, general, and unpleasing; exclamation seldom succeeds in our language, and I think it may be observed that the particle O! used at the beginning of a sentence always offends⁴.
- 423 The third couplet is more happy; the value expressed for him by different sorts of men raises him to esteem: there is yet something of the common cant of superficial satirists, who suppose that the insincerity of a courtier destroys all his sen-

¹ 'The prose epitaph in the Abbey on his monument [east cloister] is an expansion of these lines.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 387.

² In *The Tatler*, No. 46, it is said that 'Mr. Withers gives his orders with the familiarity, and enjoys his fortune with the generosity of a fellow-soldier.'

³ 'Now pass we Gravesend with a friendly wind, [Blackwall, And Tilbury's white fort, and long Greenwich, where dwells the friend of human kind, [hall, More visited than either park or Withers the good.'

GAY, *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*,

Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), v. 171. [See also Luttrell's *Relation*, vi. 234, 715; *Journal to Stella*, Jan. 25, 1712, Ap. 2, 1713; Dalton's *Army Lists*, 1661-1714.]

³ 'Here, last of Britons! let your names be read;
Are none, none living? let me praise the dead.'

Epil. Sat. ii. 250.

Swift would have objected to *Britons*. Mentioning England in a letter to Stella (Nov. 23, 1711) he continues: —'I never will call it *Britain*, pray don't call it *Britain*.' *Works*, ii.

411.

⁴ *Post*, THOMSON, 19.

sations, and that he is equally a dissembler to the living and the dead¹.

At the third couplet I should wish the epitaph to close, but 424 that I should be unwilling to lose the two next lines, which yet are dearly bought if they cannot be retained without the four that follow them.

X.

On Mr. ELIJAH FENTON².

425

At Easthampsted in Berkshire, 1730.

'This modest stone, what few vain marbles can,
May truly say, Here lies an honest man :
A poet, blest beyond the poet's fate,
Whom Heav'n kept sacred from the Proud and Great :
Foe to loud praise, and friend to learned ease³,
Content with science in the vale of peace.
Calmly he look'd on either life ; and here
Saw nothing to regret, or there to fear ;
From Nature's temp'rate feast rose satisfy'd⁴ ;
Thank'd heav'n that he had liv'd, and that he dy'd.'

The first couplet of this epitaph is borrowed from Crashaw⁵. 426 The four next lines contain a species of praise peculiar, original, and just. Here, therefore, the inscription should have ended ; the latter part containing nothing but what is common to every man who is wise and good. The character of Fenton was so amiable that I cannot forbear to wish for some poet or biographer to display it more fully for the advantage of posterity. If he did not stand in the first rank of genius he may claim a place in the second ; and, whatever criticism may object to his writings, censure could find very little to blame in his life⁶.

¹ 'The thought was probably borrowed from Carew's *Obsequies to the Lady Anne Hay* :—

"I heard the virgins sigh, I saw the sleek

And polish'd courtier channel his fresh cheek

With real tears."

JAMES BOSWELL, JUN., *Johnson's Works*, viii. 357 n.

² *Ante*, FENTON, 17.

³ 'A woman, that once waited on him in a lodging, told him, as she said, that he would "lie a-bed, and

be fed with a spoon.'" *Ante*, FENTON, 18.

⁴ 'Poor Fenton died of a great chair and two bottles of port a day.' *Ante*, FENTON, 18 n. 5.

⁵ *Ante*, FENTON, 17.

⁶ 'The modest front of this small floor, Believe me, reader, can say more Than many a braver marble can : Here lies a truly honest man.' CRASHAW, *Epitaph on Mr. Ashton*, Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 388.

⁶ *Ante*, FENTON, 19 n.

XI.

427

*On Mr. GAY.**In Westminster-Abbey, 1732¹.*

'Of manners gentle, of affections mild;
 In wit, a man; simplicity, a child:
 With native humour temp'ring virtuous rage,
 Form'd to delight at once and lash the age:
 Above temptation, in a low estate,
 And uncorrupted, ev'n among the Great:
 A safe companion, and an easy friend,
 Unblam'd thro' life, lamented in thy end.
 These are thy honours | not that here thy bust
 Is mix'd with heroes, or with kings thy dust;
 But that the Worthy and the Good shall say,
 Striking their pensive bosoms²—Here lies GAY.'

428 As Gay was the favourite of our author³ this epitaph was probably written with an uncommon degree of attention; yet it is not more successfully executed than the rest, for it will not always happen that the success of a poet is proportionate to his labour. The same observation may be extended to all works of imagination, which are often influenced by causes wholly out of the performer's power, by hints of which he perceives not the origin, by sudden elevations of mind which he cannot produce in himself, and which sometimes rise when he expects them least⁴.

429 The two parts of the first line are only echoes of each other; *gentle manners* and *mild affections*, if they mean anything, must mean the same.

430 That Gay was a *man in wit* is a very frigid commendation; to have the wit of a man is not much for a poet. The *wit of man* and the *simplicity of a child* make a poor and vulgar

¹ *Ante*, GAY, 24. In 1729 Gay asked Pope to have 'these words put upon his tombstone:—

"Life is a jest, and all things show it.
 I thought so once, but now I know it,"
 with what more you may think proper.'
 Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 435. For some variations in Pope's epitaph see *ib.* iv. 389 n.

² For *pensive* Pope had at first written *aching*. Swift wrote to him:—
 'I have nothing against your epitaph

but the last line, *Striking their aching*; the two participles, as they are so near, seem to sound too like.' *Ib.* vii. 309.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 160.

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 402. 'Nothing is difficult, not even an epitaph, if we prefer the thoughts that come without calling, and receive the first as the best and truest.' LANDOR, *Longer Prose Works*, ed. C. G. Crump, i. 229.

contrast, and raise no ideas of excellence, either intellectual or moral¹.

In the next couplet *rage* is less properly introduced after the 431 mention of *mildness* and *gentleness*, which are made the constituents of his character; for a man so *mild* and *gentle* to *temper* his *rage* was not difficult.

The next line is unharmonious in its sound, and mean in its 432 conception; the opposition is obvious, and the word *lash* used absolutely and without any modification is gross and improper.

To be *above temptation* in poverty and *free from corruption* 433 *among the Great* is indeed such a peculiarity as deserved notice. But to be a *safe companion* is praise merely negative, arising not from the possession of virtue but the absence of vice, and that one of the most odious.

As little can be added to his character by asserting that he 434 *was lamented in his end*. Every man that dies is, at least by the writer of his epitaph, supposed to be lamented, and therefore this general lamentation does no honour to Gay.

The first eight lines have no grammar; the adjectives are with- 435 out any substantive, and the epithets without a subject².

The thought in the last line, that Gay is buried in the bosoms 436 of the *worthy* and the *good*, who are distinguished only to lengthen the line, is so dark that few understand it; and so harsh, when it is explained, that still fewer approve³.

¹ Swift wrote to Pope:—'Some gentlemen here object against the expression in the second line,—*A child's simplicity*; not against the propriety, but in compliance with the vulgar, who cannot distinguish simplicity and folly. . . . I confess I lay little weight upon this.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 300.

'Her wit was more than man, her innocence a child.'

DRYDEN, *To Mrs. Killigrew*, l. 70.

² Swift objected:—'The whole is intended for an apostrophe to the dead person, which, however, does not appear till the eighth line.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), vii. 299.

³ 'The same thought is found in George Whetstone's epitaph on the good Lord Dyer, 1582:—

"Et semper bonus ille bonis fuit;
ergo bonorum
Sunt illi demum pectora sarco-
phagus."

JAMES BOSWELL, JUN., *Johnson's Works*, viii. 360 n.

'Mr. Pope told me his conceit in this line was not generally understood. For, by peculiar ill-luck, the *formulary* expression which makes the beauty, misleads the reader into a sense which takes it quite away.' Warburton, vi. 83.

The conceit is borrowed from Crashaw:—

'For now (alas!) not in this stone
(Passenger who e're thou art)
Is he entomb'd, but in thy heart.'
Crashaw's *Poems*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1904, p. 143. See *Warton*, ii. 378.

XII.

437

*Intended for Sir ISAAC NEWTON.
In Westminster-Abbey.*

ISAACUS NEWTONUS :
Quem Immortalem
Testantur, *Tempus, Natura, Cælum* :
Mortalem
Hoc marmor fatetur.

'Nature, and Nature's laws, lay hid in night,
God said, *Let Newton be!* And all was light.'

438 Of this epitaph, short as it is, the faults seem not to be very few. Why part should be Latin and part English it is not easy to discover¹. In the Latin the opposition of *Immortalis* and *Mortalis* is a mere sound or a mere quibble; he is not *immortal* in any sense contrary to that in which he is *mortal*.

439 In the verses the thought is obvious, and the words *night* and *light* are too nearly allied².

XIII.

440 *On EDMUND Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who died in the
19th Year of his Age, 1735*³.

'If modest youth, with cool reflection crown'd,
And ev'ry op'ning virtue blooming round,
Could save a parent's justest pride from fate,
Or add one patriot to a sinking state;
This weeping marble had not ask'd thy tear,
Or sadly told, how many hopes lie here!

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 407.

² Bentley suggested the following epitaph:—

'Hic quiescunt ossa et pulvis
Isaaci Newtoni.

Si quaeris, quis et qualis fuerit,
Abi:

Sin ex ipso nomine reliqua novisti
Siste paulisper,

Et mortale illud Philosophiae numen
Grata mente venerare.'

Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* iv. 18.

³ Next in dignity to the bare name

is a short character simple and unadorned, without exaggeration, superlatives, or rhetorick. Such were the inscriptions in use among the Romans. . . . Such would be this epitaph, ISAACUS NEWTONUS, naturae legibus investigatis, hic quiescit.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 261.

³ The son of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. *Ante*, SHEFFIELD, 20. For his mother see POPE, Appendix K.

The living virtue now had shone approv'd,
 The senate heard him, and his country lov'd,
 Yet softer honours and less noisy fame
 Attend the shade of gentle Buckingham:
 In whom a race, for courage fam'd and art,
 Ends in the milder merit of the heart;
 And, chiefs or sages long to Britain giv'n,
 Pays the last tribute of a saint to heav'n.'

This epitaph Mr. Warburton prefers to the rest¹, but I know 441
 not for what reason. To *crown* with *reflection* is surely a mode
 of speech approaching to nonsense. *Opening virtues blooming
 round* is something like tautology; the six following lines are
 poor and prosaick. *Art* is in another couplet used for *arts* that
 a rhyme may be had to *heart*. The six last lines are the best,
 but not excellent.

The rest of his sepulchral performances hardly deserve the 442
 notice of criticism. The contemptible *Dialogue* between HE
 and SHE should have been suppressed for the author's sake².

In his last epitaph on himself, in which he attempts to be 443
 jocular upon one of the few things that make wise men serious,
 he confounds the living man with the dead:

'Under this stone, or under this sill,
 Or under this turf, &c.'³

When a man is once buried the question under what he is 444
 buried is easily decided. He forgot that though he wrote the
 epitaph in a state of uncertainty, yet it could not be laid over
 him till his grave was made. Such is the folly of wit when it is
 ill employed⁴.

The world has but little new; even this wretchedness seems to 445
 have been borrowed from the following tuneless lines:

¹ Warburton, vi. 71.

² 'On Dr. Francis Atterbury,
 Bishop of Rochester, who died in
 Exile at Paris, 1732. (His only
 daughter having expired in his arms,
 immediately after she arrived in
 France to see him.) Warburton, vi.
 85. 'He' was Atterbury, and 'She'
 his daughter. See also Pope's *Works*
 (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 390, ix.
 61.

³ 'Under this marble, or under this
 sill,

Or under this turf, or e'en what
 they will:

Whatever an heir, or a friend in
 his stead,

Or any good creature shall lay
 o'er my head,

Lies one who ne'er car'd, and still
 cares not a pin

What they said, or may say, of the
 mortal within:

But who, living or dying, serene
 still and free,

Trusts in God, that as well as he
 was, he shall be.' *Ib.* iv. 392.

⁴ The *Essay*, as first published in
The Universal Visiter, 1756, ended
 here.

'Ludovici Areosti humanantur ossa
 Sub hoc marmore, vel sub hac humo, seu
 Sub quicquid voluit benignus hæres,
 Sive hærede benignior comes, seu
 Opportunius incidens Viator;
 Nam scire haud potuit futura, sed nec
 Tanti erat vacuum sibi cadaver
 Ut urnam cuperet parare vivens;
 Vivens ista tamen sibi paravit
 Quæ inscribi voluit suo sepulchro
 Olim siquod haberet is sepulchrum.'

- 446 Surely Ariosto did not venture to expect that his trifle would have ever had such an illustrious imitator¹.

APPENDIX K (PAGE 175)

One Miss Hamilton recorded in 1783:—'Ye Dss [Dowager Duchess of Portland, daughter of the second Earl of Oxford] and Mrs. Delany told me some anecdotes of Pope, his reading his satire of Atossa . . . his getting £3,000 from ye Dss of Marlborough to suppress Atossa, and *published it after her death.*' Mrs. Delany's *Auto.* Second Series, iii. 182.

Mr. Courthope has sifted the evidence of the accusation of ingratitude, first by the help of documents long published, and next by Pope's letters to the Duchess, first printed in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 76-93, 103, v. 348-51, 408-22. The character of Atossa, he shows, 'had been prepared for publication in the edition printed under Pope's supervision, on the eve of his death, and before the death of the Duchess.' *Ib.* iii. 77 (she outlived him by five months). This edition was suppressed by Warburton. *Ib.* v. 346.

The character was first published in 1746, in a folio sheet 'with the following note:—"These verses are part of a poem entitled *Characters of Women*. It is generally said the D—ss gave Mr. Pope £1,000 to suppress them: he took the money, yet the world sees the verses; but this is not the first instance where Mr. P.'s practical virtue has fallen very short of those pompous professions of it he makes in his writings.'" *Ib.* iii. 78. The enemy who published this sheet was almost certainly Bolingbroke. *Ib.* p. 79; POPE, 250. The character was first included as part of the *Epistle* in Warburton's edition of 1751. *Ib.* p. 76. It was written in 1732, when the Duchess was supporting

¹ Gibbon, in *The Decline and Fall*, vi. 243, quotes the following inscription:—"O ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, repair to Maru, and you will behold it buried in the dust!" He adds in a note:—"A critique of high renown

(the late Dr. Johnson), who has severely scrutinised the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this sublime inscription at the words, "repair to Maru," since the reader must already be at Maru before he could peruse the inscription.'

Walpole; by 1735 she was in league with the leaders of the opposition. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthorpe), v. 349. In that year Pope suppressed an attack on the Duke. *Ib.* iii. 87. By 1741 she was corresponding with Pope. She pressed him to accept a present; he at first refused, but on Jan. 18, 1743, yielded. *Ib.* v. 350, 418. Long before this he had quarrelled with the Duchess of Buckingham. Unwilling to let the character be lost most likely he altered it so as to fit her. *Ib.* iii. 91. 'With the relations existing between him and the Duchess of Marlborough, it is utterly incredible that Pope would have ventured to publish, as he was about to do, the character in her lifetime, had there either been any specific bargain on his part to suppress it, or had he even believed that she any longer supposed it to be meant for a satire on herself. He must have intended to let it be known on its appearance that its original was the Duchess of Buckingham, who had recently died. His own death prevented the explanation.' *Ib.* v. 350. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 364; Warton, iii. 211; Walpole's *Letters*, Preface, p. 144; *Marchmont Papers*, ii. 265, 268.

APPENDIX L (PAGE 177)

In the proof-sheet, 'retained and professed religious zeal.' This was corrected into, 'retained and diffused a noble ardour,' &c. In a later proof 'diffused' must have been changed into 'discovered.'

Cowper, after reading the first eight volumes of the *Lives*, wrote:—'I know not but one might search these eight volumes with a candle, as the prophet says [*Zephaniah*, i. 12], to find a man, and not find one, unless, perhaps, Arbuthnot were he.' Southey's *Cowper*, v. 14.

'Dr. Arbuthnot was not only Lord Chesterfield's physician, but his friend. He more than once declared himself in his presence a patron of Christianity.' Chesterfield's *Misc. Works*, i. 76.

Chesterfield said of him:—'Without any of the craft he had all the skill of his profession, which he exerted with the most care and pleasure upon those unfortunate patients who could not give him a fee. To great and various erudition he joined an infinite fund of wit and humour, to which his friends Pope and Swift were more obliged than they have acknowledged themselves to be.' Chesterfield's *Letters*, ed. Mahon, ii. 446.

'Jervas, the painter (POPE, 69), piqued himself on total infidelity. Dr. Arbuthnot said to him, "Come, Jervas, this is all an air and affectation; nobody is a sounder believer than you." "I!" said Jervas; "I believe nothing." "Yes, but you do," replied the Doctor; "nay, you not only believe, but practise; you are so scrupulous an observer of the Commandments that you never make the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or,"' &c. WALPOLE, *Letters*, vii. 473.

'Dr. Arbuthnot was well skilled in the science of music. An anthem of his composition, "As pants the hart," is to be found in the books of the Chapel Royal.' HAWKINS, *Hist. of Music*, v. 270 n.

His piety, 'venerable' though it made him, was imperfect. See *ante*,

PRIOR, 49 n. 4, for his going 'to have a bowl of punch at Bessy Cox's,' described by Johnson as 'a despicable drab of the lowest species.' He aided Gay in writing *Three Hours after Marriage*, a brutal and obscene attack on a man of science. *Ante*, GAY, 10. In *The Tatler*, ed. 1789, iv. 384 n., it is said 'that he liked an ill-natured jest the best of any good-natured man in the kingdom.' He was a gross feeder. 'He is gone,' wrote Bolingbroke, 'to take care of a brother glutton who is dying, and whose recovery, if by chance he does recover, will kill his physician by the confidence it will give him.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 438 n. 'He is a man,' said Swift, 'who can do everything but walk.' *Ib.* ix. 78. On his death Barber wrote:—'I am told he was a great epicure and denied himself nothing.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 273. See also *ib.* xvii. 6. For his low opinion of man see *ib.* xvi. 192.

Swift, however, thought so highly of him that ten years earlier he had written to Pope:—'Oh, if the world had but a dozen Arbuthnots in it, I would burn my *Travels* [*Gulliver*].' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 54. See also Swift's praise of his 'moral and Christian virtues' in a letter to him in Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 205.

For a carefully written Life of him see his *Life and Works* by George A. Aitken, Clarendon Press, 1892.

APPENDIX M (PAGE 190)

'She was the daughter of Lister Blount, Esq., of Mapledurham. She was born on June 15, 1690.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 244. See also *ib.* vi. 30 n. Pope wrote to her sister Teresa in 1714:—'Even from my infancy I have been in love with one after the other of you, week by week.' *Ib.* ix. p. 248. There were passages in his letters to these sisters too indecent to publish. *Ib.* viii. 31 n., ix. 254, 267. See *ante*, FENTON, 19 n.

Writing to Gay on Oct. 1, 1730, he described her as 'a friend—a woman friend—with whom I have spent three or four hours a day these fifteen years.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 441.

In the *Epistle inscribed to a Lady* (POPE, 207), he writes of her:—

'This Phoebus promis'd (I forget the year)
When those blue eyes first open'd on the sphere.

The generous god, who wit and gold refines,
And ripens spirits as he ripens mines,
Kept dross for duchesses, the world shall know it,
To you gave sense, good-humour and a poet.'

Moral Essays, ii. 283.

Gay describes the sisters in *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*:

'I see two lovely sisters, hand in hand,
The fair-hair'd Martha, and Teresa brown.'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 173.

'Mr. Swinburne, the traveller,' writes Warton, 'who was her relation,

informs me that she died in 1762, at her house in Berkeley Square, Piccadilly. He tells me she was a little, neat, fair, prim, old woman, easy and gay in her manner and conversation, but seemed not to possess any extraordinary talents. Teresa had uncommon wit and abilities.' *Warton*, Preface, p. 50 *n*.

Malone recorded on the authority of Horace Walpole that 'she was red-faced, fat and by no means pretty. He remembered her walking . . . after Pope's death, with her petticoats tucked up like a sempstress. She was the decided mistress of Pope, yet visited by respectable people.' Prior's *Malone*, p. 437.

'When she visited Pope in his last illness, and her company seemed to give him fresh spirits, the antiquated prude could not be prevailed on to pass the night at Twickenham, because of her reputation.' *WARTON*, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 466.

For Pope's defence against the charge that they had 'lived in a manner that gave scandal to many' see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 287. Mr. Courthope believes in their innocence. *Ib.* v. 141-7, 207, 339.

Four portraits of her hung on the walls of Pope's house. *N. & Q.* 6 S. v. 364. For the bill of the expenses of her funeral on July 17, 1763, see *ib.* p. 425.

APPENDIX N (PAGE 238)

POPE, 93 *n.*, 285 *n.* In the Preface to the *Iliad*, ed. 1760, p. 53, Pope writes:—'Next Virgil and Milton the Archbishop of Cambray's *Telemachus* may give the translator the truest idea of the spirit and turn of our author.'

With a humility sublime in its impudence Pope wrote to Broome:—'Far from any thought of improving either Homer's thought or expression I try to be as exactly like him as I can.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 69.

Dr. Young wrote of Pope's *Iliad*:—'What a fall is it from Homer's numbers, free as air, lofty and harmonious as the spheres, into childish shackles and tinkling sounds! But in his fall he is still great—

"Nor appears [appear'd]
Less than archangel ruin'd, and the excess
Of glory obscur'd." [*Paradise Lost*, i. 592.]

Young's *Works*, ed. 1770, iv. 281.

In Fielding's *Amelia*, Bk. viii. ch. 5, when a hack author says to Booth:—'Pray, Sir, don't you think Mr. Pope's *Homer* the best translation in the world?' Booth replies:—'Indeed, Sir, I think, though it is certainly a noble paraphrase, and of itself a fine poem, yet in some places it is no translation at all.'

Gibbon, speaking of reading it in his childhood, says:—'Nor was I then capable of discerning that Pope's translation is a portrait endowed with every merit, excepting that of likeness to the original.' *Memoirs*, p. 38.

'Mere English readers,' wrote Cowper, 'know no more of Homer in reality than if he had never been translated.' Southey's *Cowper*, vi. 106.

“Ornament for ever!” cries Pope! “Simplicity for ever!” cries Homer.’ Southey’s *Cowper*, vi. 234.

‘I have been charged by some,’ said Wordsworth, ‘with disparaging Pope and Dryden. This is not so. I have committed much of both to memory. As far as Pope goes, he succeeds; but his Homer is not Homer, but Pope.’ *Memoirs*, 1851, ii. 470.

Rogers said of Pope’s *Homer*:—‘With all my love of Pope, I never could like it. I delight in Cowper’s *Homer*; I have read it again and again.’ Rogers’s *Table-Talk*, p. 28. The editor adds:—‘Thomas Campbell once told me how greatly he admired Cowper’s *Homer*.’

‘Cowper’s Miltonic rhythm was quite out of tune with Homer.’ E. FITZGERALD, *More Letters*, p. 111.

‘On the whole Pope’s translation of the *Iliad* is more Homeric than Cowper’s, for it is more rapid.’ M. ARNOLD, *On Translating Homer*, 1896, p. 15.

‘All the felicities of Pope’s higher style are concentrated in this translation . . . though a sufficiently free translation, it is a translation after all.’ CONINGTON, *Misc. Writings*, i. 43.

Fenton wrote to Broome, who in his *Epistle to Fenton* (*Eng. Poets*, xlv. 170) had spoken of ‘the Homeric lyre’:—‘I did not like Homeric; it has a burlesque sound.’ Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 130.

APPENDIX O (PAGE 176)

[According to Curll, who in 1736 brought out a pirated edition, Pope received sixty guineas for the *Sober Advice*. Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 436 n., 437 n. Against Pope’s outrageous conduct in attributing the obscene notes to Dr. Bentley, Richard Bentley, the great critic’s son, remonstrated, it would seem, rather feebly (*ib.* vi. 355); but Thomas Bentley, the nephew, attacked Pope in a pamphlet, which however does not bear his name, entitled *A Letter to Mr. Pope occasioned by Sober Advice from Horace*, &c., London, 4to, 1735. In a copy in the possession of Mr. C. E. Doble, which by his kindness I have examined, ‘T. Bentley’ has been written on the title-page in a contemporary hand. At the end the following announcement is made:—‘N.B. Shortly will be published more notes to the *Sermon of Sober Advice* in the manner of Mr. Pope’s Friend and Admirer. By Mr. Alexander.’ I cannot discover that these further notes were ever published, nor is it probable that the announcement was intended to be taken seriously. Pope retaliated by pillorying Thomas Bentley in the edition of *The Dunciad* of the following year. In the first edition, 1728, *Dunc.* ii. 205 had run:—

‘* * his mouth with classic flatt’ry opes.’

In 1729 ‘Welsted’ took the place of the asterisks. In the quarto of 1735 ‘Welsted’ is changed to ‘B—y’; but the great critic himself is probably meant. Finally in 1736 Bentley is printed in full, and the following note is added:—‘Not spoken of the famous Dr. Richard Bentley, but of one Tho. Bentley, a small critic who aped his uncle in a little *Horace*.’ The note treats Thomas Bentley as the author of *A Letter to Mr. Pope*. See Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 145, 331.]

PITT

CHRISTOPHER PITT, of whom whatever I shall relate ¹ more than has been already published ² I owe to the kind communication of Dr. Warton ³, was born in 1699 at Blandford, the son of a physician much esteemed.

He was, in 1714, received as a scholar into Winchester College, ² where he was distinguished by exercises of uncommon elegance; and, at his removal to New College in 1719 ³, presented to the electors, as the product of his private and voluntary studies, a compleat version of Lucan's poem, which he did not then know to have been translated by Rowe ⁴.

This is an instance of early diligence which well deserves to be ³ recorded. The suppression of such a work, recommended by such uncommon circumstances, is to be regretted. It is indeed culpable to load libraries with superfluous books; but incitements to early excellence are never superfluous, and from this example the danger is not great of many imitations.

When he had resided at his College three years he was pre- ⁴ sented to the rectory of Pimperm in Dorsetshire (1722) by his relation, Mr. Pitt of Stratfeildsea in Hampshire ⁵, and, resigning his fellowship, continued at Oxford two years longer, till he became Master of Arts (1724).

He probably about this time translated Vida's *Art of Poetry* ⁶, ⁵

¹ In Cibber's *Lives*, v. 298.

² Warton, as first a pupil and then Head Master of Winchester College, would be likely to know whatever traditions were preserved of him. [For more information see Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* ii. 260, where are given the Latin inscription written by him on his parents' monument at Blandford and that on his own tomb.]

³ The following note I owe to the late Dr. Sewell, Warden of New Col-

lege:—'Pitt matriculated at Wadham College on March 31, 1718, aged 18; was admitted to a Scholarship at New College on March 5, 1718-9, and to a Fellowship on March 5, 1720-1. He vacated it in 1723.'

⁴ *Ante*, ROWE, 35.

⁵ George Pitt, father of George Pitt, first Baron Rivers. Governor Thomas Pitt, Lord Chatham's grandfather, was the poet's first cousin. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁶ [*Vida's Art of Poetry translated*

which Tristram's splendid edition¹ had then made popular. In this translation he distinguished himself, both by its general elegance and by the skilful adaptation of his numbers to the images expressed; a beauty which Vida has with great ardour enforced and exemplified².

- 6 He then retired to his living, a place very pleasing by its situation, and therefore likely to excite the imagination of a poet, where he passed the rest of his life, revered for his virtue and beloved for the softness of his temper and the easiness of his manners. Before strangers he had something of the scholar's timidity or distrust, but when he became familiar he was in a very high degree chearful and entertaining. His general benevolence procured general respect; and he passed a life placid and honourable, neither too great for the kindness of the low nor too low for the notice of the great.
- 7 AT what time he composed his Miscellany, published in 1727³, it is not easy or necessary to know: those which have dates appear to have been very early productions, and I have not observed that any rise above mediocrity.
- 8 The success of his *Vida* animated him to a higher undertaking, and in his thirtieth year he published a version of the first book of the *Æneid*. This being, I suppose, commended by his friends, he some time afterwards added three or four more; with an advertisement, in which he represents himself as translating with great indifference, and with a progress of which himself was hardly conscious. This can hardly be true, and, if true, is nothing to the reader⁴.
- 9 At last, without any further contention with his modesty, or any awe of the name of Dryden⁵, he gave us a complete English

into English verse by C. Pitt, 1725. *Brit. Mus. Cata.*]

'Six or seven hundred copies of it,' wrote Pitt, 'were soon disposed of.' *Hughes Corres.* 1773, ii. 94. See *ante*, ROWE, 35 n. 3.

¹ In the first edition, 'elegant edition.' Johnson, by his correction, avoided the juxtaposition of 'elegant' and 'elegance.'

T. Tristram's edition of Vida's *De Arte Poetica* was published by the Clarendon Press in 1722.

² Johnson, in *The Rambler*, No. 92,

quotes a long passage from Vida, with Pitt's version, on 'the felicity of Virgil's numbers.'

'Vida's poem is one of the first, if not the very first, pieces of criticism that appeared in Italy since the revival of learning; for it was finished in 1520.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, i. 191.

³ *Poems and Translations*.

⁴ This sentence is not in the first edition.

⁵ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 311.

Aeneid, which I am sorry not to see joined in the late publication with his other poems¹. It would have been pleasing to have an opportunity of comparing the two best translations that perhaps were ever produced by one nation of the same author².

Pitt engaging as a rival with Dryden naturally observed his 10 failures, and avoided them; and, as he wrote after Pope's *Iliad*, he had an example of an exact, equable, and splendid versification³. With these advantages, seconded by great diligence, he might successfully labour particular passages, and escape many errors. If the two versions are compared, perhaps the result would be, that Dryden leads the reader forward by his general vigour and sprightliness, and Pitt often stops him to contemplate the excellence of a single couplet; that Dryden's faults are forgotten in the hurry of delight, and that Pitt's beauties are neglected in the languor of a cold and listless perusal; that Pitt pleases the criticks, and Dryden the people; that Pitt is quoted, and Dryden read⁴.

He did not long enjoy the reputation which this great work 11 deservedly conferred; for he left the world in 1748, and lies

¹ It is included in the 1790 edition of *Eng. Poets*, vol. liii. 'I believe,' wrote Pitt in 1738, 'in all my version there are not above seven or eight borrowed lines. I could not help taking two together from Mr. Dryden; they are so very sweet—

"Of Priam's royal race my mother came,

And sure the best that ever bore the name."

[Dryden's *Aeneid*, ix. 378]. *Hughes Corres.* ii. 111.

Pitt did not retain them. In his version the couplet runs:

'My mother, tender, pious, fond and good,

Sprung like thy own from Priam's royal blood.' *Eng. Poets*, liii. 216.

² *Ante*, DRYDEN, 311.

³ *Ante*, POPE, 348. Pope had the help of a version by Pitt, who wrote to Spence in 1726:—"Mr. Pope has used so little of the 23rd *Odyssey* that I gave Dr. Young, that if I put it among the rest [of a Miscellany of his poems] I shall hardly incur any

danger of the penalty concerning the patent.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 127. For the 23rd *Odyssey* see *ante*, POPE, 134 n., and for 'the patent' see *ante*, POPE, 130.

⁴ The following translation of the *Aeneid*, vii. 808-11 (Pitt's version, 1037-42), shows Pitt's skill:—

'She led the rapid race, and left behind

The flagging floods and pinions of the wind;

Lightly she flies along the level plain,

Nor hurts the tender grass, nor bends the golden grain;

Or o'er the swelling surge suspended sweeps,

And smoothly skims unbath'd along the deeps.'

'Pitt's chief fault is a general mediocrity of expression: a monotonous level, which is neither high poetry nor good prose.' CONINGTON, *Misc. Writings*, i. 173.

buried under a stone at Blandford, on which is this inscription :

‘ In memory of
CHR. PITT, clerk, M.A.
Very eminent
for his talents in poetry ;
and yet more
for the universal candour of
his mind, and the primitive
simplicity of his manners.
He lived innocent,
and died beloved,
Apr. 13, 1748,
aged 48.’

THOMSON¹

JAMES THOMSON, the son of a minister well esteemed for his piety and diligence, was born September 7², 1700, at Ednam, in the shire of Roxburgh, of which his father was pastor³. His mother, whose name was Hume⁴, inherited as co-heiress a portion of a small estate. The revenue of a parish in Scotland is seldom large; and it was probably in commiseration of the difficulty with which Mr. Thomson supported his family, having nine children⁵, that Mr. Riccarton⁶, a neighbouring minister, discovering in James uncommon promises of future

¹ Johnson wrote to Boswell on May 3, 1777:—"I think I have persuaded the bookseller to insert something of Thomson [in the *Lives*]; and if you could give me some information about him, for the Life which we have is very scanty, I should be glad." Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 109.

Boswell, in reply, mentioned the *Life* in Cibber's *Lives*; "that written by Dr. Murdoch; one prefixed to an edition of *The Seasons*, published at Edinburgh, which is compounded of both, with the addition of an anecdote of Quin's relieving Thomson from prison." *Ib.* p. 116. This 'compounded' *Life*, prefixed to Thomson's *Works*, 1775, 4 vols., is Johnson's main authority.

² Sept. 11. *Works*, 1775, Preface, p. 3. See Tovey's *Thomson*, Preface, p. 9.

³ [In Nov. 1700 his father was admitted minister of Southdean, a more important Roxburgh parish. *The Seasons*, ed. J. Logie Robertson, Clar. Press, 1891, p. 2.]

⁴ Boswell wrote to Johnson:—"Hume was the name of his grandmother, by the mother's side. His mother's name was Beatrix Trotter, a daughter of Mr. Trotter of Fogo, a small proprietor of land." Boswell

adds in a note:—"Dr. Johnson was by no means attentive to minute accuracy in his *Lives*; for, notwithstanding my having detected this mistake, he has continued it." Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 359. [Murdoch in his *Life*, p. 3, prefixed to an edition of Thomson's *Works* published in 1762, gives Mrs. Thomson's maiden name as Hume. In an edition bearing date 1766 the same error appears in the *Life*, p. 8. The revised edition of 1768 altered it to Trotter. *The Seasons*, ed. Bolton Corney, 1842, Pref. p. 12. Johnson followed the *Life* prefixed to Thomson's *Works*, 1775, Pref. p. 3.]

⁵ Boswell mentions a brother who died young, and three married sisters. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 359. The son of one sister was James Craig, the architect of the new town of Edinburgh. Johnson met him in St. Andrews. *Ib.* v. 68.

⁶ Robert Riccartoun. "He was a poet himself. Thomson wrote to Cranstoun (cir. Sept. 1725):—"Mr. Rickleton's poem on Winter first put the design [of *Winter*] into my head." Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 225. For Riccartoun see Murdoch's *Life* in Bolton Corney's *Seasons*, Pref. p. 11 n.

excellence, undertook to superintend his education, and provide him books.

- 2 He was taught the common rudiments of learning at the school of Jedburg, a place which he delights to recollect in his poem of *Autumn*¹; but was not considered by his master as superior to common boys², though in those early days he amused his patron and his friends with poetical compositions, with which, however, he so little pleased himself, that on every new-year's day he threw into the fire all the productions of the foregoing year³.
- 3 From the school he was removed to Edinburgh, where he had not resided two years when his father died⁴, and left all his children to the care of their mother, who raised upon her little estate what money a mortgage could afford, and, removing with her family to Edinburgh, lived to see her son rising into eminence.
- 4 The design of Thomson's friends was to breed him a minister. He lived at Edinburgh, as at school, without distinction or expectation, till, at the usual time, he performed a probationary exercise by explaining a psalm⁵. His diction was so poetically splendid that Mr. Hamilton, the professor of Divinity, reproved him for speaking language unintelligible to a popular audience, and he censured one of his expressions as indecent, if not profane⁶.

¹ He describes Caledonia as
 'With many a cool translucent brim-
 ming flood
 Wash'd lovely, from the Tweed
 (pure parent-stream,
 Whose pastoral banks first heard
 my Doric reed,

With silvan Jed, thy tributary
 brook),' &c. *Autumn*, l. 886.

² 'Thomson, a borderer and a poet of rural life, has scarcely any allusion that bears a distinct reference to the scenery of his childhood, and celebrates the heroism of almost every land but his own. In that age, however, to be national in Scotland was to be provincial in Britain; and, unless an author chose to aim at the restricted reputation of a Ramsay or a Pennecuik, he must carefully shun allusions to his native country.' J. H. BURTON, *Life of Hume*, i. 10.

[Mr. Logie Robertson points out that *The Seasons* owe much to the Jed vale scenery. *The Seasons*, 1891, p. 3.]

³ 'Thomson,' writes Dr. Warton, 'was well acquainted with the Greek tragedies, on which I heard him talk learnedly, when I was introduced to him by Mr. W. Collins [the poet].' Warton's *Pope*, iv. 10 n.

⁴ 'He crowned the solemnity with a copy of verses in which were humorously recited the several grounds of their condemnation.' *Works*, Preface, p. 5.

⁵ 'There is probably no English poet of whose early writings so much that is absolute rubbish has been preserved.' Tovey's *Thomson*, Preface, p. 11.

⁶ [In 1716. *The Seasons*, 1891, p. 6.]

⁷ 'One licensed to preach, but not yet ordained, is called a Probationer.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 171.

⁸ 'In progress of time Abel Sampson, probationer of divinity, was admitted to the privileges of a preacher,' *Guy Mannering*, ch. ii. Thomson was not yet admitted a Probationer.

⁹ In the *Life* prefixed to the

This rebuke is reported to have repressed his thoughts of an 5 ecclesiastical character¹, and he probably cultivated with new diligence his blossoms of poetry, which however were in some danger of a blast; for, submitting his productions to some who thought themselves qualified to criticise, he heard of nothing but faults, but, finding other judges more favourable, he did not suffer himself to sink into despondence.

He easily discovered that the only stage on which a poet 6 could appear, with any hope of advantage, was London; a place too wide for the operation of petty competition and private malignity, where merit might soon become conspicuous, and would find friends as soon as it became reputable to befriend it. A lady, who was acquainted with his mother, advised him to the journey², and promised some countenance or assistance, which at last he never received; however, he justified his adventure by her encouragement, and came to seek in London patronage and fame.

At his arrival he found his way to Mr. Mallet, then tutor to 7 the sons of the duke of Montrose³. He had recommendations to several persons of consequence, which he had tied up carefully in his handkerchief; but as he passed along the street, with the gaping curiosity of a new-comer, his attention was upon every thing rather than his pocket, and his magazine of credentials was stolen from him⁴.

His first want was of a pair of shoes⁵. For the supply of all 8

Works, 1775, it is only said (p. 7) that 'Mr. Hamilton told Thomson, smiling, that if he thought of being useful in the ministry he must keep a stricter rein upon his imagination, and express himself in language intelligible to an ordinary congregation.'

¹ For his 'firm resolve to pursue divinity' after his arrival in London see Tovey's *Thomson*, Preface, p. 20.

² She repeated the advice of Auditor Benson, who had seen his Paraphrase of Psalm civ. *Works*, Preface, p. 8. For Benson see *ante*, MILTON, 155; POPE, 195. [According to B. Corney (*The Seasons*, Pref. p. 15 n.) this 'lady of quality,' as Murdoch in the *Life* calls her, was Lady Grisell Baillie, daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont. She was therefore a

connexion of Thomson's mother. Tovey's *Thomson*, Pref. p. 17; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*]

³ *Post*, MALLETT, 3; Spence's *Anec.* p. 327.

⁴ 'He was of a temper never to be agitated. He smiled at the loss, and frequently made his companions laugh at the relation.' *Works*, Preface, p. 10. He presented at all events one letter. Tovey's *Thomson*, Pref. p. 21.

⁵ Johnson may have heard this from Savage. Mr. Tovey (Preface, p. 17) speaks of Johnson as 'apt to sneer at needy Scotch adventurers.' He never sneered at poverty. He had known what it was to want a pair of shoes. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 76. In his *London*, l. 161, he writes:—

his necessities his whole fund was his *Winter*¹, which for a time could find no purchaser; till, at last, Mr. Millan² was persuaded to buy it at a low price³: and this low price he had for some time reason to regret; but, by accident, Mr. Whatley, a man not wholly unknown among authors⁴, happening to turn his eye upon it, was so delighted that he ran from place to place celebrating its excellence. Thomson obtained likewise the notice of Aaron Hill, whom, being friendless and indigent, and glad of kindness, he courted with every expression of servile adulation⁵.

9 *Winter* was dedicated to Sir Spencer Compton⁶, but attracted

'Of all the griefs that harass the
distress'd [jest.]

Sure the most bitter is the scornful
Of Pope he writes:—'The great
topic of his ridicule was poverty.'
Ante, POPE, 269.

¹ *Eng. Poets*, liv. 159. 'The *Winter* was first written in detached pieces, or occasional descriptions; it was by the advice of Mr. Mallet they were made into one connected piece.' *Cibber's Lives*, v. 195 n. See Spence's *Anec.* p. 327. It was published in March, 1726. Judge Willis shows good reason for the belief that 'before Thomson finished *Winter* he contemplated a poem on each of the Seasons.' *Winter*, 1900, pp. 6, 17.

Collins told Warton 'that Thomson informed him that he took the first hint of writing his *Seasons* from the titles of Pope's four *Pastorals*.' Warton's *Pope's Works*, i. 115.

² On the title-page of the first edition of *Winter* he is described as 'J. Millan, at Locke's-Head, in Shug Lane, near the Upper End of the Hay-market.'

³ ['He would advance no more than £3 for it.' *The Seasons*, 1770, Pref. p. 9 n. If the sum is correctly stated it is probable, as M. Morel points out in *James Thomson, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1895 (p. 46), that it was only an advance. In 1728 Thomson received fifty guineas for *Spring* from A. Millar. This was Millar's first connexion with Thomson. It was Millar who published *Sophonisba* in 1730. For this tragedy he gave Thomson £137 10s. od., but the sum included the price already paid for

Spring. In 1730 J. Millan and A. Millar together published a complete edition of Thomson's *Works*, and again in 1735 a collected edition. In 1738 Millar became Thomson's sole publisher by the purchase of the copyrights in *Summer, Autumn, Winter, Britannia, A Poem to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton and The Hymn*. For all these Millan is said to have given Thomson £105. *Donaldson v. Beckett* in Brown's *Parliamentary Cases*, ii. 129. In 1769 Millar's executors sold the Thomson copyrights to Beckett for £505. *Ib.* p. 130. For the two famous cases, *Millar v. Taylor* (1769) and *Donaldson v. Beckett*, decided in the House of Lords in 1774, both arising from alleged perpetual copyright in *The Seasons*, see Burrow's *Reports*, 2303, *Speeches or Arguments of the Judges of the King's Bench in Millar v. Taylor*, 1771, and Brown's *Parl. Cases*. The facts are differently stated, but the account given in Brown's *Parl. Cases* has been followed in this note.]

⁴ 'One Mr. Whatley [Rev. Robt. Whatley, Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* vi. 119], a man of some taste in letters... went from Coffee-house to Coffee-house, calling upon all men of taste to exert themselves in rescuing one of the greatest geniuses that ever appeared from obscurity. In a short time the impression was bought up.' *Cibber's Lives*, v. 196.

⁵ In the Preface to *Winter*, third edition, 1726, pp. 14, 18. For Aaron Hill see *ante*, SAVAGE, 55; POPE, 154; *post*, MALIET, 8.

⁶ In the complete edition of *The Seasons*, 1730, Thomson omitted the

no regard from him to the author; till Aaron Hill awakened his attention by some verses addressed to Thomson, and published in one of the newspapers, which censured the great for their neglect of ingenious men¹. Thomson then received a present of twenty guineas, of which he gives this account to Mr. Hill:

'I hinted to you in my last that on Saturday morning I was 10 with Sir Spencer Compton. A certain gentleman without my desire spoke to him concerning me; his answer was, that I had never come near him. Then the gentleman put the question, if he desired that I should wait on him? he returned, he did. On this, the gentlemen gave me an introductory letter to him. He received me in what they commonly call a civil manner; asked me some common-place questions, and made me a present of twenty guineas. I am very ready to own that the present was larger than my performance deserved; and shall ascribe it to his generosity, or any other cause, rather than the merit of the address.'

The poem, which, being of a new kind, few would venture at 11 first to like, by degrees gained upon the publick; and one edition was very speedily succeeded by another.

Thomson's credit was now high, and every day brought him 12 new friends; among others Dr. Rundle, a man afterwards unfortunately famous², sought his acquaintance, and found his qualities such, that he recommended him to the lord chancellor Talbot³.

Dedication (written by Mallet, Spence's *Anec.* p. 327) and introduced the passage beginning (l. 17):—

'To thee, the patron of her first essay,
The Muse, O! Wilmington, renews
her song.'

Compton had been made Earl of Wilmington. See also *ante*, BROOME, 117.

¹ The verses are entitled:—*To Mr. James Thomson; on his asking my Advice to what Patron he should address his Poem called Winter*. He writes:—

'Fruitless dependence oft has prov'd
too late,
That greatness dwells not always
with the Great.
Patrons are Nature's nobles, not
the State's,
And wit's a title no broad seal
creates.'

Hill's *Works*, 1754, iii. 78.

According to Dr. Warton (*Essay on Pope*, i. 151) it was 'the honourable mention by Spence in his *Essay on the Odyssey* [*ante*, POPE, 137] which made the poem universally known.'

'*Winter* was in a fourth [third] edition before Spence's *Essay* appeared.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 228.

² He was famous for imputed heresy. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 188.

Thomson describes him as

'from native sunshine driven
By slanderous zeal and politics
infirm.'

To the Memory of Lord Talbot, l. 236, *Eng. Poets*, lv. 160.

³ In the same poem Thomson, speaking of Talbot, says:—

'And thou, O Rundle, lend
thy strain,
Thou darling friend, thou brother
of his soul!' l. 223.

- 13 *Winter* was accompanied in many editions not only with a preface¹ and a dedication, but with poetical praises by Mr. Hill, Mr. Mallet (then Malloch)², and Mira³, the fictitious name of a lady once too well known. Why the dedications are, to *Winter* and the other seasons, contrarily to custom, left out in the collected works, the reader may enquire⁴.
- 14 The next year (1727) he distinguished himself by three publications: of *Summer*⁵, in pursuance of his plan; of *A Poem on the Death of Sir Isaac Newton*⁶, which he was enabled to perform as an exact philosopher by the instruction of Mr. Gray⁷; and of *Britannia*, a kind of poetical invective against the ministry, whom the nation then thought not forward enough in resenting the depredations of the Spaniards⁸. By this piece he declared himself an adherent to the opposition, and had therefore no favour to expect from the Court⁹.

¹ In the Preface to *Winter* (third ed. 1726, p. 14) the poet mentions 'one of the pendent gardens in Cheapside, watered every morning by the hand of the Alderman himself.'

² *Post*, MALLEY, 9.

³ In the Preface to the third edition, p. 19, Thomson writes:—'Every reader, who has a heart to be moved, must feel the most gentle power of poetry in the lines with which Mira has graced my poem.'

The following is a specimen of her poem:—

'In thee, sad winter, I a kindred find,
Far more related to poor human kind;
To thee my gently-drooping head I bend,
Thy sigh my sister, and thy tear my friend.'

[According to Bolton Corney, *Athenaeum*, 1859, vol. ii. p. 78, 'Mira' was Martha Fowke, the daughter of a Major Fowke. She was known to poetical admirers indifferently as 'Mira' and as 'Clio.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lvi. 247. *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon*, 1720, are ascribed to her. *Brit. Mus. Cata.*] For Granville's 'Mira' see *ante*, GRANVILLE, 8, 27.

⁴ The first edition of *Winter*, folio, 1726, has the dedication only; the second and third editions, octavo, 1726, have both dedication and

preface; the collected edition of *The Seasons*, 1729–30, has neither. *Autumn*, the last published, had no prose dedication. Judge Willis thus explains the omissions noticed by Johnson:—'Not intending to dedicate *Autumn* in prose, and there being already a poetical dedication to *Spring*, Thomson decided that each of the *Seasons* should have only a poetical dedication.' *Winter*, 1900, p. 15.

⁵ *Eng. Poets*, liv. 45.

⁶ *Ib.* lv. 145.

⁷ 'A gentleman well versed in the Newtonian philosophy.' *Works*, Preface, p. 18.

⁸ 'Died on July 17, 1769, John Gray, Esq., F.R.S., well known to the learned world.' *Gent. Mag.* 1769, p. 367. He became Rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1765. Tovey's *Thomson*, Pref. 29.

⁹ *Britannia* begins with a splendid praise of peace, and goes on, addressing her Britons, to say:—
'Then ardent rise! Oh, great in vengeance rise!

And as you ride sublimely round the world, [state
Make ev'ry vessel stoop, make ev'ry
At once their welfare and their duty know.' *Eng. Poets*, liv. 269.

See *post*, THOMSON, 22.

⁹ Nevertheless this same year he dedicated his *Poem to the Memory of*

Thomson, having been some time entertained in the family ¹⁵ of the lord Binning¹, was desirous of testifying his gratitude by making him the patron of his *Summer*; but the same kindness which had first disposed lord Binning to encourage him determined him to refuse the dedication, which was by his advice addressed to Mr. Doddington²; a man who had more power to advance the reputation and fortune of a poet.

Spring was published next year, with a dedication to the ¹⁶ countess of Hertford³, whose practice it was to invite every summer some poet into the country to hear her verses and assist her studies. This honour was one summer conferred on Thomson, who took more delight in carousing with lord Hertford and his friends than assisting her ladyship's poetical operations, and therefore never received another summons⁴.

Autumn, the season to which the *Spring* and *Summer* are ¹⁷ preparatory, still remained unsung, and was delayed till he published (1730) his works collected⁵.

Sir Isaac Newton to Walpole, and two years afterwards his *Sophonisba* to the Queen. *Eng. Poets*, lv. 145; *Works*, iii. 1.

¹ He was Lady Grisell Baillie's son-in-law. See Morel's *Thomson*, and *ante*, THOMSON, 6 n. 2.

² Afterwards Lord Melcombe. According to Mallet, 'he sent his services to Thomson by Dr. Young, and desired to see him.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 327. Hawkins had seen a letter from him to Johnson offering him his friendship. *John. Misc.* ii. 104.

Pope satirized him under the name of Bubo. *Moral Essays*, iv. 19; *Epil. Sat.* i. 68, and also in the first draft of *Prol. Sat.* ll. 231-44, in a passage afterwards applied to Halifax (*ante*, HALIFAX, 11). He is described as 'Fed with soft dedication all day long.'

Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), iii. 258. Horace Walpole says of him (*Works*, i. 458):—'Ostentatious in his person, houses, and furniture, he wanted in his expence the taste he never wanted in his conversation.'

According to Thomson he had
'the gay social sense
By decency chastis'd.'

Summer, l. 24.

Lamb, writing of Hogarth's *Election*

Entertainment, speaks of 'a Doddingtonian smoothness, which does not promise any superfluous degree of sincerity in the fine gentleman who has been the occasion of calling so much good company together.' Lamb's *Poems, Plays, &c.*, 1888, p. 292.

³ 'In the first edition there was both a prose dedication to the Countess and the poetical dedication.' *Winter*, 1900, p. 15.

Her husband in 1748 became seventh Duke of Somerset. 'Her only child was married to Sir Hugh Smithson, Bart., created (1766) Duke of Northumberland.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 368. On her death in 1754 Horace Walpole wrote:—'She is gone to know whether all her letters from the living to the dead have been received.' *Letters*, ii. 395.

⁴ She had befriended Savage. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 84. He was probably Johnson's authority.

⁵ This volume, published by subscription, 'contains 441 lines more than the original texts of *Winter*, *Summer* and *Spring*.' *Autumn* was published also separately the same year, entitled second edition. *Winter*, 1900, pp. 6, 8.

In *Gent. Mag.* July, 1744, p. 400, is

- 18 He produced in 1727¹ the tragedy of *Sophonisba*, which raised such expectation that every rehearsal was dignified with a splendid audience, collected to anticipate the delight that was preparing for the publick. It was observed, however, that nobody was much affected, and that the company rose as from a moral lecture².
- 19 It had upon the stage no unusual degree of success. Slight accidents will operate upon the taste of pleasure. There was a feeble line in the play:

‘O Sophonisba, Sophonisba, O!’

This gave occasion to a waggish parody:

‘O, Jemmy Thomson, Jemmy Thomson, O!’³

which for a while was echoed through the town.

- 20 I have been told by Savage that of the Prologue to *Sophonisba* the first part was written by Pope, who could not be persuaded to finish it, and that the concluding lines were added by Mallet⁴.
- 21 Thomson was not long afterwards, by the influence of Dr. Rundle, sent to travel with Mr. Charles Talbot, the eldest son of the Chancellor⁵. He was yet young enough to receive new

announced ‘*The Seasons*. A new Edition, corrected, in which are inserted above 1000 new Lines.’

Lyttelton wrote on May 5, 1744:— ‘Thomson’s *Seasons* will be published in about a week’s time, and a most noble work they will be.’ *Misc. Works*, 1775, p. 704.

For a translation into French prose by Madame Bontems see Gibbon’s *Autobiographies*, p. 204.

¹ [The Tragedy of *Sophonisba*. A. Millar. 1730. It was first acted at Drury Lane on Feb. 28, 1729–30. Genest’s *Hist. of the Stage*, iii. 255.]

² According to Davies (*Dram. Misc.* iii. 465) Mrs. Oldfield, as *Sophonisba*, produced a great effect in one passage.

³ According to Cibber’s *Lives*, v. 209, ‘a smart from the pit cried out:—

“Oh! Jemmy Thomson, Jemmy Thomson, Oh!”’

Fielding, in 1730, ridiculed the line in *The Life and Death of Tom Thumb* (Act ii. sc. 5):—

‘Oh! Huncamunca, Huncamunca, Oh!’ *Works*, 1806, i. 472.

Thomson might have quoted from Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus* (not his own), v. 3. 185:—

‘Oh my mother, mother! Oh!’ Thomson’s line is not in the published play. *Works*, 1775, iii. ‘Oh! *Sophonisba*,’ however, is exclaimed seven times.

⁴ ‘I think it may be observed that the particle O! used at the beginning of a sentence always offends.’ *Ante*, POPE, 422.

⁵ ‘It might all be Mallet’s. The most telling couplet in the first part is where the poet says of Britain:—

‘When freedom is the cause, ’tis hers to fight,

And hers, when freedom is the theme, to write.’ *Works*, iii. 7.

⁶ Then Solicitor-General; he became Chancellor in Nov. 1733. Thomson was in Paris in Dec. 1730. He soon left for Italy, and returned to England before the end of 1731. [Bolton Corney’s *Seasons*, Pref. pp. 22 n., 24 n.]

impressions, to have his opinions rectified, and his views enlarged ; nor can he be supposed to have wanted that curiosity¹ which is inseparable from an active and comprehensive mind. He may therefore now be supposed to have revelled in all the joys of intellectual luxury ; he was every day feasted with instructive novelties ; he lived splendidly without expence, and might expect when he returned home a certain establishment.

At this time a long course of opposition to Sir Robert Walpole²² had filled the nation with clamours for liberty, of which no man felt the want, and with care for liberty, which was not in danger³. Thomson, in his travels on the continent, found or fancied so many evils arising from the tyranny of other governments, that he resolved to write a very long poem, in five parts, upon *Liberty*.

While he was busy on the first book Mr. Talbot died⁴, and²³ Thomson, who had been rewarded for his attendance by the place of secretary of the Briefs⁵, pays in the initial lines a decent tribute to his memory⁶.

Upon this great poem two years were spent⁶, and the author²⁴ congratulated himself upon it as his noblest work⁷ ; but an author and his reader are not always of a mind⁸. *Liberty* called in vain upon her votaries to read her praises and reward her encomiast : her praises were condemned to harbour spiders, and to gather dust ; none of Thomson's performances were so little regarded⁹.

The judgement of the publick was not erroneous ; the recurrence of the same images must tire in time ; an enumeration of examples to prove a position which nobody denied, as it was from the beginning superfluous, must quickly grow disgusting.

The poem of *Liberty* does not now appear in its original state,²⁶ but when the author's works were collected after his death was

¹ *Ante*, ADDISON, 91 n. 5.

² *Ante*, SAVAGE, 114. For those 'who most loudly clamour for liberty' see *ante*, MILTON, 170.

³ On Sept. 27, 1733. *Gent. Mag.* 1733, p. 496.

⁴ In the Court of Chancery.

⁵ *Eng. Poets*, lv. 5. See also *ib.* p. 162.

⁶ It appeared in five separate parts. The first part appeared in Dec. 1734, *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 708 ; the second

in Feb. 1735, *ib.* 1735, p. 111 ; the third is quoted in the August number, *ib.* p. 476 ; the fourth appeared in Dec., *ib.* p. 740 ; and the fifth in Jan. or Feb. 1736, *ib.* 1736, p. 100.

⁷ *Works*, Preface, p. 20.

⁸ *Ante*, MILTON, 146.

⁹ Thomson wrote that he thought 'of annulling the bargain I made with my bookseller, who would else be a considerable loser.' Tovey's *Thomson*, Preface, p. 51.

shortened by Sir George Lyttelton, with a liberty which, as it has a manifest tendency to lessen the confidence of society, and to confound the characters of authors by making one man write by the judgement of another, cannot be justified by any supposed propriety of the alteration or kindness of the friend¹. —I wish to see it exhibited as its author left it².

- 27 Thomson now lived in ease and plenty, and seems for a while to have suspended his poetry; but he was soon called back to labour by the death of the Chancellor³, for his place then became vacant, and though the lord Hardwicke⁴ delayed for some time to give it away, Thomson's bashfulness, or pride, or some other motive perhaps not more laudable, withheld him from soliciting⁵; and the new Chancellor would not give him what he would not ask.

¹ In the library at Hagley there is a copy of *The Seasons*, corrected by Lyttelton, with the following entry in his hand:—'In this edition, conformably to the intention and will of author, which [*sic*] have justly been thought too harsh or obscure, or not strictly grammatical, have been corrected, some lines transposed, and a few others left out.' Phillimore's *Lyttelton*, i. 319.

Lyttelton told Samuel Rogers's elder brother that when 'a very young man' he heard Thomson read aloud to his father at Hagley 'what he had but just then written of his *Autumn*. On the first line I ventured to remark that "crown'd with the wheaten sheaf" was a beautiful image, but that I could not understand what was meant by "crown'd with the sickle." Thomson was evidently confused, and said something, in no very clear manner, of a custom the reapers have in Scotland of putting their sickles round their heads in the intervals of labour.' H. D. Best's *Memorials*, p. 266.

Autumn begins:—

'Crown'd with the sickle and the wheaten sheaf,
While Autumn, nodding o'er the yellow plain,
Comes jovial on.'

² [This was done by Murdoch in the subscription quarto of 1762. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii.

232. In Wool's *Memoirs of Joseph Warton* (p. 252) there is a letter to Millar, the publisher, in which Murdoch insists that Thomson's poems should be printed as the poet left them.]

³ He died on Feb. 14, 1737. *Gent. Mag.* 1737, p. 124.

⁴ He succeeded as Chancellor on Feb. 21. *Parl. Hist.* x. Table of Contents, p. 6.

⁵ 'He was so dispirited, so listless to every concern of that kind, that he never took one step in the affair.' *Works*, Preface, p. 21.

For Smith's loss of a place by the same neglect see *ante*, SMITH, 48.

In *The Critical Review*, 1765, xix. 141, it is stated that 'Thomson's place fell under the cognisance of a Commission of the Great Officers of State for enquiring into public offices. He made a speech explaining the duty, &c., of his place in terms that, though very concise, were so perspicuous and elegant, that Lord Chancellor Talbot publicly said he preferred that single speech to the best of his poetical compositions. The income of the place was by the Commissioners reduced from about £300 to £100 a year; but Mr. Thomson offered to resign it; nor did he ever receive a shilling from it during its reduced state. We have his own optional to him whether he should

He now relapsed to his former indigence; but the prince of 28 Wales was at that time struggling for popularity, and by the influence of Mr. Lyttelton professed himself the patron of wit¹: to him Thomson was introduced, and being gaily interrogated about the state of his affairs, said 'that they were in a more poetical posture than formerly,' and had a pension allowed him of one hundred pounds a year².

Being now obliged to write he produced (1738) the tragedy 29 of *Agamemnon*³, which was much shortened in the representation. It had the fate which most commonly attends mythological stories⁴, and was only endured, but not favoured. It struggled with such difficulty through the first night that Thomson, coming late to his friends with whom he was to sup, excused his delay by telling them how the sweat of his distress had so disordered his wig, that he could not come till he had been refitted by a barber⁵.

He so interested himself in his own drama that, if I remember 80 right⁶, as he sat in the upper gallery he accompanied the players by audible recitation, till a friendly hint frightened him to silence⁷. Pope countenanced *Agamemnon* by coming to it the first night⁸, and was welcomed to the theatre by a general clap; he had much regard for Thomson, and once expressed it in a poetical Epistle sent to Italy, of which, however, he abated the value by transplanting some of the lines into his *Epistle to Arbuthnot*⁹.

remain in the place after his patron's death.'

¹ *Ante*, POPE, 217; *post*, MALLEY, 12; LYTTTELTON, 6. Smollett describes him as 'a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit.' *Hist. of Eng.* iii. 307.

² *Post*, LYTTTELTON, 6. In *Britannia* he had made 'the Queen of Nations,' speaking of the Prince, tell how

'Yon sail . . . wafts the Royal Youth
A freight of future glory to my shore.'

Eng. Poets, liv. 264.

Shenstone, on his way to London, 'had taken a tailor of Hales Owen to carry his portmanteau. The trusty squire, having walked out to view the Thames at Maidenhead, returned saying, "Lord, Sir, what do you think? I have seen the Prince of Wales and all his nobles walking by

the river's side." The nobles were Thomson and Mallet.' Graves's *Recollections of Shenstone*, p. 93.

³ It is advertised in *Gent. Mag.* April, 1738, p. 224. For the attacks in it on the king and Walpole see Tovey's *Thomson*, Preface, p. 59.

⁴ *Ante*, BUTLER, 41.

⁵ For Goldsmith's distress at the Literary Club the night *The Good-Natured Man* was acted see *John. Misc.* i. 311.

⁶ Johnson had settled in London in the autumn of 1737. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 110.

⁷ In Cibber's *Lives*, v. 210, this story is told of his first play.

⁸ In the first edition the paragraph ended here.

⁹ *Ante*, POPE, 212. Mr. Courthope thinks the lines may have been those that, on Sept. 3, 1731, he told Hill

- 31 About this time the Act was passed for licensing plays¹, of which the first operation was the prohibition of *Gustavus Vasa*, a tragedy of Mr. Brooke, whom the publick recompensed by a very liberal subscription²; the next was the refusal of *Edward and Eleonora*³, offered by Thomson. It is hard to discover why either play should have been obstructed. Thomson likewise endeavoured to repair his loss by a subscription, of which I cannot now tell the success⁴.
- 32 When the publick murmured at the unkind treatment of Thomson, one of the ministerial writers remarked that 'he had taken a *Liberty* which was not agreeable to *Britannia* in any *Season*.'
- 33 He was soon after employed, in conjunction with Mr. Mallet,

he had 'sent the other day to a particular friend.' Corrected they conclude the *Procl. Sat.* Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), iii. 274, x. 30.

Warton, in a note on *Procl. Sat.* l. 15, mentions Pope sending some lines to Thomson. Warton's *Pope's Works*, iv. 10. Thomson was in Italy in 1731. *Ante*, THOMSON, 21.

¹ Before the Licensing Act was passed (in 1737) the Master of the Revels licensed plays. 'When,' writes Cibber, '*Richard III* (as I altered it from Shakespeare) came from his hands he expunged the whole first act. The reason he gave for it was that the distresses of Henry VI would put weak people too much in mind of King James, then living in France. We were forced for some few years to let the play take its fate with only four acts divided into five.' Cibber's *Apology*, 1826, p. 159.

'Adams said he was sorry to hear sermons compared to plays. "Not by me, I assure you," cried the bookseller; "though I don't know whether the licensing act may not shortly bring them to the same footing; but I have formerly known a hundred guineas given for a play."' *Joseph Andrews*, Bk. i. ch. 17.

This Act led, no doubt, to the republication of Milton's *Areopagitica* (*ante*, MILTON, 58) 'with a new preface, price 1s.' *Gent. Mag.* 1738, p. 56. The preface is attributed to Thomson. Johnson's *Works*, viii. 372 n.

For Johnson's attack on the Licensing Act see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 140.

² This subscription is recommended in *Gent. Mag.* March, 1739, p. 146. The play was published in the following May. *Ib.* May, 1739, p. 276. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 140.

³ *Works*, iv. 1; advertised in *Gent. Mag.* May, 1739, p. 276, price 1s. 6d.

⁴ The sentiments are just and noble, the diction strong, smooth, and elegant, and the plot conducted with the utmost art, and wrought off in a most surprising manner.' WESLEY, *Journal*, 1827, iii. 465.

⁵ According to *Biog. Brit. Supple.* p. 169, the refusal was due to Court jealousy of one who was in favour with the Prince of Wales. The play was dedicated to the Princess, whose husband is likened to Prince Edward, as being 'the darling of a great and free people.' *Works*, iv. 4.

In Thomson's *Works*, Preface, p. 25, it is said that William Patterson, Thomson's deputy and successor in the Surveyorship (*post*, THOMSON, 35), who acted as his amanuensis, himself wrote a play on Arminius. 'No sooner had the censor cast his eyes on the handwriting in which he had seen *Edward and Eleonora* than he cried out, "Away with it!"'

Of Thomson's play '3,500 common and 1,000 fine royal copies were printed, and of *Arminius* 2,000 common and 400 fine copies.' *N. & Q.* 1 S. xii. 218.

to write the masque of *Alfred*, which was acted before the Prince at Cliefden-house¹.

His next work (1745) was *Tancred and Sigismunda*, the most 84 successful of all his tragedies, for it still keeps its turn upon the stage². It may be doubted whether he was, either by the bent of nature or habits of study, much qualified for tragedy³. It does not appear that he had much sense of the pathetick, and his diffusive and descriptive style produced declamation rather than dialogue⁴.

His friend Mr. Lyttelton was now in power⁵, and conferrèd 85 upon him the office of surveyor-general of the Leeward Islands; from which, when his deputy was paid, he received about three hundred pounds a year⁶.

The last piece that he lived to publish was *The Castle of* 86 *Indolence*⁷, which was many years under his hand, but was at

¹ *Post*, MALLEY, 16. It is advertised in *Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 416, price 1s.

² 'Last night (Aug. 1, 1740) was performed in the Gardens of Cliefden (in commemoration of the Accession of his late Majesty King George, and in Honour of the Birth of the Princess Augusta . . .) a new Masque . . . by Mr. Thomson.' *The London Daily Post*, Aug. 2, 1740, quoted in *N. & Q.* 2 S. iv. 415. *Rule Britannia* was sung by 'a Bard.' The music was by Arne. *ib.*

The refrain in the original is
'Rule Britannia, rule the waves,
Britons never will be slaves.'

Works, iii. 220.

It is the English King who is thus absurdly assured by his *Bard* that *Britons* never will be slaves.

Southey, writing two years after Trafalgar, calls *Rule Britannia* 'a song which will be the political hymn of this country as long as she maintains her political power.' *Specimens*, &c., ii. 107.

³ *Works*, iv. 75. Its publication is advertised in *Gent. Mag.* Aug. 1745, p. 168, price 1s. 6d. Garrick took the part of Tancred. Pitt attended the rehearsal. Davies's *Garrick*, i. 85. 'It was some years afterwards revived with the highest applause.' Murphy's *Garrick*, p. 69.

⁴ In the first edition, 'He seems not to be either,' &c.

⁴ In the 'Advertisement' Thomson states that 'the play is considerably shortened in the performance.' *Works*, iv. 78.

Horace Walpole wrote on March 29, 1745:—'The town flocks to a new play of Thomson's. It is very dull; I have read it. I cannot bear modern poetry; these refiners of the purity of the stage and of the incorrectness of English verse are most wofully insipid.' *Letters*, i. 347.

Grimm in 1763, after mentioning *Le mariage de vengeance* in *Gil Blas*, bk. iv. ch. 4, continues:—'Le célèbre poète anglais Thomson en a fait une tragédie qu'on joue à Londres, sous le titre de *Tancrede et Sigismonde*. Il y a environ deux mois qu'on a lu dans *Le Mercure de France* une traduction en prose de cette pièce. M. Saurin vient de la mettre sur le théâtre de Paris, sous le titre de *Blanche et Guiscard*, tragédie librement traduite en vers de l'anglais.' *Mémoires, &c., de Grimm*, 1814, ii. 229.

⁵ He was made a Lord of the Treasury in Dec. 1744. *Post*, LYTTELTON, II.

⁶ [According to Murdoch, his friend and biographer, Thomson enjoyed the Surveyorship the last two years of his life. *Works*, 1762, Pref. p. 11. See also *ib.* 1793, Pref. p. 39.]

⁷ *Works*, ii. 185. Published in

last finished with great accuracy. The first canto opens a scene of lazy luxury, that fills the imagination¹.

- 37 He was now at ease, but was not long to enjoy it; for, by taking cold on the water between London and Kew, he caught a disorder, which, with some careless exasperation², ended in a fever that put an end to his life, August 27, 1748³. He was buried in the church at Richmond⁴, without an inscription; but a monument has been erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey⁵.

- 38 Thomson was of stature above the middle size, and 'more fat than bard beseems⁶,' of a dull countenance, and a gross, unanimated, uninviting appearance; silent in mingled company, but chearful among select friends, and by his friends very tenderly and warmly beloved.

- 39 He left behind him the tragedy of *Coriolanus*⁷, which was, by the zeal of his patron Sir George Lyttelton⁸, brought upon the stage for the benefit of his family⁹, and recommended by

May, 1748, price 3s. *Gent. Mag.* 1748, p. 240.

¹ 'To Thomson's *Castle of Indolence* Johnson vouchsafed only a line of cold commendation.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, i. 411. I do not see the coldness. The first canto is rightly selected for praise. Wordsworth blames Gray for the same coldness. *Post*, THOMSON, 50 n. 2.

² 'The fine weather having tempted him once more to expose himself to the evening dews, his fever returned with violence.' *Works*, Preface, p. 28.

In Johnson's *Dictionary* there is no instance of *exasperation* in this sense, though there is of *exasperate*.

³ *Gent. Mag.* 1748, p. 380.

⁴ 'Remembrance oft shall haunt the shore

When Thames in summer wreaths is drest,

And oft suspend the dashing oar
To bid his gentle spirit rest.'

COLLINS, *Ode on the death of Mr. Thomson*, Thomson's *Works*, Preface, p. 36.

⁵ 'However he was neglected when living his memory has been honoured in an ample subscription for a new edition of his works. The profits were employed in erecting a monument in Westminster Abbey. The surplus

was distributed among his poor relations.' SMOLLETT, *Hist. of Eng.* v. 383 n. It was erected in 1762. *Gent. Mag.* 1762, p. 238. Horace Walpole wrote in the same year:— 'The Abbey is overstocked, and the most venerable monuments of antiquity are daily removed there to make room for modern.' *Anecdotes of Painting*, iii. 170. [For the tablet placed in Richmond Church 'by the exertions' of Park, the antiquary, see Johnson's *Works*, 1820, xi. 230 n.]

⁶ 'A bard here dwelt, more fat than bard beseems.'

Castle of Indolence, i. 68.

In a note it is stated that the rest of the stanza was written by a friend—probably Lyttelton. *Eng. Poets*, liv. 231.

⁷ Campbell believed that 'Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* was never acted genuinely from 1660 till 1820. ... The elder Sheridan, in 1764, brought out a piece in which he jumbled together the *Coriolanus* of Shakespeare with that of Thomson.' Kemble preserved some of 'Thomson's absurdity.' Campbell's *Mrs. Siddons*, 1834, ii. 154.

⁸ He became a baronet in 1751. *Post*, LYTTELTON, 13.

⁹ According to Smollett he died in debt. *Hist. of Eng.* v. 383.

a Prologue, which Quin, who had long lived with Thomson in fond intimacy, spoke in such a manner as shewed him 'to be,' on that occasion, 'no actor'. The commencement of this benevolence is very honourable to Quin, who is reported to have delivered Thomson, then known to him only for his genius, from an arrest, by a very considerable present²; and its continuance is honourable to both, for friendship is not always the sequel of obligation³. By this tragedy a considerable sum was raised, of which part discharged his debts, and the rest was remitted to his sisters, whom, however removed from them by place or condition, he regarded with great tenderness, as will appear by the following letter, which I communicate with much pleasure, as it gives me at once an opportunity of recording the fraternal kindness of Thomson, and reflecting on the friendly assistance of Mr. Boswell, from whom I received it⁴.

'Hagley in Worcestershire, 40
October the 4th, 1747.

'My dear Sister,

'I thought you had known me better than to interpret my silence into a decay of affection, especially as your behaviour has always been such as rather to increase than diminish it. Don't imagine, because I am a bad correspondent, that I can ever prove an unkind friend and brother⁵. I must do myself the justice to tell you, that my affections are naturally very fixed and constant; and if I had ever reason of complaint against you (of which by the bye I have not the least shadow), I am conscious of so many defects in myself, as dispose me to be not a little charitable and forgiving.

* 'He lov'd his friends (forgive this gushing tear;
Alas! I feel I am no actor here),
He lov'd his friends with such a warmth of heart,' &c.

Thomson's *Works*, iv. 181.

'The tears gushed from Mr. Quin's eyes. The beautiful break in these lines had a fine effect in speaking. He never appeared a greater actor than at this instant when he declared himself none.' Cibber's *Lives*, v. 216.

* *Works*, Preface, p. 16. At the end of Anstey's *New Bath Guide* Quin's kindness to Thomson is celebrated.

³ For Reynolds's observation about 'being relieved from a burthen of gratitude' see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 246.

Satan, in *Paradise Lost*, iv. 52, felt 'The debt immense of endless gratitude,
So burthensome, still paying, still to owe.'

'Gratitude,' wrote Chesterfield, 'is a burthen upon our imperfect nature.' *Letters to his Godson*, p. 167.

⁴ Boswell had two more of Thomson's letters to his sister. Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 64, iii. 360.

⁵ 'In one of his letters to his sister he says:—"All my friends who know me know how backward I am to write letters; and never impute the negligence of my hand to the coldness of my heart."' *ib.* iii. 360. This backwardness has made his autographs very rare.

- 41 'It gives me the truest heart-felt satisfaction to hear you have a good kind husband, and are in easy contented circumstances ; but were they otherwise, that would only awaken and heighten my tenderness towards you. As our good and tender-hearted parents did not live to receive any material testimonies of that highest human gratitude I owed them (than which nothing could have given me equal pleasure), the only return I can make them now is by kindness to those they left behind them : would to God poor Lizy had lived longer, to have been a farther witness of the truth of what I say, and that I might have had the pleasure of seeing once more a sister, who so truly deserved my esteem and love. But she is happy, while we must toil a little longer here below : let us however do it cheerfully and gratefully, supported by the pleasing hope of meeting yet again on a safer shore, where to recollect the storms and difficulties of life will not perhaps be inconsistent with that blissful state. You did right to call your daughter by her name ; for you must needs have had a particular tender friendship for one another, endeared as you were by nature, by having passed the affectionate years of your youth together ; and by that great softner and engager of hearts, mutual hardship. That it was in my power to ease it a little, I account one of the most exquisite pleasures of my life.—But enough of this melancholy though not unpleasing strain.
- 42 'I esteem you for your sensible and disinterested advice to Mr. Bell, as you will see by my Letter to him : as I approve entirely of his marrying again, you may readily ask me why I don't marry at all. My circumstances have hitherto been so variable and uncertain in this fluctuating world, as induce to keep me from engaging in such a state : and now, though they are more settled, and of late (which you will be glad to hear) considerably improved, I begin to think myself too far advanced in life for such youthful undertakings, not to mention some other petty reasons that are apt to startle the delicacy of difficult old batchelors. I am, however, not a little suspicious that was I to pay a visit to Scotland (which I have some thoughts of doing soon)* I might possibly be tempted to think of a thing not easily repaired if done amiss. I have always been of opinion that none make better wives than the ladies of Scotland ; and yet, who more forsaken than they, while the gentlemen are continually running abroad all the world over ? Some of them, it is true, are wise enough to return for a wife. You see I am beginning to make interest already with the Scots ladies.—But no more of this infectious subject.—Pray let me hear from you now and then ; and though I am not a regular correspondent,

* 'He never returned to Scotland.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 117.

yet perhaps I may mend in that respect. Remember me kindly to your husband, and believe me to be,

'Your most affectionate brother,
'JAMES THOMSON.'

(Addressed) 'To Mrs. Thomson in Lanark':

The benevolence of Thomson was fervid, but not active²; he 43 would give on all occasions what assistance his purse would supply; but the offices of intervention or solicitation he could not conquer his sluggishness sufficiently to perform³. The affairs of others, however, were not more neglected than his own. He had often felt the inconveniences of idleness, but he never cured it⁴; and was so conscious of his own character, that he talked of writing an Eastern Tale of *The Man who loved to be in Distress*.

Among his peculiarities was a very unskilful and inarticulate 44 manner of pronouncing any lofty or solemn composition. He was once reading to Doddington, who, being himself a reader eminently elegant, was so much provoked by his odd utterance, that he snatched the paper from his hand, and told him that he did not understand his own verses⁵.

The biographer of Thomson has remarked that an author's 45 life is best read in his works⁶: his observation was not well-timed. Savage, who lived much with Thomson⁷, once told me how he heard a lady remarking that she could gather from his

² Boswell, in 1777, put his wife's two nephews 'to school in Lanark, under the care of Mr. Thomson, the master of it, whose wife is sister to the author of *The Seasons*. She is an old woman, but her memory is very good.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 116.

³ 'His inoffensive disposition' is mentioned in his obituary notice in *Gent. Mag.* 1748, p. 380. He is attacked for inhumanity in a letter to the same *Magazine* (1754, p. 409) on field-sports. 'Thomson, who was one of these preachers of benevolence, encourages the rage of sportive cruelty against the fox.'

⁴ Dr. Burney, one day finding him in bed at two o'clock in the afternoon, 'asked how he came to lie so long. "Ecod, mon, because I had no *mot-tive* to rise."' Prior's

Malone, p. 415.

⁵ Much of this character belonged also to Johnson.

⁶ *Ante*, CONGREVE, 7; SWIFT, 119 n. 'Thomson, in reading his *Agamemnon* to the actors in the green-room, pronounced every line with such a broad Scotch accent that they could not restrain themselves from a loud laugh. He good-naturedly said to the manager:—"Do you, Sir, take my play and go on with it; for though I can write a tragedy I find I cannot read one."' DAVIES, *Dram. Misc.* iii. 498.

⁷ *Works*, 1775, Preface, p. 33.

⁸ Savage officiated as Master when, on Sept. 13, 1737, Thomson 'was admitted free and accepted Mason at Old Man's Coffee-House, Charing Cross.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. i. 131.

works three parts of his character, that he was 'a great lover', a great swimmer', and rigorously abstinent³'; but, said Savage, he knows not any love but that of the sex⁴; he was perhaps never in cold water in his life⁵; and he indulges himself in all the luxury that comes within his reach. Yet Savage always spoke with the most eager praise of his social qualities, his warmth and constancy of friendship, and his adherence to his first acquaintance when the advancement of his reputation had left them behind him.

- 46 As a writer he is entitled to one praise of the highest kind: his mode of thinking and of expressing his thoughts is original. His blank verse is no more the blank verse of Milton or of any other poet than the rhymes of Prior are the rhymes of Cowley⁶. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation. He thinks in a peculiar train, and he thinks always as a man of genius; he looks round on Nature and on Life with the eye which Nature bestows only on a poet⁷, the eye that distinguishes in every thing presented

¹ *Spring* ends with a description of wedded love:—

'What is the world to them,
Its pomp, its pleasure and its non-
sense all?

. The Seasons thus

As ceaseless round a jarring world
they roll

Still find them happy.'

See also *Summer*, ll. 890, 1284.

² *Summer*, l. 1243.

³ *Spring*, ll. 233, 335; *Summer*, l. 67; *Britannia*, l. 247; *Liberty*, v. 166.

⁴ Savage could never have seen Thomson after July, 1739. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 274. For Elizabeth Young, whom Thomson wished to marry, see Tovey's *Thomson*, Preface, p. 69. She was the 'Amanda' of his songs. *Eng. Poets*, lv. 174-7.

⁵ 'Nor when cold winter keens the
brightening flood
Would I, weak shivering, linger
on the brink.'

Summer, l. 1258.

⁶ *Post*, YOUNG, 167. Swift, writing of blank verse in 1732, says:—'One Thomson, a Scotchman, has succeeded the best in that way, in four poems he has writ on the four sea-

sons; yet I am not over fond of them, because they are all description, and nothing is doing; whereas Milton engages me in actions of the highest importance.' *Works*, xvii. 398.

'Thomson's blank verse was execrably bad.' COLERIDGE, *Table Talk*, 1884, p. 280.

'Thomson wrote his blank verse before his ear was formed as it was when he wrote *The Castle of Indolence* and some of his short rhyme poems.' WORDSWORTH, *Memoirs*, ii. 386.

W. Allingham recorded in his Journal:—'Mr. Barnes [the Dorsetshire poet] said, "I like Thomson's blank verse," to which Tennyson, stretching out his arms, returned in an emphatic voice, "I hate it like poison," at which we all laughed.'

⁷ 'JOHNSON. Thomson, I think, had as much of the poet about him as most writers. Everything appeared to him through the medium of his favourite pursuit. He could not have viewed those two candles burning but with a poetical eye.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 453.

Hazlitt, in a criticism of Crabbe,

to its view whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained, and with a mind that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of *The Seasons* wonders that he never saw before what Thomson shews him, and that he never yet has felt what Thomson impresses.

His is one of the works in which blank verse seems properly 47 used¹; Thomson's wide expansion of general views, and his enumeration of circumstantial varieties, would have been obstructed and embarrassed by the frequent intersection of the sense, which are the necessary effects of rhyme.

His descriptions of extended scenes and general effects bring 48 before us the whole magnificence of Nature, whether pleasing or dreadful. The gaiety of *Spring*, the splendour of *Summer*, the tranquillity of *Autumn*, and the horror of *Winter*, take in their turns possession of the mind. The poet leads us through the appearances of things as they are successively varied by the vicissitudes of the year, and imparts to us so much of his own enthusiasm that our thoughts expand with his imagery and kindle with his sentiments². Nor is the naturalist without his part in the entertainment; for he is assisted to recollect and to combine, to arrange his discoveries, and to amplify the sphere of his contemplation³.

The great defect of *The Seasons* is want of method⁴; but for 49 this I know not that there was any remedy. Of many appear-

says:—'Even Thomson describes not so much the naked object as what he sees in his mind's eye, surrounded and glowing with the mild, bland, genial vapours of his brain.' *The Spirit of the Age*, ed. 1825, p. 199.

'Thomson,' writes Southey, 'brought with him from his own beautiful country a deep perception and true love of the beauties of nature.' Southey's *Cowper*, ii. 144.

'In chastity of diction and the harmony of blank verse Cowper leaves Thomson immeasurably below him; yet still I feel the latter to have been the born poet.' COLERIDGE, *Biog. Lit.* 1847, i. 25.

¹ Johnson says the same of *Paradise Lost*, ante, MILTON, 276, and *The Night Thoughts*, post, YOUNG, 160.

² 'Gray thought Thomson had one talent beyond all other poets, that of

describing the various appearances of nature; but that he failed when he ventured to step out of this path, and particularly when he attempted to be moral, in which attempt he always became verbose.' Mitford's *Gray*, v. 36.

Goldsmith describes him as 'in general a verbose and affected poet.' *Works*, iii. 438.

³ The naturalist would be surprised to find in the first edition of *Winter*, l. 44, that

'Sad Philomel, perchance, pours forth
her plaint

Far, thro' the withering copse.'

But what did a Scotchman know of the nightingale? When the poet transferred the passage to *Autumn*, l. 974, 'sad Philomel' became 'some widowed songster.'

⁴ *Ante*, POPE, 315.

ances subsisting all at once, no rule can be given why one should be mentioned before another; yet the memory wants the help of order, and the curiosity is not excited by suspense or expectation.

- 50 His diction is in the highest degree florid and luxuriant, such as may be said to be to his images and thoughts 'both their lustre and their shade'¹; such as invests them with splendour, through which perhaps they are not always easily discerned. It is too exuberant, and sometimes may be charged with filling the ear more than the mind².
- 51 These poems, with which I was acquainted at their first appearance, I have since found altered and enlarged by subsequent revisals, as the author supposed his judgement to grow more exact, and as books or conversation extended his knowledge and opened his prospects³. They are, I think, improved

¹ 'The moon pull'd off her veil of light,
That hides her face by day from sight,
Mysterious veil of brightness made,
That's both her lustre and her shade.'

Hudibras, ii. i. 905; *post*, AKENSIDE, 16.

² *Post*, COLLINS, 17. 'Dr. Johnson said, "Thomson's fault is such a cloud of words sometimes that the sense can hardly peep through. Shiels [*ante*, HAMMOND, 1] was one day sitting with me. I took down Thomson, and read aloud a large portion of him, and then asked, 'Is not this fine?' Shiels having expressed the highest admiration, 'Well, Sir (said I), I have omitted every other line.'" Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 37.

Grimm says of *The Seasons*:—'A force d'être riche et fleuri il devient monotone et fatigant; c'est le reproche qu'on a fait au poème des *Plaisirs de l'imagination* [*post*, AKENSIDE, 16].' Grimm's *Mémoires*, 1814, ii. 23.

Wordsworth wrote of *The Seasons*:—'It is a work of inspiration; much of it is written from himself, and nobly from himself. . . . It is remarkable that, excepting the nocturnal *Reverie of Lady Winchelsea* and a passage or two in the *Windor Forest* of Pope, the poetry of the period

intervening between the publication of the *Paradise Lost* and *The Seasons* does not contain a single new image of external nature. . . . We are not able to collect any unquestionable proofs that the true characteristics of Thomson's genius as an imaginative poet were perceived till the elder Warton, almost forty years after the publication of *The Seasons*, pointed them out by a note in his *Essay on Pope* [ii. 244]. In *The Castle of Indolence* (of which Gray speaks so coldly) these characteristics were almost as conspicuously displayed, and in verse more harmonious and diction more pure. Yet that fine poem was neglected on its appearance, and is at this day the delight only of a few!' Wordsworth's *Works*, vi. 368-72.

³ Thomson recalled the nation to the study of nature, which since Milton had been utterly neglected.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, Preface, p. 32.

Sir Walter Scott, in 1828, said of Milton and Thomson:—'Thomson is the most read of the two.' *Life of W. Bell Scott*, 1892, i. 73.

Hazlitt records Northcote as saying about 1830:—'For boarding-school misses Thomson's *Seasons* has an immense attraction, though I never could read it.' *Conversations of Northcote*, p. 198.

³ 'The original text of *The Seasons*,' writes Judge Willis, 'consisted of

in general; yet I know not whether they have not lost part of what Temple calls their *race*, a word which, applied to wines, in its primitive sense, means the flavour of the soil¹.

Liberty, when it first appeared, I tried to read, and soon 52 desisted. I have never tried again, and therefore will not hazard either praise or censure².

The highest praise which he has received ought not to be 53 suppress; it is said by Lord Lyttelton in the Prologue to his posthumous play that his works contained

'No line which, dying, he could wish to blot'³.

3,902 lines. The edition of 1746, the last that received the poet's revision, consists of 5,423 lines.' *Winter*, p. 6. For the alterations see *ib.* Preface, and *N. & Q.* 4 S. xi. 419.

¹ Johnson defines *race* as 'a particular strength or taste of wine, applied by Temple to any extraordinary natural force of intellect,' and quotes a passage from his *Essay of Gardening*. Temple's *Works*, 1757, iii. 229.

² Thomson was admirable in description; but it always seemed to me that there was somewhat of affectation in his style. . . . I could wish too, with Dr. Johnson, that he had confined himself to this country. . . . He was however a true poet.' COWPER, *Works*, vi. 169.

'I possess,' writes Mitford, 'an interleaved copy of *The Seasons* (ed. 1738) which belonged to Thomson, with his own alterations, and with numerous alterations and additions by Pope, in his own writing. Almost all the amendments made by Pope were adopted by Thomson.' Mitford's *Gray*, ii. Preface, p. 7 n. Whether these alterations are by Pope is very doubtful. See Tovey's *Thomson*, i. 189; *N. & Q.* 8 S. xii. 327, 389, 437; 9 S. i. 23, 129, 289, 415. [Mr. G. C. Macaulay in a letter to the *Athenaeum*, Oct. 1, 1904 (p. 446), rejects the Pope theory and identifies the corrector as

Lyttelton, both on *a priori* grounds and from a careful comparison of his handwriting with the MS. alterations in Mitford's interleaved *Seasons*, now in the Brit. Mus. Mr. Tovey, on the other hand, considers that 'Lyttelton's hand is neat and scholarly, and quite unlike the unknown's manuscript.' Thomson's *Works*, 1897, i. 195.]

³ In the first edition this *Life* ends here. The 'Prologue to *Sophonisba*, by Pope and Mallet' followed.

³ 'Not one immoral, one corrupted thought,

One line which dying he could wish to blot.'

Prologue to *Coriolanus*, *Works*, iv. 182.

'M. Despréaux [Boileau] s'applaudissait fort à l'âge de soixante et onze ans, de n'avoir rien mis dans ses vers qui choquât les bonnes mœurs. "C'est une consolation, disait-il, pour les vieux poètes qui doivent bientôt rendre compte à Dieu de leurs actions." *Œuvres*, 1747, v. 41.

'I remember St. Austin in one of his epistles tells us that Tully says of one of the great orators, *Nullum unquam verbum quod revocare vellet emisit*. "That no word ever fell from him that he could wish to have recalled." TILLOTSON, *Sermons*, 1757, xi. 93.

WATTS

1 **T**HE Poems of Dr. WATTS were by my recommendation inserted in the late Collection; the readers of which are to impute to me whatever pleasure or weariness they may find in the perusal of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret, and Yalden¹.

2 ISAAC WATTS was born July 17, 1674, at Southampton, where his father, of the same name, kept a boarding-school for young gentlemen², though common report makes him a shoemaker. He appears, from the narrative of Dr. Gibbons³, to have been neither indigent nor illiterate.

3 Isaac, the eldest of nine children, was given to books from his infancy, and began, we are told, to learn Latin when he was four years old, I suppose at home. He was afterwards taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, by Mr. Pinhorne, a clergyman, master of the Free-school at Southampton, to whom the gratitude of his scholar afterwards inscribed a Latin ode⁴.

4 His proficiency at school was so conspicuous that a subscription was proposed for his support at the University; but he declared his resolution to take his lot with the Dissenters⁵.

¹ 'To the collection of *English Poets*,' wrote Johnson, 'I have recommended the volume of Dr. Watts to be added; his name has long been held by me in veneration, and I would not willingly be reduced to tell of him only that he was born and died. Yet of his life I know very little. . . . My plan does not exact much; but I wish to distinguish Watts, a man who never wrote but for a good purpose.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 126; see also *ib.* iii. 358.

[For Johnson's statement that 'he recommended only Blackmore on the Creation and Watts' see *John. Letters*, ii. 275 n., and *ante*, BLACKMORE, 22.]

Of the four poets Pomfret and Yalden were clergymen, Watts a

Nonconformist minister, and Blackmore a writer of religious poetry.

The inclusion of Thomson seems to be due to Johnson. *Ante*, THOMSON, 1 n.

Southey says of his own 'paper upon Dr. Watts—prefatory to a volume of his poems in the *Sacred Classics*':—'In this I have done what his other biographers have left undone—looked into his opinions.' *Corres. with C. Bowles*, p. 309.

² 'Gentlemen's sons were sent to it from America and the West Indies.' Gibbons's *Memoirs of Watts*, 1780, p. 1.

³ This narrative Johnson follows. For Gibbons see *post*, WATTS, 13.

⁴ *Eng. Poets*, lvi. 142.

⁵ *Gibbons*, p. 20. 'His father was imprisoned more than once for his

Such he was as every Christian Church would rejoice to have adopted.

He therefore repaired in 1690 to an academy taught by ⁵ Mr. Rowe¹, where he had for his companions and fellow-students Mr. Hughes the poet², and Dr. Horte, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam³. Some Latin Essays⁴, supposed to have been written as exercises at this academy, shew a degree of knowledge, both philosophical and theological, such as very few attain by a much longer course of study.

He was, as he hints in his *Miscellanies*, a maker of verses from ⁶ fifteen to fifty⁵, and in his youth he appears to have paid attention to Latin poetry. His verses to his brother, in the *glyconick* measure, written when he was seventeen, are remarkably easy and elegant⁶. Some of his other odes are deformed by the Pindarick folly then prevailing, and are written with such neglect of all metrical rules as is without example among the ancients⁷; but his diction, though perhaps not always exactly pure, has such copiousness and splendour, as shews that he was but at a very little distance from excellence.

nonconformity; during his confinement his wife has been known to sit on a stone near the prison-door, suckling her son Isaac.' *Gibbons*, p. 1.

² Watts inscribed an ode, 'To the much honoured Mr. Thomas Rowe, the Director of my youthful studies.' *Eng. Poets*, lvi. 63. For Rowe's eminence as a teacher of philosophy see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlix. 347. The academy was in Little Britain.

³ *Ante*, HUGHES, 1.

⁴ For Watts's lines to him when he was Bishop of Kilmore see *Eng. Poets*, lvi. 137.

Swift, in *The Storm*, makes Pallas describe him as

'A wretch, whom English rogues to spite her

Had lately honour'd with a mitre.'

Works, xiv. 294.

For a fine letter in which Swift reproaches this 'extremely rich' bishop for his meanness to a printer, who had been thrown into prison for printing a satire by his Lordship, see *ib.* i. 389, xviii. 426.

⁵ *Gibbons*, p. 21.

⁶ In his fifty-third year he wrote:—
'I have sported with rhyme as an

amusement in the younger years of life, and published some religious composures to assist the worship of God. . . . The gay colours of imagery and the spritely relish of verse die away and vanish in my advancing age; for I have almost left off to read as well as to write that which once was so much engaging.' *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 746.

⁶ *Gibbons*, p. 64; *Eng. Poets*, lvi. 141.

⁷ *Ante*, COWLEY, 143; *Gibbons*, p. 59.

In *Two Happy Rivals*, *Devotion and the Muse*, Watts writes:—

'Wild as the lightning, various as the moon,

Roves my Pindarick song:

Are my thoughts and wishes free,
And know no number nor degree?

Such is the Muse: Lo, she disdains

The links and chains,
Measures and rules of vulgar strains,

And o'er the laws of harmony a
Sovereign Queen she reigns.'

Eng. Poets, lv. 129.

- 7 His method of study was to impress the contents of his books upon his memory by abridging them, and by interleaving them to amplify one system with supplements from another.
- 8 With the congregation of his tutor Mr. Rowe, who were, I believe, Independents¹, he communicated in his nineteenth year.
- 9 At the age of twenty he left the academy, and spent two years in study and devotion at the house of his father, who treated him with great tenderness, and had the happiness, indulged to few parents, of living to see his son eminent for literature and venerable for piety².
- 10 He was then entertained by Sir John Hartopp five years as domestick tutor to his son³, and in that time particularly devoted himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures; and being chosen assistant to Dr. Chauncey⁴ preached the first time on the birth-day that compleated his twenty-fourth year, probably considering that as the day of a second nativity, by which he entered on a new period of existence.
- 11 In about three years he succeeded Dr. Chauncey⁵; but, soon after his entrance on his charge, he was seized by a dangerous illness, which sunk him to such weakness that the congregation thought an assistant necessary, and appointed Mr. Price⁶. His health then returned gradually, and he performed his duty, till (1712) he was seized by a fever of such violence and continuance that, from the feebleness which it brought upon him, he never perfectly recovered.
- 12 This calamitous state made the compassion of his friends necessary, and drew upon him the attention of Sir Thomas Abney⁷, who received him into his house, where, with a con-

¹ Gibbons (p. 20) describes them as 'the Church of Protestant Dissenters now [1780] meeting at Haberdashers' Hall.'

² The son, in his sixty-third year, wrote to his father when on his death-bed:—'I feel old age daily advancing on myself.' *Ib.* p. 3.

³ Sir John Hartopp, son of a Round-head Colonel, married a daughter of General Fleetwood. Burke's *Peerage*. To his son Watts dedicated his *Logick*, so written, he hoped, 'that the Gentleman and the Christian might find their account in the perusal

as well as the Scholar.' They lived at Stoke Newington. *Gibbons*, p. 92.

⁴ Isaac Chauncy. *Ib.* p. 96. He had studied theology at Harvard. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* x. 171.

⁵ 'He accepted the call the day King William died, notwithstanding the fears with which that event filled the hearts of Dissenters in general.' *Gibbons*, p. 97. For the Meeting House see *N. & Q.* 7 S. iii. 416.

⁶ Samuel Price. *Gibbons*, p. 99.

⁷ Alderman of London. 'Upon the day he entered on his office as Lord Mayor (A.D. 1700) he, without any

stancy of friendship and uniformity of conduct not often to be found, he was treated for thirty-six years with all the kindness that friendship could prompt, and all the attention that respect could dictate. Sir Thomas died about eight years afterwards¹, but he continued with the lady and her daughters to the end of his life. The lady died about a year after him.

A coalition like this, a state in which the notions of patronage¹⁸ and dependence were overpowered by the perception of reciprocal benefits, deserves a particular memorial², and I will not withhold from the reader Dr. Gibbons's representation, to which regard is to be paid as to the narrative of one who writes what he knows³, and what is known likewise to multitudes besides.

'Our next observation shall be made upon that remarkably kind Providence which brought the Doctor into Sir Thomas Abney's family, and continued him there till his death, a period of no less than thirty-six years.' In the midst of his sacred labours for the glory of God, and good of his generation, he is seized with a most violent and threatening fever, which leaves him oppressed with great weakness, and puts a stop at least to his publick services for four years. In this distressing season, doubly so to his active and pious spirit, he is invited to Sir Thomas Abney's family, nor ever removes from it till he had finished his days. Here he enjoyed the uninterrupted demonstrations of the truest friendship. Here, without any care of his own, he had every thing which could contribute to the enjoyment of life, and favour the unwearied pursuits of his studies. Here he dwelt in a family, which, for piety, order, harmony, and every virtue, was an house of God. Here he had the privilege

notice, withdrew from Guildhall after supper, went to his house, there performed family worship, and then returned to the company.' *Gibbons*, p. 104.

¹ In 1722. *Ib.* p. 105.

² 'In a situation of this kind a person of pure and exalted character, such a man as Ken was among the nonjurors and Watts among the non-conformists, may preserve his dignity, and may much more than repay by his example and his instructions the benefits which he receives. But to a person whose virtue is not high toned this way of life is full of peril.' *MACAULAY, Hist. of Eng.* v. 93.

Among the poets of the *Lives* a refuge was granted in the houses of

the opulent to Prior (*ante*, PRIOR, 41 n. 3), to Fenton (*ante*, FENTON, 16), to Gay (*ante*, GAY, 24), and to Akenside (*post*, AKENSIDE, 11). Such a refuge Johnson found in Thrale's town and country house, and Coleridge in Gillman's. Wordsworth enjoyed the bounty of the second Earl of Lonsdale and of Sir George Beaumont.

³ *Gibbons*, p. 113. 'Dr. Gibbons being mentioned, Dr. Johnson said, "I took to Dr. Gibbons." And, addressing himself to Mr. Charles Dilly, added, "I shall be glad to see him. Tell him if he'll call on me, and dawdle over a dish of tea in an afternoon, I shall take it kind.'" Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 126.

of a country recess, the fragrant bower, the spreading lawn, the flowery garden¹, and other advantages, to sooth his mind and aid his restoration to health; to yield him, whenever he chose them, most grateful intervals from his laborious studies, and enable him to return to them with redoubled vigour and delight. Had it not been for this most happy event he might, as to outward view, have feebly, it may be painfully, dragged on through many more years of languor, and inability for publick service, and even for profitable study, or perhaps might have sunk into his grave under the overwhelming load of infirmities in the midst of his days; and thus the church and world would have been deprived of those many excellent sermons and works, which he drew up and published during his long residence in this family. In a few years after his coming hither Sir Thomas Abney dies; but his amiable consort survives, who shews the Doctor the same respect and friendship as before, and most happily for him and great numbers besides; for, as her riches were great, her generosity and munificence were in full proportion; her thread of life was drawn out to a great age, even beyond that of the Doctor's; and thus this excellent man, through her kindness, and that of her daughter, the present Mrs. Elizabeth Abney, who in a like degree esteemed and honoured him, enjoyed all the benefits and felicities he experienced at his first entrance into this family, till his days were numbered and finished, and, like a shock of corn in its season, he ascended into the regions of perfect and immortal life and joy.'

- 14 If this quotation has appeared long let it be considered that it comprises an account of six-and-thirty years, and those the years of Dr. Watts.
- 15 From the time of his reception into this family his life was no otherwise diversified than by successive publications. The series of his works I am not able to deduce²; their number and their variety shew the intenseness of his industry, and the extent of his capacity.
- 16 He was one of the first authors that taught the Dissenters to court attention by the graces of language. Whatever they had among them before, whether of learning or acuteness, was commonly obscured and blunted by coarseness and inelegance of style. He shewed them that zeal and purity might be expressed and enforced by polished diction.

¹ These grounds have long formed Abney Park Cemetery, Stoke Newington.

² 'A catalogue of his writings' is given in *Gibbons*, p. 471.

He continued to the end of his life the teacher of a congregation¹, and no reader of his works can doubt his fidelity or diligence. In the pulpit, though his low stature, which very little exceeded five feet², graced him with no advantages of appearance, yet the gravity and propriety of his utterance made his discourses very efficacious. I once mentioned the reputation which Mr. Foster³ had gained by his proper delivery to my friend Dr. Hawkesworth⁴, who told me that in the art of pronunciation he was far inferior to Dr. Watts.

Such was his flow of thoughts, and such his promptitude of language, that in the latter part of his life he did not precompose his cursory sermons; but having adjusted the heads, and sketched out some particulars, trusted for success to his extemporary powers⁵.

He did not endeavour to assist his eloquence by any gesticulations; for, as no corporeal actions have any correspondence with theological truth, he did not see how they could enforce it⁶.

At the conclusion of weighty sentences he gave time, by a short pause, for the proper impression.

To stated and publick instruction he added familiar visits²¹ and personal application, and was careful to improve the opportunities which conversation offered of diffusing and increasing the influence of religion.

By his natural temper he was quick of resentment, but²² by his established and habitual practice he was gentle, modest, and inoffensive. His tenderness appeared in his attention to children and to the poor. To the poor, while he lived in the family of his friend, he allowed the third part of his annual revenue⁷, though the whole was not a hundred a year; and for children he condescended to lay aside the scholar, the philosopher, and the wit, to write little poems of devotion⁸ and systems

¹ Johnson perhaps avoids the term *minister*, which he defines as 'one who serves at the altar; one who performs sacerdotal functions.' He uses it, however, for a Dissenter, *post*, AKENSIDE, 2.

² *Gibbons*, p. 322.

³ *Ante*, SAVAGE, 188.

⁴ *Ante*, SWIFT, 1.

⁵ For his preaching see *Gibbons*, p. 142.

⁶ JOHNSON. Action can have no

effect upon reasonable minds. It may augment noise, but it never can enforce argument. If you speak to a dog you use action; you hold up your hand thus because he is a brute; and in proportion as men are removed from brutes action will have the less influence upon them.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 211. See also *ib.* i. 334, iv. 322.

⁷ *Gibbons*, p. 146.

⁸ In the preface to his *Divine Songs*

of instruction, adapted to their wants and capacities, from the dawn of reason through its gradations of advance in the morning of life. Every man acquainted with the common principles of human action will look with veneration on the writer who is at one time combating Locke¹, and at another making a catechism for children in their fourth year. A voluntary descent from the dignity of science is perhaps the hardest lesson that humility can teach².

- 23 As his mind was capacious, his curiosity excursive, and his industry continual, his writings are very numerous and his subjects various. With his theological works I am only enough acquainted to admire his meekness of opposition and his mildness of censure. It was not only in his book but in his mind that orthodoxy was united with charity³.
- 24 Of his philosophical pieces his *Logic* has been received into the universities, and therefore wants no private recommendation⁴: if he owes part of it to Le Clerc⁵ it must be considered that no man who undertakes merely to methodise or illustrate a system pretends to be its author.
- 25 In his metaphysical disquisitions it was observed by the late learned Mr. Dyer⁶ that he confounded the idea of *space* with that of *empty space*, and did not consider that though space might be

for *Children* he says: 'I have endeavoured to sink the language to the level of a child's understanding, and yet to keep it, if possible, above contempt.' *Eng. Poets*, lvi. 199.

¹ Watts's *Philosophical Essays* contain 'some remarks on Mr. Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*.'

² *Ante*, MILTON, 106, 147.

³ 'One would think that the princes, the priests, and the people, the learned and the unlearned, the great and the mean, should have all by this time seen the folly and madness of seeking to propagate the truth by the acts of cruelty. . . . Men cannot believe what they will, nor change their religion and their sentiments as they please.' WATTS, *The Improvement of the Mind*, Part ii. ch. 3, sec. 5.

⁴ 'Queen's College, Oxford, had at this time [1760-4] considerable repu-

tation for its logic, and Bentham owned that his tutor gave him out of Sanderson's *Logic* some materials for correct reasoning. The English logic taught was Watts's, which Bentham always called "Old Women's logic." Bentham's *Works*, x. 37.

John James wrote from Queen's College in 1778:—'From a careful perusal of Watts and Duncan I hope e'er long to acquire a competent knowledge [of logic], and to be able at least not to be silent in the Hall [at the disputations].' *Letters of Radcliffe and James*, p. 50.

⁵ Gibbon, in 1762, described Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle* as 'an inexhaustible source of amusement and instruction.' *Misc. Works*, v. 224.

⁶ Samuel Dyer, a member of the Literary Club. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 479, iv. 11.

without matter, yet matter, being extended, could not be without space.

Few books have been perused by me with greater pleasure ²⁶ than his *Improvement of the Mind*, of which the radical principles may indeed be found in Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding*, but they are so expanded and ramified by Watts as to confer upon him the merit of a work in the highest degree useful and pleasing. Whoever has the care of instructing others may be charged with deficiency in his duty if this book is not recommended ¹.

I have mentioned his treatises of Theology as distinct from his ²⁷ other productions, but the truth is that whatever he took in hand was, by his incessant solicitude for souls, converted to Theology. As piety predominated in his mind, it is diffused over his works; under his direction it may be truly said, 'Theologiæ Philosophia ancillatur,' philosophy is subservient to evangelical instruction: it is difficult to read a page without learning, or at least wishing, to be better. The attention is caught by indirect instruction, and he that sat down only to reason is on a sudden compelled to pray.

It was therefore with great propriety that, in 1728, he received ²⁸ from Edinburgh and Aberdeen an unsolicited diploma, by which he became a Doctor of Divinity. Academical honours would have more value if they were always bestowed with equal judgement.

He continued many years to study and to preach, and to do ²⁹ good by his instruction and example, till at last the infirmities of age disabled him from the more laborious part of his ministerial functions, and, being no longer capable of publick duty, he offered to remit the salary appendant to it; but his congregation would not accept the resignation ².

By degrees his weakness increased, and at last confined him to ³⁰ his chamber and his bed, where he was worn gradually away without pain, till he expired Nov. 25, 1748, in the seventy-fifth year of his age ³.

¹ Not long after the publication of the *Lives* Johnson wrote of his step-daughter:—'Poor Lucy's health is very much broken. She takes very little of either food or exercise, and her hearing is very dull, and her utterance confused; but she will have

Watts's *Improvement of the Mind*.' *John. Letters*, ii. 232. See also *John. Misc.* ii. 2; Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 311; *ante*, POPE, 380.

² *Gibbons*, p. 146.

³ *Ib.* p. 318; *Gent. Mag.* 1748, p. 525.

- 81 Few men have left behind such purity of character or such monuments of laborious piety. He has provided instruction for all ages, from those who are lisping their first lessons, to the enlightened readers of Malbranche and Locke; he has left neither corporeal nor spiritual nature unexamined; he has taught the art of reasoning, and the science of the stars.
- 82 His character, therefore, must be formed from the multiplicity and diversity of his attainments, rather than from any single performance; for it would not be safe to claim for him the highest rank in any single denomination of literary dignity: yet perhaps there was nothing in which he would not have excelled, if he had not divided his powers to different pursuits.
- 83 As a poet, had he been only a poet, he would probably have stood high among the authors with whom he is now associated. For his judgement was exact, and he noted beauties and faults with very nice discernment; his imagination, as the *Dacian Battle*¹ proves, was vigorous and active, and the stores of knowledge were large by which his fancy was to be supplied. His ear was well-tuned, and his diction was elegant and copious. But his devotional poetry is, like that of others, unsatisfactory². The paucity of its topicks enforces perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter rejects the ornaments of figurative diction. It is sufficient for Watts to have done better than others what no man has done well³.
- 84 His poems on other subjects seldom rise higher than might be expected from the amusements of a Man of Letters, and have different degrees of value as they are more or less laboured, or as the occasion was more or less favourable to invention⁴.

¹ *Eng. Poets*, lvi. 93.

² *Ante*, COWLEY, 146. 'When Johnson would try to repeat the *Dies irae*, he could never pass the stanza ending, *Tantus labor non sit cassus*, without bursting into a flood of tears; which sensibility I used to quote against him when he would inveigh against devotional poetry.' MRS. PIOZZI, *John. Misc.* i. 284.

'Pity! Religion has so seldom found A skilful guide into poetic ground!' COWPER, *Table Talk, Works*, viii. 143.

³ Cowper wrote on Sept. 18, 1781:— 'Report informs me that Dr. Johnson has been severe enough in his ani-

madversions upon Dr. Watts, who was nevertheless, if I am in any degree a judge of verse, a man of true poetical ability; . . . frequently sublime in his conceptions, and masterly in his execution.' *Ib.* xv. 92. A fortnight later, after reading the *Life*, he wrote:—'Nothing can be more judicious, or more characteristic of a distinguishing taste, than Johnson's observations upon Watts; though I think him a little mistaken in his notion that divine subjects have never been poetically treated with success.' *Ib.* iv. 129.

⁴ 'JOHNSON. Dr. Watts's poems are by no means his best works; I

He writes too often without regular measures, and too often in blank verse ; the rhymes are not always sufficiently correspondent. He is particularly unhappy in coining names expressive of characters¹. His lines are commonly smooth and easy, and his thoughts always religiously pure ; but who is there that, to so much piety and innocence, does not wish for a greater measure of spriteliness and vigour²? He is at least one of the few poets with whom youth and ignorance may be safely pleased ; and happy will be that reader whose mind is disposed by his verses or his prose to imitate him in all but his non-conformity, to copy his benevolence to man, and his reverence to God³.

cannot praise his poetry itself highly, but I can praise its design.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 358.

¹ Boswell says of *The Rambler*:— 'Johnson's ladies seem strangely formal, even to ridicule ; and are well denominated by the names which he has given them, as Misella, Zozima, Properantia, Rhodoclia.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 223.

² Warburton, in a note on *The Dunciad*, i. 145-6:—

'A Gothic Library! of Greece and Rome

Well purg'd, and worthy Settle,
Banks and Broome'

writes:—'It was printed in the surreptitious editions, W—ly [Wesley], W—s [Watts], who were persons eminent for good life ; the one writ the *Life of Christ* in verse, the other some valuable pieces in the lyric kind on pious subjects. The line is

here restored according to its original.' Warburton, v. 34. ('The surreptitious editions' were published by Pope. *Ante*, POPE, 148.) According to Nichols, it was on Dr. Watts's 'very serious though gentle remonstrance' that other names were substituted. *Lit. Anec.* v. 218.

³ How much in Watts piety predominated over poetry is shown by his saying:—'I had rather be the author of Mr. Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* than of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.' Gibbons, p. 157.

[The verdict of after generations has gone against Johnson's criticism of Watts's devotional poetry in at least one instance. Perhaps there is no hymn more familiar to Englishmen 'in all time of our tribulation' than 'Our God, our help in ages past,' sung to its fine old tune of St. Anne.]

A. PHILIPS

- 1 **O**F the birth or early part of the life of AMBROSE PHILIPS I have not been able to find any account¹. His academical education he received at St. John's College in Cambridge, where he first solicited the notice of the world by some English verses, in the Collection published by the University on the death of queen Mary².
- 2 From this time how he was employed, or in what station he passed his life, is not yet discovered³. He must have published his *Pastorals* before the year 1708⁴, because they are evidently prior to those of Pope⁵.
- 3 He afterwards (1709) addressed to the universal patron, the duke of Dorset, *A Poetical Letter from Copenhagen*, which was published in *The Tatler*⁶, and is by Pope in one of his first letters

¹ In Cibber's *Lives*, v. 122, no account is given of Philips's early life.

The entry of his admission as sub-sizar at St. John's College on June 15, 1693, shows that he was eighteen, born in Shropshire, 'filius panniculiarii' [son of a draper]. *Admissions to St. John's Coll.* 1893, Pt. ii. p. 131. He was admitted Fellow on March 28, 1699. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 259.

² 'I would have had,' said Johnson, 'at every coronation and every death of a King, every *Gaudium* and every *Luctus*, University verses in as many languages as can be acquired.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 371.

For Addison's verses on Queen Mary see *ante*, ADDISON, 14, and for Prior's, see *ante*, PRIOR, 8. Johnson was shown Bentham's *Luctus* on the death of George II. Bentham's *Works*, x. 41. Philips's verses are not included in his collected poems, 1748, or in *Eng. Poets*. They are quoted in *The Art of Sinking* as an example of the 'Alamode Style,'

which, is 'as durable and extensive as the poem itself.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 391.

³ In 1700 was published his abridgement of Hacket's *Life of Williams*, *post*, PHILIPS, 5; and in 1703 he wrote a poem *From Holland to a Friend in England*, *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 43.

⁴ *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 5. They appeared with those of Pope in vol. vi (1709) of *Tonson's Misc.* Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 259. Some of them were very possibly in circulation earlier. For Addison's reference to them see, *post*, PHILIPS, 11 n.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 33.

⁶ It is entitled *To the Earl of Dorset*, and is dated 'Copenhagen, March 9, 1709.' *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 45. The Earl was created Duke in 1720. Collins's *Peerage*, i. 785. Johnson calls Dorset's father 'the universal patron.' *Ante*, HALIFAX, 5. In two other places he calls him 'Duke of Dorset.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 27; PRIOR, 18. He probably confused the two men. Addison wrote

mentioned with high praise, as the production of a man 'who could write very nobly'.

Philips was a zealous Whig, and therefore easily found access ⁴ to Addison and Steele²; but his ardour seems not to have procured him any thing more than kind words³, since he was reduced to translate *The Persian Tales*⁴ for Tonson, for which he was afterwards reproached, with this addition of contempt, that he worked for half-a-crown⁵. The book is divided into many

to Philips:—'I think you should find out some moral topic, or reflection, or compliment to Lord Dorset for your conclusion.' Addison's *Works*, v. 376. The advice was not taken, and his Lordship is only mentioned in the line—

'What present shall the Muse to Dorset bring?'

Swift, who mentions the verses on March 22, 1708-9 (*Works*, xv. 322), must have seen them in manuscript. They appeared in *The Tatler* of May 7, 1709, No. xii.

¹ Pope wrote on Oct. 28, 1710:—'In the whole I agree with *The Tatler* [No. x] that we have no better eclogues in our language [than Philips's]. This gentleman, if I am not much mistaken in his talent, is capable of writing very nobly, as I guess by a small copy of his on the Danish Winter.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 106. On Dec. 21, 1712, Pope wrote:—'Mr. Philips has two lines which seem to me what the French call very *picturesque*—

"All hid in snow in bright confusion lie,

And with one dazzling waste fatigue the eye." *Ib.* p. 178.

'The opening of this poem is incomparably fine. The latter part is tedious and trifling.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 436.

² *Ante*, ADDISON, 115; SWIFT, 51 n.

'When simple Macer, now of high renown,

First sought a poet's fortune in the town,

'Twas all th' ambition his high soul could feel,

To wear red stockings, and to dine with Steele.'

Warton thought that 'Macer' was

James Moore Smyth (*alias* James Moore, *ante*, POPE, 361). Warton's *Pope*, ii. 319. Philips was almost certainly meant.

In Pope's *Barbarous Revenge on Mr. Curll*, among the 'Instructions to a porter how to find Mr. Curll's authors' is the following:—'At a blacksmith's shop in the Friars, a Pindaric writer in red stockings.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 471.

³ Steele wrote to Swift on Oct. 8, 1709:—'Mr. Philips is still a shepherd, and walks very lonely through this unthinking crowd in London.' Swift's *Works*, xv. 332. On Dec. 15, 1710, when the Tories were in power, Swift wrote to Stella:—'Addison is soliciting me to make another of his friends Queen's Secretary at Geneva; and I will do it if I can; it is poor Pastoral Philips.' *Ib.* ii. 111. On June 30, 1711, he wrote:—'I will do nothing for Philips; I find he is more a puppy than ever.' *Ib.* p. 291. See also *ib.* iii. 80. For an anecdote of Philips and the bailiff see *ante*, SAVAGE, 35 n.

⁴ *The Thousand and one Days. Persian Tales*. Translated from the French of La Croix, 1709. Lady M. W. Montagu wrote to Pope from Belgrade in 1717:—'I pass for a great scholar with him [a learned Turk], by relating to him some of the *Persian tales*, which I find are genuine. At first he believed I understood Persian.' Montagu's *Letters*, 1837, i. 349.

⁵ 'The Bard whom pilfer'd Pastorals renown,
Who turns a Persian tale for half-a-crown.'

POPE, *Prolog. Sat.* l. 179.

'Pope accuses him of poverty in a

sections, for each of which if he received half-a-crown his reward, as writers then were paid, was very liberal¹; but half-a-crown had a mean sound².

- 5 He was employed in promoting the principles of his party by epitomising Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*. The original book is written with such depravity of genius, such mixture of the fop and pedant, as has not often appeared. The *Epitome* is free enough from affectation, but has little spirit or vigour³.
- 6 In 1712 he brought upon the stage *The Distrest Mother*, almost a translation of Racine's *Andromaque*⁴. Such a work requires no uncommon powers⁵; but the friends of Philips exerted every art to promote his interest. Before the appearance of the play a whole *Spectator*, none indeed of the best, was devoted to its praise⁶; while it yet continued to be acted another *Spectator*

couplet wherein a falsehood is told in bad English.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, ii. 112.

¹ The Introduction and the first 'Ten Days' fill seventy pages of a duodecimo in fair type. Johnson, who wrote 48 octavo pages of the *Life of Savage* at a sitting' (*ante*, SAVAGE, App. F F), could have probably earned his eleven half-crowns for translating these eleven sections. Pope, in 1739, described Johnson as 'choosing rather to die upon the road [on his way to Dublin] than be starved to death in translating for booksellers.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 133.

In *Joseph Andrews*, Bk. iii. ch. 3, a gentleman says that he had by translating 'in half a year writ himself almost blind, and half-worked and half-starved himself to death.'

² 'Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,

Though half-a-crown o'er-pays his sweat's worth.'

SWIFT, *Works*, xii. 417.

Among the satirists it is the sum given to a woman of the town. See *ib.* ix. 230.

³ See Appendix P.

⁴ Lady Strafford wrote on March 25, 1712:—'Here is a new play which has taken extremely, call'd *the distrest mother*. I had not seen it tell last night, for I dont much love Traidys [tragedies], but I think it's a very

good won.' *Wentworth Papers*, p. 280.

Pope, a year later, in his Prologue to *Cato* said:—

'Your scene precariously subsists too long
On French translation and Italian song.'

On this Warton remarks:—'He glances obliquely at *The Distrest Mother*.' Warton's *Pope's Works*, i. 394.

In *Macer* Pope describes how Philips

'ventur'd on the town,
And with a borrow'd play out-did poor Crowne.'

'John Crowne, a dramatist, was notorious for plagiarism.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 467.

⁵ 'Philips told me,' said Garrick, 'that during his writing the mad-scene he was so carried away by his enthusiastic rapture, that when Mr. Addison came into the room he did not know him, and that, as soon as he recovered from his fit, he said to him:—"What, Joe, is it you?" "That," said Quin, "was to let you know how familiar he was with Mr. Addison."' Davies's *Dram. Misc.* iii. 284.

⁶ No. 290, Feb. 1, 1711-12, by Steele.

was written, to tell what impression it made upon Sir Roger'; and on the first night a select audience, says Pope, was called together to applaud it¹.

It was concluded with the most successful Epilogue that was⁷ ever yet spoken on the English theatre. The three first nights it was recited twice, and not only continued to be demanded through the run, as it is termed, of the play, but whenever it is recalled to the stage, where by peculiar fortune, though a copy from the French, it yet keeps its place³, the Epilogue is still expected, and is still spoken⁴.

The propriety of epilogues in general, and consequently of this,⁸ was questioned by a correspondent of *The Spectator*, whose Letter was undoubtedly admitted for the sake of the Answer, which soon followed, written with much zeal and acrimony⁵. The attack and the defence equally contributed to stimulate curiosity and continue attention. It may be discovered in the defence that Prior's Epilogue to *Phædra*⁶ had a little excited jealousy; and something of Prior's plan may be discovered in the performance of his rival.

Of this distinguished Epilogue the reputed author was the⁹ wretched Budgel, whom Addison used to denominate 'the man who calls me cousin'; and when he was asked how such a silly fellow could write so well, replied, 'The Epilogue was quite another thing when I saw it first⁸.' It was known in Tonson's family,

¹ No. 335, March 25, 1712, by Addison. It was puffed also, more or less directly, in Nos. 334, 338, 341.

'Many days,' writes Cibber (*Apolo-logy*, p. 283), 'had our house [Drury Lane Theatre] been filled by the influence of Steele's pen.'

² 'An audience was laid for *The Distrest Mother*.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 46; ante, ADDISON, 59.

³ 'It never fails bringing tears into the eyes of a sensible audience, and will, perhaps, ever continue to be a stock play on the lists of the theatres.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 167.

It was in the part of Orestes in this play that Macready, in 1816, first appeared on a London stage. Macready's *Reminiscences*, i. 125.

In *Brit. Mus. Cata.* sixteen editions—the last in 1883—are mentioned.

⁴ Johnson's authority for the early

success of the Epilogue is *The Spectator*, No. 341. I have seen a marginal note by Mrs. Piozzi on this *Spectator*, where she says:—'What I cannot comprehend at all is that since my time—nay since Mrs. Siddon's time—the Gallery always will call for this Epilogue, which is now unreservedly given to Addison; but how the Gallery people came to know its value so well I guess not.'

For the Epilogue see Addison's *Works*, v. 228.

⁵ Nos. 338, 341.

⁶ *Ante*, SMITH, 46; PRIOR, 60.

⁷ See Appendix Q.

⁸ 'When somebody said he wondered how so silly a fellow could blunder upon so good a thing, Addison said:—"Oh, Sir, it was quite another thing when first it was brought to me."' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 257.

and told to Garrick, that Addison was himself the author of it, and that when it had been at first printed with his name, he came early in the morning, before the copies were distributed, and ordered it to be given to Budgel, that it might add weight to the solicitation which he was then making for a place¹.

- 10 Philips was now high in the ranks of literature. His play was applauded; his translations from Sappho had been published in *The Spectator*²; he was an important and distinguished associate of clubs witty and political; and nothing was wanting to his happiness, but that he should be sure of its continuance.
- 11 The work which had procured him the first notice from the publick was his six *Pastorals*³, which, flattering the imagination with Arcadian scenes, probably found many readers, and might have long passed as a pleasing amusement had they not been unhappily too much commended.
- 12 The rustick Poems of Theocritus were so highly valued by the Greeks and Romans that they attracted the imitation of Virgil, whose *Eclogues* seem to have been considered as precluding all attempts of the same kind; for no shepherds were taught to sing by any succeeding poet till Nemesian and Calphurnius ventured their feeble efforts in the lower age of Latin literature⁴.
- 13 At the revival of learning in Italy it was soon discovered that a dialogue of imaginary swains might be composed with little difficulty, because the conversation of shepherds excludes profound

¹ Johnson's wife had heard much the same story from 'Draper, Tonson's partner.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 46. Warton had it from Garrick, who had it from some of the Tonsons. *Essay on Pope*, ii. 303.

Budgell did not get a placetill the accession of George I. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² Nos. 223, 229; *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 108.

³ *Ib.* p. 5. 'You have an admirable hand at a sheep-crook,' Addison wrote to him. *Works*, v. 383*.

For Blake's 'twenty drawings to illustrate Philips's *Pastorals*' see Gilchrist's *Blake*, i. 273.

⁴ Gibbon, writing of the year A.D. 282, says:—'The voice of congratulation and flattery was not however silent; and we may still peruse, with

pleasure and contempt, an eclogue which was composed on the accession of the Emperor Carus.' In a note he adds:—'See the first eclogue of Calphurnius.' *The Decline and Fall*, ed. 1897, i. 338.

Of Numerian, the son of Carus, he says that 'in an age very far from being destitute of poetical merit he contended for the prize with the most celebrated of his contemporaries. . . . He won all the crowns from Nemesianus, with whom he vied in didactic poetry.' *Ib.* p. 347.

According to Professor Bury, 'Calphurnius wrote under Nero. Some of the idylls which were ascribed to him were written by Nemesianus.' *Ib.* p. 311 n.

* This letter is conjecturally dated 'Dublin Castle, August, 1710.' The *Pastorals*, first printed in *Tonson's Misc.* 1709, were published independently in 1710.

or refined sentiment; and, for images and descriptions, Satyrs and Fauns, and Naiads and Dryads, were always within call, and woods and meadows, and hills and rivers, supplied variety of matter, which, having a natural power to sooth the mind, did not quickly cloy it¹.

Petrarch entertained the learned men of his age with the ¹⁴ novelty of modern Pastorals in Latin. Being not ignorant of Greek², and finding nothing in the word *Eclogue* of rural meaning, he supposed it to be corrupted by the copiers, and therefore called his own productions *Æglogues*, by which he meant to express the talk of goatherds, though it will mean only the talk of goats. This new name was adopted by subsequent writers, and amongst others by our Spenser³.

More than a century afterwards (1498) Mantuan published his ¹⁵ *Bucolicks* with such success that they were soon dignified by Badius with a comment, and, as Scaliger complained, received into schools and taught as classical⁴; his complaint was vain,

¹ For pastoral poetry see *ante*, MILTON, 181. Burns, in his lines *On Pastoral Poetry*, shows how Allan Ramsay succeeded in it where modern poets failed.

² 'As Petrarch advanced in life the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. . . . Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch.' GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall*, vii. 119, 121.

³ Johnson, in 1754, wrote to T. Warton:—'There is an old English and Latin book of poems by Barclay, called *The Ship of Fools*; at the end of which are a number of *Eglogues*; so he writes it, from *Egloga*, which are probably the first in our language.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 277.

⁴ 'HOLOFERNES. Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat,—and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice;

Venetia, Venetia,

Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.

Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not.' *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 2. 90. Johnson in his *Shakespeare*, ii. 160,

quotes from Warburton a note of La Monnaye's:—'Il désigne le *Carme* de Baptiste Mantuan, dont au commencement du 16^e me siècle on lisait publiquement à Paris les *Poésies*, si célèbres alors que, comme dit plaisamment Farnabe dans sa préface sur Martial, les Pédans ne faisaient nulle difficulté de préférer à l'*Arma virumque cano* le *Fauste, precor, gelida*, c'est-à-dire à l'*Entéide* de Virgile les *Eglogues* de Mantuan.'

Mantuan was included by Colet in the list of 'Christian authors' to be taught in St. Paul's School. Masson's *Milton*, i. 76.

[These are *Bucolica F. Baptistae [Spagnuoli] Mantuani* . . . in *Æglogas divisa*: Mantuae, 1498. The reference is to the elder Scaliger, who, after praising Baptista Fiera, also of Mantua, as 'doctus valde, valde accuratus sed durus,' continues, 'Eius popularis Carmelita (his fellow townsman the Carmelite) longe diversissimus, mollis, languidus, fluxus, in-compositus. . . . Hoc propterea dico quia in nostro tyrocinio literarum triviales quidam paedagogi etiam Virgilianis pastoribus huius hircos praetulere. Adeo sui quisque sequitur Ideam ingenii.' Iul. Caesaris Scaligeri *Poetices*, 1561, libr. vi. p. 304 D.

and the practice, however injudicious, spread far and continued long. Mantuan was read, at least in some of the inferior schools of this kingdom, to the beginning of the present century¹. The speakers of Mantuan carried their disquisitions beyond the country, to censure the corruptions of the Church²; and from him Spenser learned to employ his swains on topicks of controversy.

- 16 The Italians soon transferred Pastoral Poetry into their own language: Sannazaro wrote *Arcadia* in prose and verse³; Tasso and Guarini wrote *Favole Boscareccie*, or Sylvan Dramas⁴; and all nations of Europe filled volumes with Thyrsis and Damon, and Thestylis and Phyllis.

- 17 Philips thinks it 'somewhat strange to conceive how, in an age so addicted to the Muses, Pastoral Poetry never comes to be so much as thought upon⁵.' His wonder seems very unseasonable; there had never, from the time of Spenser, wanted writers to talk occasionally of *Arcadia* and *Strephon*, and half the book in which he first tried his powers consists of dialogues on queen Mary's death, between *Tityrus* and *Corydon* or *Mopsus* and *Menalcas*⁶. A series or book of Pastorals, however, I know not that any one had then lately published⁷.

There are in the British Museum five English editions of Mantuan's *Bucolics* printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they were translated into English verse by George Turberville in 1567 and by Thomas Harvey in 1656.]

¹ Casimir's Latin poems were reprinted at 'Staraviesia' in 1892 (624 pages) 'ad usum alumnorum S. I.' A copy is in the British Museum. For Casimir see *ante*, COWLEY, 137.

² So did Milton in *Lycidas*.

³ 'Sannazaro introduces sea-calves in the room of kids and lambs, and presents his mistress with oysters instead of fruits and flowers.' *The Guardian*, No. 28. See also No. 32; *The Rambler*, No. 36; *ante*, COWLEY, 121 n. 6.

'The Bachelor bid Don Quixote be of good courage, and rouse himself to enter upon his pastoral exercise; telling him he had already composed an eclogue for the occasion not inferior to any written by Sannazarius.' Jervas's *Don Quixote*, iv. 411.

⁴ 'It was in the Court of Ferrara

that the Italians invented and refined the pastoral comedy, a romantic *Arcadia* which violates the truth of manners and the simplicity of nature, but which commands our indulgence by the elaborate luxury of eloquence and wit. The *Aminta* of Tasso was written for the amusement of Alphonso II. . . . Of the numerous imitations the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, which alone can vie with the fame and merit of the original, is the work of the Duke's Secretary of State.' GIBBON, *Misc. Works*, iii. 456.

For Guarini see *ante*, WALLER, 153.

⁵ Johnson quotes Philips's Preface. *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 5. Addison wrote of it to Philips:—'I am wonderfully pleased with your little essay of Pastoral in your last, and think you very just in the theory as well as in the practical part. Our poetry in England at present runs all into lampoon, which has seldom anything of true satire in it besides rhyme and ill-nature.' *Works*, v. 381.

⁶ *Ante*, PHILIPS, 1.

⁷ For interesting remarks on pasto-

Not long afterwards Pope made the first display of his powers 18 in four *Pastorals*, written in a very different form. Philips had taken Spenser, and Pope took Virgil for his pattern. Philips endeavoured to be natural, Pope laboured to be elegant¹.

Philips was now favoured by Addison, and by Addison's com- 19 panions, who were very willing to push him into reputation². *The Guardian*³ gave an account of Pastoral, partly critical and partly historical, in which, when the merit of the moderns is compared, Tasso and Guarini are censured for remote thoughts and unnatural refinements; and, upon the whole, the Italians and French are all excluded from rural poetry, and the pipe of the Pastoral Muse is transmitted by lawful inheritance from Theocritus to Virgil, from Virgil to Spenser, and from Spenser to Philips⁴.

With this inauguration of Philips, his rival Pope was not much 20 delighted; he therefore drew a comparison of Philips's performance with his own, in which, with an unexampled and unequalled artifice of irony, though he has himself always the advantage, he gives the preference to Philips⁵. The design of aggrandising himself he disguised with such dexterity that, though Addison discovered it, Steele was deceived, and was afraid of displeasing Pope by publishing his paper⁶. Published, however, it was (*Guard.* 40), and from that time Pope and Philips lived in a perpetual reciprocation of malevolence⁷.

ral poetry see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 28.

¹ *Ante*, GAY, 4; POPE, 68, 314.

² Addison in *The Spectator*, No. 523, praises Philips for having 'given a new life and a more natural beauty to this way of writing. . . . Virgil and Homer might compliment their heroes by interweaving the actions of deities with their achievements; but for a Christian author to write in the Pagan creed . . . would be downright puerility. and unpardonable in a poet that is past sixteen.' In this last line a stroke seems aimed at Pope, who gave out that his *Pastorals* were written at the age of sixteen. Addison praises Philips's *Pastorals* also in *The Guardian*, No. 119, and Steele quotes them in *The Spectator*, No. 400.

³ Nos. 15, 22, 23, 28, 30, 32, March and April, 1713.

⁴ 'Our countrymen, Spenser and

Philips, have improved the beauties of the ancients.' No. 30. (In this number Pope is quoted.)

'Theocritus left his dominions to Virgil, Virgil left his to his son Spenser, and Spenser was succeeded by his eldest-born Philips.' No. 32.

Tickell, in *The Prospect of Peace*, says:—

'With Philips shall the peaceful vallies ring,

And Britain hear a second Spenser sing.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 171.

⁵ *Ante*, GAY, 4; POPE, 68, 285.

⁶ Heyne mistook this irony, as appears by p. 202, vol. i of his *Virgil* [ed. 1767, Preface, p. 202]. Warton's *Pope's Works*, iv. 28. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 251.

⁷ Johnson's authority is a note by Warburton in his *Pope's Works*, vii. 203.

⁸ *Post*, PHILIPS, 35. Pope, in *The*

- 21 In poetical powers, of either praise or satire, there was no proportion between the combatants; but Philips, though he could not prevail by wit, hoped to hurt Pope with another weapon, and charged him, as Pope thought, with Addison's approbation, as disaffected to the government¹.
- 22 Even with this he was not satisfied; for, indeed, there is no appearance that any regard was paid to his clamours. He proceeded to grosser insults, and hung up a rod at Button's, with which he threatened to chastise Pope², who appears to have been extremely exasperated, for in the first edition of his Letters he calls Philips 'rascal,' and in the last still charges him with detaining in his hands the subscriptions for *Homer* delivered to him by the Hanover Club³.
- 23 I suppose it was never suspected that he meant to appropriate the money; he only delayed, and with sufficient meanness, the gratification of him by whose prosperity he was pained.
- 24 Men sometimes suffer by injudicious kindness; Philips became ridiculous, without his own fault, by the absurd admiration of his

Art of Sinking, ch. vi, places Philips among the Tortoises, who 'are slow and chill, and, like pastoral writers, delight much in gardens: they have for the most part a fine embroidered shell, and underneath it a heavy lump.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 362. He attacks him also in *A Farewell to London*; *The Dunciad*, i. 105, 258, iii. 326; *The Three Gentle Shepherds*; *Macer*; *Proh. Sat.* ll. 100, 179; *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* ii. 1. 417.

¹ 'His constant cry was that Mr. P. was an Enemy to the Government.' *The Dunciad*, iii. 326 n.; Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 186.

Pope in a letter (probably spurious, *ante*, POPE, 106 n. 3) dated June 8, 1714, wrote that Philips 'one evening at Button's, as I was told, said that I was entered into a cabal with Dean Swift and others to write against the Whig interest. . . . Mr. Addison . . . assured me of his disbelief of what had been said.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 209. Pope says nothing here of 'Addison's approbation' of Philips's charge.

² Broome wrote of Pope to Fenton on May 3, 1728:—'I wonder he is

not thrashed; but his littleness is his protection; no man shoots a wren. He should rather be whipped; and it was pleasant enough in Mr. Ambrose Philips to hang up a rod at Button's *in terrorem*, which scared away the little bard.' *Ib.* viii. 147.

Pope had this report in mind when, in the letter quoted in the last note, he wrote:—'Though I was almost every night in the same room with Mr. Philips he never offered me any indecorum.'

³ Philips, as Pope says, was Secretary to the Club. For a note of excuse of Addison's to Philips, beginning 'Dear Mr. Secretary,' see Addison's *Works*, v. 428. It was not *rascal* but *scoundrel* that Pope called him. He wrote:—'Upon the terms I ought to be with a man whom I think a scoundrel I would not ask him for this money, but commissioned one of the players, his equals, to receive it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 210. In the reprint of the letter in Warburton's *Pope*, vii. 203, the passage runs:—'Upon the terms I ought to be with such a man,' &c.

friends, who decorated him with honorary garlands which the first breath of contradiction blasted¹.

When upon the succession of the House of Hanover every 25 Whig expected to be happy, Philips seems to have obtained too little notice: he caught few drops of the golden shower, though he did not omit what flattery could perform². He was only made a Commissioner of the Lottery (1717)³, and, what did not much elevate his character, a Justice of the Peace⁴.

The success of his first play must naturally dispose him to turn 26 his hopes towards the stage: he did not, however, soon commit himself to the mercy of an audience, but contented himself with the fame already acquired, till after nine years he produced (1721) *The Briton*, a tragedy which, whatever was its reception, is now neglected, though one of the scenes, between Vanoc the British Prince and Valens the Roman General, is confessed to be written with great dramattick skill, animated by spirit truly poetical⁵.

He had not been idle though he had been silent, for he exhibited 27 another tragedy the same year, on the story of *Humphry Duke of Gloucester*. This tragedy is only remembered by its title⁶.

¹ Johnson said to Mrs. Thrale:— 'I know nobody who blasts by praise as you do; for whenever there is exaggerated praise everybody is set against a character.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 81.

² He flattered Halifax, Craggs, Carteret, and Walpole. *Eng. Poets*, lviii. 48, 50, 56, 75.

³ He was made Paymaster of the Lottery in Jan. 1714-15 'with a salary of £500, for the service of himself, clerks and others.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 265.

⁴ 'Paul Whitehead relates that when Addison became Secretary of State, Philips applied to him for some preferment, but was coolly answered that it was thought he was already provided for, by being made a Justice for Westminster. To this Philips replied:—"Though poetry was a trade he could not live by, yet he scorned to owe subsistence to another which he ought not to live by." Addison's *Works*, v. 428 n.

Fielding, who would not, as Justice for Westminster, like his predecessor plunder the poor, writes:—"I had re-

duced an income of about £500 a year of the dirtiest money upon earth to little more than £300; a considerable proportion of which remained with my clerk.' *Voyage to Lisbon*, Introduction.

Whitehead's anecdote is perhaps not true. In 1710 Addison told Philips he had recommended him to Somers; he ended his letter:—"Farewell, dear Philips, and believe me to be, more than I am able to express, Your most affectionate . . . servant." Addison's *Works*, v. 384.

Swift ridiculed Philips in *Sandys's Ghost* (*Works*, xiii. 295):—

'If Justice Philips' costive head
Some frigid rhymes disburses;
They shall like Persian tales be read,
And glad both babes and nurses.'

⁵ Act iii. sc. 8. There is not a quotable line in it.

⁶ It was produced on Feb. 15, 1722-3, and ran nine nights. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 266. 'It met with great applause.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 314. A third edition appeared in 1725. [*The Briton* had been produced the previous year.]

- 28 His happiest undertaking was of a paper called *The Freethinker*¹, in conjunction with associates, of whom one was Dr. Boulter, who, then only minister of a parish in Southwark, was of so much consequence to the government that he was made first bishop of Bristol, and afterwards primate of Ireland, where his piety and his charity will be long honoured².
- 29 It may easily be imagined that what was printed under the direction of Boulter would have nothing in it indecent or licentious: its title is to be understood as implying only freedom from unreasonable prejudice³. It has been reprinted in volumes, but is little read; nor can impartial criticism recommend it as worthy of revival.
- 80 Boulter was not well qualified to write diurnal essays, but he knew how to practise the liberality of greatness and the fidelity of friendship⁴. When he was advanced to the height of ecclesiastical dignity he did not forget the companion of his labours. Knowing Philips to be slenderly supported he took him to Ireland as partaker of his fortune; and, making him his secretary, added such preferments as enabled him to represent the county of Armagh in the Irish Parliament⁵.
- 81 In December, 1726, he was made secretary to the Lord Chancellor, and in August, 1733, became judge of the Prerogative Court⁶.

¹ It came out twice a week from March 24, 1718, to Sept. 30, 1720. See Cibber's *Lives*, v. 132.

² *Ante*, SWIFT, 81. He was made Bishop in 1719 and Archbishop in 1724.

³ It is so explained in the first number. This use of *freethinker* is not noticed either in Johnson's *Dict.* or in the *New Eng. Dict.*

⁴ 'Does not one table Bavius still admit?

Still to one bishop Philips seem a wit?' POPE, *Prolog. Sat.* l. 99.

⁵ Cibber's *Lives*, v. 133. Swift wrote to Pope on Sept. 29, 1725:—'I have not seen Philips, though formerly we were so intimate [*ante*, PHILIPS, 4 n. 3].' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 55. On Nov. 26 he wrote:—'Mr. Philips is *fort chancelant* whether he shall turn parson or no. But all employments here are engaged or in reversion.

Cast wits and cast beaux have a proper sanctuary in the Church. Yet we think it a severe judgment that a fine gentleman, and so much the finer for hating ecclesiastics, should be a domestic humble retainer to an Irish prelate. He is neither secretary nor gentleman-usher, yet serves in both capacities.' *Ib.* p. 62.

On July 8, 1726, Swift wrote to Sheridan:—'There is not so despised a creature here as your friend with the soft verses on children. I heartily pity him.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 38. Nevertheless in *Apollo's Edict* he wrote:—

'Simplicity alone can grace
The manners of the rural race.
Theocritus and Philips be
Your guides to true simplicity.'

Ib. xiv. 129.

⁶ In *Gent. Mag.* Sept. 1734, p. 512, is his appointment as Register (not Judge) of the Prerogative Court at

After the death of his patron¹ he continued some years in 32 Ireland; but at last longing as it seems for his native country, he returned (1748) to London, having doubtless survived most of his friends and enemies², and among them his dreaded antagonist Pope. He found, however, the duke of Newcastle still living³, and to him he dedicated his poems collected into a volume.

Having purchased an annuity of four hundred pounds⁴, he now 33 certainly hoped to pass some years of life in plenty and tranquillity⁵; but his hope deceived him: he was struck with a palsy, and died June 18, 1749, in his seventy-eighth year⁶.

Of his personal character all that I have heard is that he was 34 eminent for bravery and skill in the sword, and that in conversation he was solemn and pompous⁷. He had great sensibility of censure, if judgement may be made by a single story which I heard long ago from Mr. Ing, a gentleman of great eminence in Staffordshire⁸. 'Philips,' said he, 'was once at table when I asked him, How came thy king of Epirus to drive oxen, and to

Dublin. Macaulay, repeating Johnson's mistake, adds to it by making Philips's appointment one of the splendid rewards of literary merit which ceased with Walpole's administration. 'Johnson,' he says, 'came up to London' in 'a dark night between two sunny days.' *Essays*, i. 394. Walpole had been first minister thirteen years when the appointment was made, and Philips had held office but three years when Johnson came up to London.

¹ Boulter died on Sept. 28, 1742. *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 499. For his character see *ib.* p. 547.

² In the notice of his death the following year he is described as 'the last survivor of the excellent authors of the *Spectators*, *Tatlers*, and *Guardians*.' *Gent. Mag.* 1749, p. 284.

³ The Duke lived twenty years longer. For the Dedication see *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 3.

⁴ Cibber's *Lives*, v. 142.

⁵ Hawkins (*Life of Johnson*, p. 429) mentions finding in the *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford* (ed. 1742, p. 226) 'the case of the Duke of Buckinghamshire and Ambrose Philips,

who had purchased of the duke an estate as for Mr. Heneage Finch, but in truth for himself, at £2,000 less than he would have sold it for to anybody but Mr. Finch.'

⁶ *Gent. Mag.* 1749, p. 284. He was seventy-four. *Ante*, PHILIPS, 1 n.

⁷ Dr. Young reported how 'in a conversation Philips asked what sort of person they supposed Julius Caesar was. He was answered that from medals, &c., it appeared that he was a small man, and thin-faced. "Now for my part," said Ambrose, "I should take him to have been of a lean make, pale complexion, extremely neat in his dress, and five feet seven inches high"—an exact description of Philips himself.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 375.

Pope calls him 'lean Philips,' and describes him under the character of *Macer*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 467, 482; Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 269. He and Prior (*ante*, PRIOR, 45 n.) were perhaps the only lean men among the 'wits' of the age.

⁸ There is a bare mention of him in *John. Letters*, ii. 325.

say 'I'm goaded on by love'¹? After which question he never spoke again.'

- 85 Of *The Distrest Mother* not much is pretended to be his own², and therefore it is no subject of criticism: his other two tragedies, I believe, are not below mediocrity, nor above it. Among the Poems comprised in the late collection³, the *Letter from Denmark*⁴ may be justly praised; the *Pastorals*, which by the writer of *The Guardian* were ranked as one of the four genuine productions of the rustick Muse, cannot surely be despicable⁵. That they exhibit a mode of life which does not exist, nor ever existed, is not to be objected; the supposition of such a state is allowed to Pastoral. In his other poems he cannot be denied the praise of lines sometimes elegant; but he has seldom much force or much comprehension. The pieces that please best are those which, from Pope and Pope's adherents, procured him the name of *Namby Pamby*⁶, the poems of short lines by which he paid his court to all ages and characters, from Walpole the 'steerer of the realm'⁷, to miss Pulteney in the nursery⁸. The numbers are smooth and spritely, and the diction is seldom faulty. They are not loaded with much thought, yet if they had been written by Addison they would have had admirers: little things are not valued but when they are done by those who can do greater⁹.

- 86 In his translations from Pindar¹⁰ he found the art of reaching all the obscurity of the Theban bard, however he may fall below

¹ It is not Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, but Orestes who says:—

'Goaded on by love
I canvass'd all the suffrages of
Greece.' *The Distrest Mother*,
Act i. sc. 1.

There is nothing in the play as printed about driving oxen.

² *Ante*, PHILIPS, 6.

³ *The English Poets*.

⁴ *Ante*, PHILIPS, 3.

⁵ *Ante*, PHILIPS, 19. 'His *Pastorals*, if the reader can so far lay aside all common sense as to forget the inherent absurdity of *Pastorals*, deserve much of the commendation which they once received.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, ii. 112.

Thackeray calls him 'a serious and dreary idyllic cockney.' *English Humourists*, ed. Phelps, p. 164.

'The trial of skill between the musician and the nightingale, which forms the subject of the fifth *Pastoral*, is narrated with singular sweetness. In true poetic feeling it is much beyond anything in the *Pastorals* of his scoffing critic.' ELWIN, *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 253.

⁶ See Appendix R.

⁷ 'Steerer of a mighty realm,
Pilot waking o'er the helm.'

Eng. Poets, lviii. 76.

⁸ She is addressed as

'Dimply damsel, sweetly smiling,
All caressing, none beguiling.'

Ib. p. 73.

⁹ I have restored the reading of the first edition. In that of 1783, evidently by a blunder, *can* is changed into *cannot*.

¹⁰ *Eng. Poets*, lviii. 89.

his sublimity: he will be allowed, if he has less fire, to have more smoke.

He has added nothing to English poetry, yet at least half his 87 book deserves to be read¹: perhaps he valued most himself that part which the critick would reject.

APPENDIX P (PAGE 314)

It was of Hacket Addison wrote:—‘It was the motto of a Bishop very eminent for his piety and good works in King Charles the Second’s reign, *Inservi Deo et lætare*—Serve God and be cheerful.’ *The Freeholder*, No. 45.

He died in 1670. His *Life of Williams*, under the title of *Scrinia Reserata*, was published in folio in 1693; Philips’s abridgment, a small quarto, in 1700. The following is an instance of the two styles:—

HACKET (p. 17).

‘As the Greek Adagy goes, *Nil sine Theseo*, Theseus made one in every Master-piece of chivalry: Such was our *Theseus* to the *Athens* where he lived. And he was considerably lookt upon for such service, for he well understood anything he went about, he had a fineness to be Gracious with them to whom he was sent, and no man could deliver a Tale more smoothly, or wrinkle it less with digressions or Parentheses. To say much in brief, he had the Policy and Gravity of a Statesman before he had a Hair upon his Chin.’

PHILIPS (p. 19).

‘He began to grow into considerable Repute and Esteem in his College. For, by that time he was 25 years old, or thereabout, he had the Honour to be imploy’d by his Society in some concerns of theirs.’

Coleridge said of the *Life*:—‘You learn more from it of that which is valuable towards an insight into the times preceding the Civil War than from all the ponderous histories and memoirs now composed about that period.’ *Table Talk*, 1884, p. 229.

APPENDIX Q (PAGE 315)

‘Addison used to speak often very slightly of Budgell, “One that calls me cousin,” “the man that stamped himself into my acquaintance.”’ POPE, Spence’s *Anec.* p. 161. Spence adds that ‘Budgell lodged in the

¹ His poems fill little more than 100 pages of *Eng. Poets*, lvii. Pope calls him the bard who

‘Just writes to make his barrenness appear,
And strains from hard-bound brains eight lines a-year.’

Prolog. Sat. l. 181.

See also Pope’s *Macer*, l. 9. For ‘Philips’ costive head’ see *ante*, PHILIPS, 25 n. 4. [Gray’s poems fill only 61 pages of *Eng. Poets*, lxiv.]

room over Addison's. He walked much, and was troublesome to him. One night Addison was so tired of the noise that he invited him down to sup with him, and that began their acquaintance.'

[The second part of the anecdote can scarcely be true, for they were cousins, Addison's mother being a sister of William Gulston, Bishop of Bristol, while Budgell's was the Bishop's only daughter. *N. & Q.* 5 S. vi. 350 and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* i. 131, vii. 224.]

Perhaps Budgell was provincial in using the word 'cousin.' R. Polwhele, who was born in 1760, wrote in 1822 of Devonshire:—'Among the little gentry there are many affected people who think it vulgar to call their kinsmen, cousins. But not many years ago the Courtenays and the Fortescues had not dismissed the word from their vocabulary.' *Traditions and Recollections*, p. 722. Budgell was a Devonshire man.

He drowned himself on May 4, 1737, 'by jumping out of a boat at London Bridge. The Coroner's Jury brought him in lunatick.' *Genl. Mag.* 1737, p. 315. He was accused of forging a will. See Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 229, v. 54; Pope's *Prol. Sat.* l. 378; *ante*, ADDISON, 44, 115.

APPENDIX R (PAGE 324)

[In 1729 Carey, the author of *Sally in our Alley*, published with other poems one entitled *Namby Pamby*, intended as a parody on Philips's Ode To the *Honourable Miss Carteret* the infant daughter of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*Eng. Poets*, lvii. 61). Carey, in ridicule of its 'infantine sentiments' and adopting the same metre, wrote this parody 'in which all the songs of children at play are wittily introduced, and called it by a name which children might be supposed to call the author whose name was Ambrose [Philips], *Namby Pamby*.' Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, v. 185. See also Cibber's *Lives*, v. 139. The following lines will serve as a specimen:—

'Let your little verses flow
Gently sweetly, row by row;
Let the verse the subject fit,
Little subject, little wit.
Namby Pamby is your guide,
Albion's joy, Hibernia's pride.

Now methinks I hear him say
Boys and girls come out to play,
Moon does shine as bright as day.
Now my Namby Pamby's found
Sitting on the *Friar's ground*
Picking silver, picking gold;
Namby Pamby's never old.'

Namby Pamby; or, a Panegyric on the New Versification, appended to Carey's *Chrononhotonthologos*, ed. 1777.]

In *The Dunciad*, ed. 1729, l. 322 in Bk. iii runs:—

'And Namby Pamby be prefer'd for wit.'

Pope adds in a note :—‘An author whose eminence in the infantine style obtained him this name.’ In later editions the line runs :—

‘Lo! Ambrose Philips is,’ &c.

In a suppressed couplet in *Prol. Sat.* Pope described him as—

‘Nurse Namby with a song to sucking child,
The stiff Anacreon and the Pindar mild.’

Pope’s *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 255.

In *The Art of Sinking*, ch. xi, he quotes him as an example of ‘The Infantine.’ *Ib.* x. 383. Speaking of Gay’s *Fables* he wrote :—‘Mr. Philips will take it ill to be taught that one may write things to a child without being childish.’ *Ib.* vii. 67.

Swift, in his *Bettesworth’s Exultation*, asks :—

‘And who by the Drapier would not rather damn’d be
Than demigoddized by madrigal Namby.’ *Works*, xii. 419.

He parodied Philips’s verses in *Helter Skelter* and *On Rover, a Lady’s Spaniel*. *Ib.* xiv. 202, 347. See also Addison’s *Works*, vi. 696, for other verses attributed to Swift.

Lamb, after quoting some verses by Wither, continues :—‘To the measure in which these lines are written the wits of Queen Anne’s days contemptuously gave the name of Namby Pamby, in ridicule of Ambrose Philips, who has used it in some instances, as in the lines on Cuzzoni, to my feeling at least, very deliciously.’ *Poems, Plays and Essays*, ed. 1888, p. 300.

The following are the lines :—

‘Little Syren of the stage,
Charmer of an idle age,
Empty warbler, breathing lyre,
Wanton gale of fond desire,
Bane of ev’ry manly art,
Sweet enfeebler of the heart!
O, too pleasing in thy strain,
Hence to southern climes again;
Tuneful mischief, vocal spell,
To this island bid farewell;
Leave us as we ought to be,
Leave the Britons rough and free.’

Eng. Poets, lvii. 59.

Writing of the small-pox which had attacked Miss Carteret Philips prettily says (*ib.* p. 78) :—

‘O’er her features let it pass
Like the breeze o’er springing grass.’

WEST

- 1 GILBERT WEST is one of the writers of whom I regret my inability to give a sufficient account; the intelligence which my enquiries have obtained is general and scanty¹.
- 2 He was the son of the reverend Dr. West; perhaps him who published *Pindar* at Oxford about the beginning of this century². His mother was sister to Sir Richard Temple, afterwards lord Cobham³. His father, purposing to educate him for the Church, sent him first to Eton, and afterwards to Oxford⁴; but he was seduced to a more airy mode of life, by a commission in a troop of horse procured him by his uncle⁵.
- 3 He continued some time in the army, though it is reasonable to suppose that he never sunk into a mere soldier⁶, nor ever lost the love or much neglected the pursuit of learning; and afterwards, finding himself more inclined to civil employment, he laid down his commission, and engaged in business under the lord Townshend, then secretary of state, with whom he attended the king to Hanover⁷.
- 4 His adherence to lord Townshend ended in nothing but a nomination (May, 1729) to be clerk-extraordinary of the Privy Council, which produced no immediate profit; for it only placed

¹ Johnson wrote to West's cousin, Lord Westcote:—'I have another life in hand, that of Mr. West, about which I am quite at a loss; any information respecting him would be of great use.' *John. Letters*, ii. 188.

² The poet's father, Dr. Richard West, with Robert Welsted, edited *Pindar* in 1697. His daughter married Admiral Hood, Viscount Bridport. *Chatham Corres.* ii. 439.

³ *Ante*, HAMMOND, 3; POPE, 202, 272. Her sister was the mother of Lords Lyttelton * and Westcote. Burke's *Peerage*, under Lyttelton.

⁴ He matriculated on March 16, 1721-2, aged 18; B.A. 1725. *Alumni Oxon.*

⁵ *Ante*, SAVAGE, 287.

⁶ Johnson, paraphrasing Prince Henry's speech in 1 *Henry IV*, ii. 8, beginning, 'I am not yet of Percy's mind,' writes:—'I am not yet of Percy's mind, who thinks all the time lost that is not spent in bloodshed, forgets decency and civility, and has nothing but the barren talk of a brutal soldier.' *Shakespeare*, iv. 155.

In *The Idler*, No. 21, he writes:—'The most contemptible of all human stations is that of a soldier in time of peace.' See also Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 267.

⁷ Townshend attended George I to Hanover in 1723 and 1725. Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 253, 472.

him in a state of expectation and right of succession, and it was very long before a vacancy admitted him to profit¹.

Soon afterwards he married, and settled himself in a very pleasant house at Wickham in Kent², where he devoted himself to learning and to piety. Of his learning the late Collection³ exhibits evidence, which would have been yet fuller if the dissertations which accompany his version of *Pindar*⁴ had not been improperly omitted. Of his piety the influence has, I hope, been extended far by his *Observations on the Resurrection*, published in 1747⁵, for which the University of Oxford created him a Doctor of Laws by diploma (March 30, 1748)⁶, and would doubtless have reached yet further had he lived to complete what he had for some time meditated, the Evidences of the truth of the New Testament. Perhaps it may not be without effect to tell that he read the prayers of the publick liturgy every morning to his family, and that on Sunday evening he called his servants into the parlour, and read to them first a sermon and then prayers. Crashaw is now not the only maker of verses to whom may be given the two venerable names of 'Poet and Saint'.⁷

He was very often visited by Lyttelton and Pitt, who, when they were weary of faction and debates⁸, used at Wickham to

¹ In *The Royal Kalendar*, 1816, p. 124, Charles C. F. Greville is entered as Clerk Extraordinary of the Privy Council. 'He entered in 1821 upon the duties of Clerk of the Council in Ordinary.' *Greville Memoirs*, Preface, p. 11. In the *Kalendar* for 1793, p. 87, there were four Extraordinary Clerks, waiting to step, each in his turn, into a dead man's shoes. 'Montague purchased for £1,500 the place of one of the Clerks of the Council.' *Ante*, HALIFAX, 5.

² West Wickham, nearly three miles south-west of Bromley. *Lewis's Top. Dict.*

In his *Inscription on a Summer-House* West says of the spot:—

'And when too much repose brings
on the spleen,

Or the gay city's idle pleasures
cloy;

Swift as my changing wish I change
the scene,

And now the country, now the
town enjoy.'

Eng. Poets, lvii. 324.

For a description of him and his wife at Wickham see Mrs. Montagu's *Letters*, 1813, iii. 104.

³ *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 115.

⁴ *The Odes of Pindar, with several other pieces in prose and verse, translated from the Greek, with a Dissertation on the Olympic Games*. 1749, 4^o.

⁵ In Dec. 1746. *Gent. Mag.* 1746, p. 672.

⁶ In the first edition the paragraph continued:—'and perhaps it may not be without effect to tell that he read prayers every evening to his family. Crashaw is now,' &c. For his Doctorate see Spence's *Anec.* p. 349.

⁷ 'Poet and Saint! to thee alone are given

The two most sacred names of
Earth and Heaven.'

COWLEY, *On the Death of Mr. Crashaw*, *Eng. Poets*, vii. 148.

Gibbon speaks of Lewis IX as 'disgraced by the title of Saint.' *Memoirs*, p. 71 n.

⁸ Shenstone wrote on May 2, 1761:—'The enmity betwixt Lord

find books and quiet, a decent table, and literary conversation¹. There is at Wickham a walk made by Pitt; and, what is of far more importance, at Wickham Lyttelton received that conviction which produced his *Dissertation on St. Paul*².

- 7 These two illustrious friends had for a while listened to the blandishments of infidelity, and when West's book was published it was bought by some who did not know his change of opinion, in expectation of new objections against Christianity; and as Infidels do not want malignity, they revenged the disappointment by calling him a methodist³.
- 8 Mr. West's income was not large, and his friends endeavoured, but without success, to obtain an augmentation. It is reported that the education of the young prince⁴ was offered to him, but that he required a more extensive power of superintendence than it was thought proper to allow him.
- 9 In time, however, his revenue was improved; he lived to have one of the lucrative clerkships of the Privy Council (1752)⁵, and

L—n [Lyttelton] and Mr. P— [Pitt] continues in its full force, insomuch that my Lord is to have no place while Mr. P— continues in the ministry.' Shenstone's *Works*, 1791, iii. 323. *Post*, LYTTELTON, 18.

'Here Lyttelton and his Lucy passed their bridal-night, and here, four years afterwards, in 1746, he wrote the Ode ending:—

'How much the wife is dearer than the bride.'

Eng. Poets, lxiv. 310.

On Jan. 17, 1747, he wrote to his father:—'Gilbert West would be happy in the reputation his book has gained him, if my poor Lucy [*post*, LYTTELTON, 9] was not so ill. However, his mind leans always to hope.' Lyttelton's *Misc. Works*, p. 706.

It was probably Lyttelton who introduced West to Pope, who bequeathed him £5, 'to be laid out in a memorial,' and a reversionary interest in £200. Warton's *Pope's Works*, ix. 417.

¹ *Post*, LYTTELTON, 12.

² This paragraph is not in the first edition.

Fielding in *Tom Jones* (dedicated to Lyttelton in 1749) makes Blifil in

the last chapter 'turn Methodist, in hopes of marrying a very rich widow of that sect.' In *Amelia* (published two years later), Bk. i. ch. 4, he makes a thief 'declare himself a Methodist.' Mrs. Thrale, in 1780, wrote to Johnson:—'Methodist is considered always a term of reproach, I trust, because I never yet did hear that any one person called himself a Methodist.' *Piozzi Letters*, ii. 119.

Cowper, on May 27, 1782, wrote of Rodney's great victory:—'Rodney is almost accounted a Methodist for ascribing his success to Providence.' *Works*, iv. 220.

Johnson defines *Methodist* in his *Dict.*: 'One of a new kind of Puritans lately arisen, so called from their profession to live by rules and in constant method.' See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 458.

⁴ Afterwards George III. On the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales (March 20, 1751), Prince George was provided with a Governor, Sub-Governor, Preceptor and Sub-Preceptor. Walpole's *Letters*, ii. 250.

⁵ In April, 1752. *Gent. Mag.* 1752, p. 193.

Mr. Pitt at last had it in his power to make him treasurer of Chelsea Hospital¹.

He was now sufficiently rich, but wealth came too late to be long enjoyed; nor could it secure him from the calamities of life: he lost (1755) his only son², and the year after (March 26)³ a stroke of the palsy brought to the grave one of the few poets to whom the grave might be without its terrors⁴.

Of his translations I have only compared the first *Olympick* 11 *Ode*⁵ with the original, and found my expectation surpassed, both by its elegance and its exactness. He does not confine himself to his author's train of stanzas, for he saw that the difference of the languages required a different mode of versification. The first strophe is eminently happy; in the second he has a little strayed from Pindar's meaning, who says, 'if thou, my soul, wishest to speak of games, look not in the desert sky for a planet hotter than the sun, nor shall we tell of nobler games than those of Olympia⁶.' He is sometimes too paraphrastical. Pindar bestows upon Hiero an epithet, which, in one word, signifies 'delighting in horses'; a word which in the translation generates these lines:

'Hiero's royal brows, whose care
Tends the courser's noble breed,
Pleas'd to nurse the pregnant mare,
Pleas'd to train the youthful steed⁷.'

¹ On April 6, 1754. The office was that of Paymaster. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² Jan. 1, 1755. *Gent. Mag.* 1755, p. 42.

³ *Ib.* 1756, p. 150.

⁴ In the first edition, 'to whom the grave needed not to be terrible.'

The following paragraph followed: 'His poems are in this Collection neither selected nor arranged as I should have directed, had either the choice or the order fallen under my care or notice. His *Institution of the Garter* is improperly omitted; instead of the mock tragedy of Lucian the version from Euripides, if both could not be inserted, should have been taken. Of the *Imitations of Spenser* one was published before the version of *Pindar*, and should therefore have had the first place.'

In the republication of the *Eng. Poets* no change was made in West's *Poems*.

⁵ *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 137.

'All that is left of Pindar's works being on the same subject is the more apt to be tiresome. This is what induced me to desire Mr. West not to translate the whole, but only to choose out some of them.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 178.

⁶ 'Who along the desert air
Seeks the faded starry train,
When the sun's meridian car
Roundillumes th' aetherial plain?
Who a nobler theme can choose
Than Olympia's sacred games?
Who more apt to fire the Muse,
When her various songs she
frames?'

Eng. Poets, lvii. 139.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 140.

Pindar says of Pelops that 'he came alone in the dark to the White Sea ;' and West,

'Near the billow-beaten side
Of the foam-besilver'd main,
Darkling, and alone, he stood ;'

which, however, is less exuberant than the former passage.

- 12 A work of this kind must in a minute examination discover many imperfections², but West's version, so far as I have considered it, appears to be the product of great labour and great abilities³.
- 18 His *Institution of the Garter* (1742)⁴ is written with sufficient knowledge of the manners that prevailed in the age to which it is referred, and with great elegance of diction ; but, for want of a process of events, neither knowledge nor elegance preserve the reader from weariness.
- 14 His *Imitations of Spenser*⁵ are very successfully performed, both with respect to the metre, the language, and the fiction ; and being engaged at once by the excellence of the sentiments and the artifice of the copy the mind has two amusements together. But such compositions are not to be reckoned among the great achievements of intellect, because their effect is local and temporary ; they appeal not to reason or passion, but to memory, and presuppose an accidental or artificial state of mind. An Imitation of Spenser is nothing to a reader, however acute, by whom Spenser has never been perused. Works of this

¹ *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 144.

² 'Though Johnson praised West's translation of Pindar, he pointed out the following passage as faulty, by expressing a circumstance so minute as to detract from the general dignity which should prevail :—

"Down then from thy glittering nail
Take, O Muse, thy Dorian lyre."
[*Ib.* p. 140.]

Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 28.

³ 'West has learning, good sense, and a tolerable style of versification.' GIBBON, *Misc. Works*, v. 585.

⁴ *The Institution of the Order of the Garter*. A Dramatic Poem, price 1s. 6d. *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 112. It is not in *Eng. Poets*, but it is in Dodsley's *Collection*, ii. 106.

⁵ *Eng. Poets*, lvii. 263-322.

Gray wrote to Richard West from Florence on July 16, 1740 :—'Now I talk of verses, Mr. Walpole and I have frequently wondered you should never mention a certain imitation of Spenser, published last year by a namesake of yours, with which we are all enraptured and enmarvailed.' *Letters*, i. 78.

'West began a school half Greek, half Gothick, which was followed by Mason, Gray and Warton, and is to be traced in Akenside and Collins.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, Preface, p. 32.

'The poems of West had the merit of chaste and manly diction, but they were cold, and, if I may so express it, only dead-coloured.' COLERIDGE, *Biog. Lit.* 1847, i. 23.

kind may deserve praise, as proofs of great industry and great nicety of observation; but the highest praise, the praise of genius, they cannot claim. The noblest beauties of art are those of which the effect is co-extended with rational nature, or at least with the whole circle of polished life; what is less than this can be only pretty, the plaything of fashion and the amusement of a day¹.

THERE is in *The Adventurer*² a paper of verses given to 15 one of the authors as Mr. West's, and supposed to have been written by him³. It should not be concealed, however, that it is printed with Mr. Jago's name in Dodsley's *Collection*⁴, and is mentioned as his in a letter of Shenstone's⁵. Perhaps West gave it without naming the author, and Hawkesworth⁶, receiving it from him, thought it his; for his he thought it, as he told me, and as he tells the publick.

¹ For *Imitations* see *ante*, POPE, 372.

² [*Elegy on a Blackbird* in No. 37.]

³ In the first edition, the sentence continues:—'which, having been left out by the compilers, it is proper to insert here.' It is inserted at the end of the *Life*. It certainly is not West's.

⁴ *A Collection of Poems in Six*

Volumes. By Several Hands. 2nd ed. 1758, iv. 315.

Richard Jago, a school-fellow and friend of Shenstone's, matriculated at University College, Oxford, on Oct. 30, 1732. *Alumni Oxon.* See *post*, SHENSTONE, 3 n.

⁵ Shenstone's *Works*, 1791, iii. 242.

⁶ The editor of *The Adventurer*. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 234.

COLLINS

¹ WILLIAM COLLINS¹ was born at Chichester on the twenty-fifth of December, about 1720². His father was a hatter of good reputation³. He was in 1733, as Dr. Warton has kindly informed me, admitted scholar⁴ of Winchester College, where he was educated by Dr. Burton⁵. His English exercises were better than his Latin.

² He first courted the notice of the publick by some verses *To a Lady weeping*, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*⁶.

³ In 1740 he stood first in the list of the scholars to be received in succession at New College; but unhappily there was no vacancy⁷. This was the original misfortune of his life. He became a Commoner of Queen's College, probably with a scanty maintenance; but was in about half a year elected a *Demy* of Magdalen College, where he continued till he had taken a Bachelor's degree, and then suddenly left the University⁸; for what reason I know not that he told⁹.

¹ In *The Poetical Calendar*, xii. 107, there is a brief memoir of Collins, reprinted in *Gent. Mag.* 1764, p. 23, which Johnson perhaps uses.

² 1721. Collins's *Poems*, ed. Moy Thomas, Preface, p. 9.

³ He was thrice Mayor. *Ib.*

⁴ Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, does not give *scholar* in the sense he uses it here—one who had his education and maintenance free. He gives *scholarship*.

⁵ Warton and Collins were school-fellows. Warton succeeded Burton as head master.

⁶ Oct. 1739, p. 545, under the title of *Sonnet*. It is not included in *Eng. Poets*. It is given in Thomas's *Collins*, p. 100, and in *John. Letters*, ii. 131 n. See *post*, COLLINS, 18.

⁷ Winchester College and New College, Oxford, formed two parts of one great foundation. 'The seventy Fellows and Scholars of New College are elected from the College of Win-

chester, where an election is held annually to supply the vacancies which may happen in the course of the ensuing year.' *Oxford Univ. Cal.* 1833, p. 207. No one could be examined after his nineteenth birthday. See *ante*, BROOME, 1; SOMERVILE, 2; *post*, YOUNG, 5.

⁸ He matriculated at Queen's on March 22, 1739-40, aged 18. 'Remaining still at Winchester he was elected in the summer of 1740, and placed first upon the Roll for New College, but no vacancy occurring during the year he became superannuated. On July 29, 1741, he was admitted a *Demy* of Magdalen. In 1743 he took his B.A. degree, and in 1744 he resigned his *Demyship*.' Bloxam's *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 254. For *Demy* see *ante*, ADDISON, 8.

⁹ According to Gilbert White, who had known him at Oxford, 'he had a sovereign contempt for all academic studies and discipline, and was always

He now (about 1744) came to London a literary adventurer,⁴ with many projects in his head, and very little money in his pocket¹. He designed many works, but his great fault was irresolution, or the frequent calls of immediate necessity broke his schemes, and suffered him to pursue no settled purpose². A man, doubtful of his dinner, or trembling at a creditor, is not much disposed to abstracted meditation or remote enquiries³. He published proposals for a *History of the Revival of Learning*⁴, and I have heard him speak with great kindness of Leo the Tenth, and with keen resentment of his tasteless successor⁵. But probably not a page of the *History* was ever written. He planned several tragedies, but he only planned them. He wrote now and then odes and other poems, and did something, however little⁶.

complaining of the dulness of a college life. Going to London, he commended a man of the town. He soon wasted his little property.' Thomas's *Collins*, Preface, p. 31.

Eight years after Collins left Magdalen Gibbon entered, and took note of the Fellows, with 'their dull and deep potatoes,' and the Demies, those 'poor scholars, whose ambition aspired to the peaceful honour of a Fellowship.' *Memoirs*, p. 58.

¹ Johnson describes himself as he had come to London seven years earlier. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 101. Collins had inherited a small property which he sold. Thomas's *Collins*, Preface, pp. 16, 18.

² Mulso wrote to White on Sept. 7, 1745:—'Collins has been some time returned from Flanders in order to put on the gown as I hear, and get a chaplaincy in a regiment. Don't laugh. . . . This will be the second acquaintance of mine who becomes the thing he most derides.' R. Holt-White's *Life of Gilbert White*, i. 41.

³ For Johnson *impransus* see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 137.

⁴ His *History* was to include the pontificates of Julius II and Leo X. *Poet. Cal.* xii. 109. According to T. Warton he finished the *Preliminary Dissertation*. Thomas's *Collins*, Preface, p. 43. J. Warton refers to this book in his *Essay on Pope*, i. 186.

J. Mulso wrote to Gilbert White on

July 18, 1744:—'I saw Collins in town; he is entirely an author, and hardly speaks out of rule. I hope his subscriptions go on well in Oxford.' *Life of White*, i. 38. 'His subscriptions did not answer his expectations.' *Gent. Mag.* 1764, p. 23.

Johnson projected a work under the same title. Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 382.

⁵ Adrian VI, preceptor of Charles V. 'He was indeed no inconsiderable proficient in those frivolous sciences which during several centuries assumed the name of philosophy. . . . But he was without any tincture of taste or elegance.' ROBERTSON, *Hist. of Charles V.*, 1802, ii. 27.

'À sa mort on écrivit sur la porte de son médecin:—*Au libérateur de la patrie.*' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxii. 16.

Of Leo's predecessor, Julius II, and of his great-grandfather, Cosmo de Medici, Collins wrote:—

'As Arts expired, resistless dulness rose;

Goths, priests, or Vandals,—all were learning's foes;

Till Julius first recalled each exiled maid,

And Cosmo owned them in the Etrurian shade.'

Epistle to Hanmer, l. 35.

⁶ In *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 56, are announced '*Persian Eclogues*, price 6d.,' and *ib.* 1746, p. 672, '*Odes on several descriptive and allegoric subjects.* By W. Collins, price 1s.; *Odes*

- 5 About this time I fell into his company. His appearance was decent¹ and manly; his knowledge considerable, his views extensive, his conversation elegant, and his disposition chearful. By degrees I gained his confidence; and one day was admitted to him when he was immured by a bailiff that was prowling in the street. On this occasion recourse was had to the booksellers, who, on the credit of a translation of Aristotle's *Poeticks*, which he engaged to write with a large commentary, advanced as much money as enabled him to escape into the country². He shewed me the guineas safe in his hand. Soon afterwards his uncle, Mr. Martin, a lieutenant-colonel³, left him about two thousand

on several subjects. By Jos. Warton, B.A., price 1s. 6d.' Of the *Persian Eclogues* the British Museum has no copy. [They were republished in 1757 as *Oriental Eclogues*. Thomas's *Collins*, Pref. pp. 15, 46; *post*, COLLINS, 14.] Warton wrote:—'Collins is not to publish the *Odes* unless he gets ten guineas for them.' Wooll's *Warton*, p. 15.

Gray wrote in Dec. 1746:—'Have you seen the works of two young authors, a Mr. Warton and a Mr. Collins, both writers of Odes? It is odd enough, but each is the half of a considerable man, and one the counterpart of the other. The first has but little invention, very poetical choice of expression, and a good ear; the second a fine fancy modelled upon the antique, a bad ear, great variety of words, and images with no choice at all. They both deserve to last some years, but will not.' *Letters*, i. 153.

Of Collins's *Eclogues* 500 copies were printed, and of his *Odes* 1,000. Thomas's *Collins*, Preface, pp. 16, 22.

¹ In what sense does Johnson use *decent*? He defines it as 'becoming; fit; suitable.' Mr. Thomas thinks that here it means 'graceful.' Collins's *Poems*, Preface, p. 49. That is more than Johnson meant. In *The Deserted Village*, l. 12,

'The decent church that topp'd the neighbouring hill'
was not likely to have been graceful.

When Pope said 'Secker is decent' (*Epil. Sat.* ii. 71) he meant that his conduct is not unbecoming a bishop. So Collins's appearance was 'becom-

ing'—according to the modern phrase 'that of a gentleman'—the reverse of the appearance of Johnson and of many of his brother authors.

² Johnson probably was the go-between, as he was when he sold *The Vicar of Wakefield* for Goldsmith when arrested for debt. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 416.

³ 'Edmund Martin, Esq., Lieut.-Col. of the King's Reg. of Foot' died on April 18, 1749. *Gent. Mag.* 1749, p. 188. [He had been wounded in the action of the Val in Flanders in 1747 when in command of Wolfe's Regiment of Foot, i.e. the 8th Regt., sometimes called the King's Own. Soon after he returned to England, where he died at Chichester in the house of Collins's sisters. Collins's *Poems*, ed. Moy Thomas, Preface, pp. 15, 24.]

Dr. Warton in a note on *The Dunciad*, iv. 560—

'Wash Bladen white, and expiate Hays's stain,'

says:—'Colonel Martin Bladen was uncle to my dear friend Mr. Collins the Poet, to whom he left an estate, which he did not get possession of till his faculties were deranged. I remember Collins told me that Bladen had given to Voltaire all that account of Camoens inserted in his *Essay on the Epic Poets of all Nations* [*Euvres*, viii. 385].' Warton's *Pope's Works*, v. 281.

[Mr. Moy Thomas (*Collins's Poems*, p. 26), in reference to Warton's note, says that the name of Collins's uncle was simply Martin, and not Martin

pounds; a sum which Collins could scarcely think exhaustible, and which he did not live to exhaust. The guineas were then repaid, and the translation neglected.

But man is not born for happiness. Collins, who, while he ⁶ 'studied to live', felt no evil but poverty, no sooner 'lived to study' than his life was assailed by more dreadful calamities, disease and insanity.

Having formerly written his character², while perhaps it was ⁷ yet more distinctly impressed upon my memory, I shall insert it here.

'Mr. Collins was a man of extensive literature, and of vigorous ⁸ faculties. He was acquainted not only with the learned tongues, but with the Italian, French, and Spanish languages³. He had employed his mind chiefly upon works of fiction and subjects of fancy, and by indulging some peculiar habits of thought was eminently delighted with those flights of imagination which pass the bounds of nature, and to which the mind is reconciled only by a passive acquiescence in popular traditions. He loved fairies, genii, giants, and monsters; he delighted to rove through the meanders of enchantment, to gaze on the magnificence of golden palaces, to repose by the water-falls of Elysian gardens⁴.

'This was, however, the character rather of his inclination ⁹ than his genius; the grandeur of wildness and the novelty of extravagance were always desired by him, but were not always

Bladen, the translator of Caesar's *Commentaries*, with whom he had no connexion whatever.]

Curiously enough on the page of *Gent. Mag.* quoted above is the death on April 6 of 'Martin Bladen of Wigan, Esq.' Cunningham (iii. 282) is mistaken when he says that his uncle was Colonel Martin Bladen who died Feb. 15, 1745-6.

¹ 'I would live to study, and not study to live.' BACON, *Works*, 1803, vi. 332.

'You only paint to live, not live to paint.' DRYDEN, *Works*, xi. 89.

'For we that live to please must please to live.'

JOHNSON, *Drury Lane Prologue*.

² In 1763 in *The Poetical Character* by Fawkes and Woty, vol. xii. p. 108, quoted in *Gent. Mag.* 1764, p. 24. It is introduced as 'an account of Mr. Collins by a gentleman deservedly

eminent in the republic of letters, who knew him intimately well.' Fawkes wrote *The Brown Jug*, quoted in Campbell's *Brit. Poets*, p. 544. In 1761 he published *Original Poems and Translations*; Johnson subscribed for a copy on superfine paper.

³ Warton, in his *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, 1840, iii. 80, 244, twice mentions black-letter books in Collins's library 'now dispersed.'

⁴ 'Dark power, with shuddering meek submitted thought,
Be mine to read the visions old
Which thy awakening bards have told.

And, lest thou meet my blasted view,
Hold each strange tale devoutly true.'

COLLINS, *Ode to Fear*, *Eng. Poets*, lviii. 19.

attained'. Yet as diligence is never wholly lost, if his efforts sometimes caused harshness and obscurity, they likewise produced in happier moments sublimity and splendour. This idea which he had formed of excellence led him to oriental fictions and allegorical imagery, and perhaps, while he was intent upon description, he did not sufficiently cultivate sentiment. His poems are the productions of a mind not deficient in fire, nor unfurnished with knowledge either of books or life, but somewhat obstructed in its progress by deviation in quest of mistaken beauties.

- 10 'His morals were pure, and his opinions pious; in a long continuance of poverty and long habits of dissipation² it cannot be expected that any character should be exactly uniform. There is a degree of want by which the freedom of agency is almost destroyed; and long association with fortuitous companions will at last relax the strictness of truth, and abate the fervour of sincerity. That this man, wise and virtuous as he was, passed always unentangled through the snares of life, it would be prejudice and temerity to affirm; but it may be said that at least he preserved the source of action unpolluted, that his principles were never shaken, that his distinctions of right and wrong were never confounded, and that his faults had nothing of malignity or design, but proceeded from some unexpected pressure, or casual temptation³.
- 11 'The latter part of his life cannot be remembered but with pity and sadness. He languished some years under that depression of mind which enchains the faculties without destroying them, and leaves reason the knowledge of right without the power of pursuing it⁴. These clouds which he perceived gathering on his intellects⁵ he endeavoured to disperse by travel,

¹ 'Oft as he travers'd the cerulean field,
And markt the clouds that drove
before the wind,
Ten thousand glorious systems
would he build,
Ten thousand great ideas fill'd his
mind;
But with the clouds they fled, and
left no trace behind.'

THOMSON, *Castle of Indolence*, i. 59.

² Johnson defines *dissipation* as 'a scattered habit of attention.' The first instance of its use in the sense of 'dissolute mode of living' in the *New Eng. Dict.* is in 1784, in Cowper's *Task*, ii. 770.

Collins himself says in his *Epistle to Hammer*, l. 138:—

'For poets ever were a careless kind.'

³ *Ante*, PRIOR, 52; SAVAGE, 341.

⁴ Johnson wrote of Collins on March 8, 1754:—'I knew him a few years ago full of hopes, and full of projects, versed in many languages, high in fancy, and strong in retention. This busy and forcible mind is now under the government of those who lately would not have been able to comprehend the least and most narrow of its designs.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 276 n.

See also *ib.* for Johnson's letters of Dec. 24, 1754; April 15, 1756.

⁵ Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, gives no example of this use of *intellect* in the plural. In *Rasselas*, ch. iii, he describes a man as 'one whose intellects were exhausted.' In *The Idler*, No. 78, he has 'a superiority of intel-

and passed into France'; but found himself constrained to yield to his malady, and returned. He was for some time confined in a house of lunatics, and afterwards retired to the care of his sister in Chichester, where death in 1756 came to his relief².

'After his return from France the writer of this character paid 12 him a visit at Islington, where he was waiting for his sister, whom he had directed to meet him: there was then nothing of disorder discernible in his mind by any but himself, but he had withdrawn from study, and travelled with no other book than an English Testament, such as children carry to the school; when his friend took it into his hand, out of curiosity to see what companion a Man of Letters had chosen, "I have but one book," said Collins, "but that is the best"³."

Such was the fate of Collins, with whom I once delighted to 13 converse, and whom I yet remember with tenderness⁴.

lects.' See also Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 181. Richardson generally uses the plural form, as 'the man who did not give himself his intellects.' *Sir Charles Grandison*, 1754, 'i. 52. 'Goodness of heart shining through intellects so disturbed.' *Ib.* iii. 145.

² Mulso wrote to White on Aug. 1, 1746:—'I have just received a letter from Collins, dated Antwerp. . . . He is in high spirits, though near the French.' Holt-White's *Gilbert White*, i. 46.

³ In the summer or autumn of 1754 he visited T. Warton, at Oxford, who described him as 'labouring under the most deplorable languor of body and dejection of mind.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 276 n.

Gilbert White saw him 'under Merton wall, struggling and conveyed by force, in the arms of two or three men, towards the parish of St. Clement, in which was a house that took in such unhappy objects.' Thomas's *Collins*, Preface, p. 32.

Early in 1759 Goldsmith, in *The Present State of Polite Learning*, ch. ix, after speaking of two neglected authors, continues:—'But they are dead and their sorrows are over. The neglected author of the *Persian Eclogues*, which, however inaccurate, excel any in our language, is still alive. Happy if insensible of our neglect, not raging at our ingratitude.'

Collins died on June 12, 1759. It is

strange that Johnson places his death in 1756.

³ For an anecdote of Collins stopping his raving and moanings to listen to the reading of the Bible, see Thomas's *Collins*, Preface, p. 43.

Cowper wrote in 1784:—'I have lately finished eight volumes of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. In all that number I observe but one man—a poet of no great fame—of whom I did not know that he existed till I found him there, whose mind seems to have had the slightest tincture of religion. His name was Collins. . . . Of him there are some hopes. But from the lives of all the rest there is but one inference to be drawn—that poets are a very worthless wicked set of people.' Southey's *Cowper*, v. 11.

Collins's *Life* is in vol. ix; West's, who was 'poet and saint' (*ante*, WEST, 5), in vol. x. Probably Cowper had passed over vol. ii; for it is not likely that he, untouched as he was by Tory prejudices, placed Milton in the 'very worthless wicked set.' For Southey's censure of this harsh judgement see Southey's *Cowper*, ii. 151.

⁴ Johnson writes, in a note to his edition of Shakespeare [vii. 358], on *Cymbeline*, iv. 2:—'For the obsequies of Fidele a song was written by my unhappy friend, Mr. William Collins, a man of uncommon learning and abilities. I shall give it a place at the end in honour of his memory.'

- 14 He was visited at Chichester in his last illness by his learned friends Dr. Warton and his brother, to whom he spoke with disapprobation of his *Oriental Eclogues*, as not sufficiently expressive of Asiatick manners, and called them his 'Irish Eclogues'.¹ He shewed them at the same time an ode inscribed to Mr. John Hume² on the superstitions of the Highlands, which they thought superior to his other works, but which no search has yet found³.
- 15 His disorder was not alienation of mind, but general laxity and feebleness, a deficiency rather of his vital than intellectual powers. What he spoke wanted neither judgement nor spirit; but a few minutes exhausted him, so that he was forced to rest upon the couch, till a short cessation restored his powers, and he was again able to talk with his former vigour.
- 16 The approaches of this dreadful malady he began to feel soon after his uncle's death, and, with the usual weakness of men so

The song was printed in *Gent. Mag.* 1749, p. 466, Fidele being changed by Cave, the editor, into Pastora. *John. Letters*, ii. 131 n.

¹ 'Mr. Collins,' writes his school-fellow, Dr. Warton, 'wrote his *Eclogues* when he was about seventeen, at Winchester School, and, as I well remember, had been just reading that volume of Salmon's *Modern History* which described Persia. In his maturer years he was accustomed to speak very contemptuously of them, calling them his Irish Eclogues, and saying they had not in them one spark of Orientalism. . . . He was greatly mortified that they found more admirers than his Odes.' Warton's *Pope's Works*, i. 115; *ante*, COLLINS, 4 n. 6.

Goldsmith, after praising them as 'very pretty,' continues:—'The images, it must be owned, are not very local, for the pastoral subject could not well admit of it.' *Works*, iii. 437.

Mr. Moy Thomas (Preface, p. 56) points out some of the blunders in the first edition which led Collins to call the *Eclogues* Irish.

² John Home, the author of *Douglas*. He and Hume the historian pronounced their names in the same way. Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 320 n.; Hume's *Letters to Strahan*, p. 10.

Horace Walpole wrote of the Scotch reviewers of Mason's *Gray*:—'Every Hume, however spelt, will I don't know what do.' *Letters*, vi. 196.

Home came to London about the end of 1749. Home's *Works*, 1822, i. 35.

³ J. H. Burton says in the *Auto. of Dr. A. Carlyle*, p. 562:—'Carlyle remembered having read it in 1749 with Home. After a search he found the actual MS. in an imperfect state. He and Henry Mackenzie filled up the *lacunae*, and presented it in a complete shape to the Royal Society of Edinburgh [in 1783]. Soon after the Ode was published anonymously from what was said to be an original and complete copy.' The Royal Society published Carlyle's copy in their *Transactions*, 1788, vol. i. part 2, p. 63. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xi. 379.

As for the anonymous copy, Francis Horner records on the authority of Mackintosh that 'a very low northern littérateur published it at Cadell's shop, with all the vacancies supplied. The additions were a forgery of his own, of which he boasted to Mackintosh.' *Memoirs of F. Horner*, 1843, ii. 276.

For a curious anecdote of 'the cordial youth' of this Ode see Home's *Works*, 1822, i. 6.

diseased, eagerly snatched that temporary relief with which the table and the bottle flatter and seduce¹. But his health continually declined, and he grew more and more burthensome to himself.

To what I have formerly said of his writings may be added ¹⁷ that his diction was often harsh, unskilfully laboured, and injudiciously selected. He affected the obsolete when it was not worthy of revival²; and he puts his words out of the common order³, seeming to think, with some later candidates for fame, that not to write prose is certainly to write poetry⁴. His lines commonly are of slow motion, clogged and impeded with clusters of consonants⁵. As men are often esteemed who cannot be loved, so the poetry of Collins may sometimes extort praise when it gives little pleasure⁶.

¹ Johnson wrote of Collins to T. Warton on Dec. 21, 1754:—'I have a notion that by very great temperance, or more properly abstinence, he may yet recover.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 277.

² JOHNSON. Madmen are all sensual in the lower stages of the distemper. They are eager for gratifications to soothe their minds, and divert their attention from the misery which they suffer.' *Ib.* iii. 176.

³ 'Collins,' wrote Gilbert White, 'as long as I knew him, was very temperate in his eating and drinking.' Thomas's *Collins*, Preface, p. 33.

⁴ *Ante*, PRIOR, 59.

⁵ 'JOHNSON. No, Sir, — [T. Warton] has taken to an odd mode. For example, he'd write thus—

"Hermit hoar, in solemn cell,
Wearing out life's evening gray."
Gray evening is common enough; but *evening gray* he'd think fine.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 158.

⁶ 'These misguided innovators have not been content with restoring antiquated words and phrases, but have indulged themselves in the most licentious transpositions and the harshest constructions, vainly imagining that the more their writings are unlike prose, the more they resemble poetry.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 141.

⁵ Such as

'To old Ilissus' distant side,
Deserted stream and mute.'

'With youth's soft notes unspoil'd by art.' *Ode to Pity.*

'Thou who such weary lengths hast past,
Where wilt thou rest, mad nymph,
at last?'

'O thou, whose spirit most possest
The sacred seat of Shakespeare's
breast!' *Ode to Fear.*

For 'the collisions of consonants,' and 'the detraction of our syllables,' by which 'our language is overstocked with consonants,' see *The Rambler*, No. 88.

['Collins's *Ode to Evening* shows equal genius in the images and versification. The sounds steal slowly over the ear like the gradual coming on of evening itself.' HAZLITT, *Lectures on Eng. Poets*, 1819, p. 232.]

⁶ There must have been some demand for Collins's Poems. They were reprinted in 1765, and in *Brit. Poets* in 1773; also at Glasgow in 1771, 1777.

Wordsworth wrote in 1829 (*Memoirs*, 1851, ii. 215):—'Thomson, Collins and Dyer had more poetic imagination than any of their contemporaries, unless we reckon Chatterton as of that age. I do not name Pope, for he stands alone as a man most highly gifted; but unluckily he took the plain when the heights were within his reach.'

- 18 Mr. Collins's first production is added here from *The Poetical Calendar*¹:

‘TO MISS AURELIA C—R,
ON HER WEEPING AT HER SISTER’S WEDDING.

‘Cease, fair Aurelia, cease to mourn;
Lament not Hannah’s happy state;
You may be happy in your turn,
And seize the treasure you regret.

‘With Love united Hymen stands,
And softly whispers to your charms;
“Meet but your lover in my bands,
You’ll find your sister in his arms.”’

¹ Vol. xii. p. 108. It is not by Collins, but by Dr. Swan, as I have shown in *Johnson’s Letters*, ii. 130.

For his ‘first production’ see *ante*, COLLINS, 2.

DYER.

JOHN DYER, of whom I have no other account to give than ¹ his own letters, published with Hughes's *Correspondence*², and the notes added by the editor, have afforded me, was born in 1700, the second son of Robert Dyer of Aberglasney, in Caermarthenshire, a solicitor of great capacity and note³.

He passed through Westminster-school under the care of ² Dr. Freind⁴, and was then called home to be instructed in his father's profession. But his father died soon, and he took no delight in the study of the law, but, having always amused himself with drawing, resolved to turn painter, and became pupil to Mr. Richardson⁵, an artist then of high reputation, but now better known by his books than by his pictures.

Having studied awhile under his master he became, as he tells ³ his friend, an itinerant painter, and wandered about South Wales and the parts adjacent⁶; but he mingled poetry with painting, and about 1727 printed *Grongar Hill*⁷ in Lewis's *Miscellany*⁸.

Being, probably, unsatisfied with his own proficiency he, like ⁴

¹ 'A mezzotinto from Reynolds's portrait of Samuel Dyer [*ante*, WATTS, 25] has been copied for the *Lives of the Poets*, as if it were the portrait of John Dyer.' Prior's *Malone*, p. 423.

² *Correspondence of John Hughes*, edited by John Duncombe, 3 vols. 2nd ed. 1773. See *ante*, HUGHES, 17.

³ *Ib.* iii. 61. He was born 'rather in 1698 or 1699.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 289.

⁴ Freind was Head Master from 1711 to 1733. Sargeaunt's *Westminster School*, p. 268.

⁵ 'Let Freind affect to speak as Terence spoke.' *The Dunciad*, iv. 223.

Swift wrote to Atterbury, Dean of Westminster, on Aug. 3, 1713:—'I envy Dr. Freind that he has you for his inspector; and I envy you for having such a person in your district, and whom you love so well. Shall not I have liberty to be sometimes a

third among you, though I am an Irish Dean!' *Works*, xvi. 54.

Freind wrote Prior's epitaph. *Ante*, PRIOR, 44 n. 5.

⁵ *Ante*, COWLEY, 3; POPE, 239.

⁶ *Hughes Corr.* iii. 60. Savage wrote some lines *To Mr. John Dyer, A Painter.* *Eng. Poets*, xli. 244.

⁷ *Ib.* lviii. 109.

⁸ Johnson said of some fine lines to Pope, quoted in Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 307:—'They were written by one Lewis, who was either under-master or an usher of Westminster School, and published a *Miscellany* in which *Grongar Hill* first came out.' Malone adds in a note that Lewis's *Miscellany* was printed in 1726. '*Grongar Hill* was first printed in Savage's *Miscellanies* [*ante*, SAVAGE, 60] as an Ode, and was reprinted in the same year in Lewis's *Miscellany*, in the form it now bears.' See Appendix S.

other painters, travelled to Italy, and coming back in 1740 published *The Ruins of Rome*¹.

5 If his poem was written soon after his return he did not make much use of his acquisitions in painting, whatever they might be; for decline of health and love of study determined him to the church. He therefore entered into orders, and, it seems, married about the same time a lady of the name of Ensor, 'whose grandmother,' says he, 'was a Shakespeare, descended from a brother of everybody's Shakespeare'; by her, in 1756, he had a son and three daughters living.

6 His ecclesiastical provision was a long time but slender. His first patron, Mr. Harper, gave him, in 1741, Calthorp³ in Leicestershire of eighty pounds a year, on which he lived ten years, and then exchanged it for Belchford in Lincolnshire of seventy-five. His condition now began to mend. In 1751, Sir John Heathcote⁴ gave him Coningsby, of one hundred and forty pounds a year⁵; and in 1755 the Chancellor⁶ added Kirkby, of one hundred and ten. He complains that the repair of the house at Coningsby, and other expences, took away the profit⁷.

7 In 1757 he published *The Fleece*⁸, his greatest poetical work, of which I will not suppress a ludicrous story. Dodsley⁹ the bookseller was one day mentioning it to a critical visiter, with more expectation of success than the other could easily admit. In the conversation the author's age was asked, and being

¹ *The Ruins of Rome, A Poem*, pr. 1s. *Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 152; *Eng. Poets*, lviii. 115.

² *Hughes Corres.* iii. 60. There is no mention of this descent in Mr. Sidney Lee's *Shakespeare*.

³ The village, to quote his own lines, stands

'Where ever-gliding Avon's limpid wave

Thwarts the long course of dusty Watling Street.'

Eng. Poets, lviii. 145.

⁴ 'Heathcote himself, and such large-acred men, [sen.]

Lords of fat E'sham, or of Lincoln POPE, *Imit. Hor., Epis.* ii. 2. 240.

Dyer celebrates

'the clover'd lawns

And sunny mounts of beauteous Normanton,

Health's cheerful haunt, and the selected walk
Of Heathcote's leisure.'

Eng. Poets, lviii. 139.

⁵ £120. *Hughes Corres.* iii. 59; and the 1st and 2nd editions of the *Lives*.

⁶ Lord Hardwicke.

⁷ *Hughes Corres.* iii. 60.

⁸ *Eng. Poets*, lviii. 135. '*The Fleece; a Poem*, by J. Dyer, LL.B. 4to, pr. 5s.' *Gent. Mag.* 1757, p. 191.

⁹ Johnson spoke slightly of Dyer's *Fleece*. "The subject, Sir, cannot be made poetical. How can a man write poetically of serges and druggets? Yet you will hear many people talk to you gravely of that excellent poem *The Fleece*." Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 453.

¹⁰ *Ante*, POPE, 220.

represented as advanced in life, 'He will,' said the critick, 'be buried in woollen'.

He did not indeed long survive that publication, nor long 8 enjoy the increase of his preferments, for in 1758 he died².

Dyer is not a poet of bulk or dignity sufficient to require an 9 elaborate criticism. *Grongar Hill*³ is the happiest of his productions; it is not indeed very accurately written, but the scenes which it displays are so pleasing, the images which they raise so welcome to the mind, and the reflections of the writer so consonant to the general sense or experience of mankind, that when it is once read it will be read again.

The idea of *The Ruins of Rome* strikes more but pleases less, 10 and the title raises greater expectation than the performance gratifies. Some passages, however, are conceived with the mind of a poet, as when in the neighbourhood of dilapidating edifices he says,

'At dead of night
The hermit oft, 'midst his orisons', hears
Aghast the voice of Time disparting towers.'

Of *The Fleece*, which never became popular, and is now 11 universally neglected, I can say little that is likely to recall it to attention⁵. The woolcomber and the poet appear to me such

² 'The statute of Charles II, which prescribes a dress for the dead, who are all ordered to be buried in woollen, is a law consistent with public liberty, for it encourages the staple trade, on which in great measure depends the universal good of the nation.' BLACKSTONE, *Com.* 1775, i. 126.

Burke said of Lord Chatham, who was swathed in flannel owing to the gout:—'Like a true obeyer of the laws, he will be buried in woollen.' Burke's *Corres.* ii. 201.

'Odious! in woollen! 'twould a Saint provoke!
[cissa spoke].'
(Were the last words that poor Nar-
POPE, *Moral Essays*, i. 246.

² July 24, 1758. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 291. His death is not in *Gent. Mag.*

³ *Eng. Poets*, lviii. 109.

⁴ In the original

'The pilgrim oft
At dead of night, mid his oraison
hears,' &c.

The Ruins of Rome, 1740, p. 3.

Johnson gives both *orison* and *oraison* in his *Dictionary*.

Gray, after reading in 1748 Dodsley's *Misc.*, in which were reprinted *Grongar Hill* and *The Ruins of Rome* (ed. 1758, i. 214, 220), wrote to Walpole:—
'Mr. Dyer (here you will despise me highly) has more of poetry in his imagination than almost any of our number; but rough and injudicious.' *Letters*, i. 183.

'A beautiful instance of the modifying and *investive* power of imagination may be seen in that noble passage of Dyer's *Ruins of Rome* where the poet hears the voice of Time.' WORDSWORTH, *Memoirs*, ii. 477.

⁵ Horace Walpole wrote on Feb. 3, 1760:—'I think Mr. Dyer's *Fleece* a very insipid poem. His *Ruins of Rome* had great picturesque spirit, and his *Grongar Hill* was beautiful. His *Fleece* I could never get through.' *Letters*, iii. 284.

discordant natures, that an attempt to bring them together is to 'couple the serpent with the fowl'. When Dyer, whose mind was not unpoetical, has done his utmost by interesting his reader in our native commodity², by interspersing rural imagery and incidental digressions, by cloathing small images in great words, and by all the writer's arts of delusion, the meanness naturally adhering, and the irreverence habitually annexed to trade and manufacture, sink him under insuperable oppression; and the disgust which blank verse³, encumbering and encumbered, superadds to an unpleasing subject, soon repels the reader, however willing to be pleased.

- 12 Let me, however, honestly report whatever may counterbalance this weight of censure. I have been told that Akenside, who,

² 'Sed non ut placidis coeant immitia,
non ut
Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.'

HORACE, *Ars Poet.* l. 12.

It is not clear why 'the woolcomber and the poet' are of more discordant natures than the cattle-breeder and the poet, whom Virgil brought together in the *Georgics*. Dyer has described the

'Spacious airy downs and gentle hills,
With grass and thyme o'erspread,
and clover wild.'

Eng. Poets, lviii. 138.

He has described too the countries where wool is grown, the valleys where it is spun into thread and woven, and the trade whereby it is distributed over the world.

'No common pleasure warms the generous mind,
When it beholds the labours of the loom;
How widely round the globe they are dispers'd,
From little tenements by wood or croft,
Through many a slender path, how sedulous,
As rills to rivers broad, they speed their way
To public roads . . .

. . . and thence explore
Through every navigable wave the sea
That laps the green earth round.'

Ib. p. 208.

³ The belief that England's prosperity depended on preventing the exportation of wool is shown in such lines as the following:—

'So may the proud attempts of restless Gaul

From our strong borders, like a broken wave,
In empty foam retire.'

Eng. Poets, lviii. 138.

'Ev'n Gallic Abbeville the shining fleece

That richly decorates her loom, acquires

Basely from Albion, by th' ensnaring bribe,

The bait of avarice, which, with felon fraud,

For its own wanton mouth from thousands steal.' *Ib.* p. 143.

The poet keeps to the law in his 'felon fraud.' See Blackstone's *Com.* iv. 154. 'These laws,' writes Adam Smith, 'may be said to be all written in blood.' *Wealth of Nations*, 1811, iii. 9.

Shenstone, too, upholds the woollen industry:—

'Ah! what avails the timorous lambs to guard,

Though nightly cares with daily labours join,

If foreign sloth obtain the rich reward,

If Gallia's craft the ponderous fleece purloin?'

Elegy xviii, *Eng. Poets*, lix. 53.

³ *Ante*, MILTON, 275.

upon a poetical question, has a right to be heard, said, 'That he would regulate his opinion of the reigning taste by the fate of Dyer's *Fleece*; for, if that were ill-received, he should not think it any longer reasonable to expect fame from excellence'.¹

¹ Akenside was no impartial judge. He helped Dyer 'to give a sort of finishing to *The Fleece*,' as the poet himself says. *Hughes Corres.* iii. 59.

Wordsworth (*Memoirs*, i. 365), in 1811, sending Lady Beaumont his sonnet on Dyer (*Misc. Sonnets*, xvii), adds:—'If you have not read *The Fleece* I would strongly recommend it to you. . . . It is in several places dry and heavy, but its beauties are

innumerable and of a high order. In point of *imagination* and purity of style I am not sure that he is not superior to any writer in verse since the time of Milton.' Wordsworth adds that in the sonnet [ll. 5, 6, 13] 'is one whole line from *The Fleece*, and two other expressions.' The line and one of the expressions is from *Eng. Poets*, lviii. 204; the other expression is from p. 145.

APPENDIX S (PAGE 343)

[The full title of the Miscellany, in which *Grongar Hill* for the second time appeared, is *Miscellaneous Poems by several Hands*, published by D[avid] Lewis, London: Printed by J. Watts, 1726. David Lewis, as Mr. Sargeant, the author of *Annals of Westminster School*, informs me, was not Under Master; his name not appearing on the records, where the names of the Under Masters, as on the foundation, are entered. It is, however, very probable that he was one of the ushers who were not on the foundation—our knowledge of their names depending on chance mention. Johnson's statement moreover is borne out by Lewis's dedication of his *Miscellaneous Poems* to Lord Charles Noel Somerset, afterwards fourth Duke of Beaufort, as known to him while still at school. If by this Lewis meant his pupil at Westminster, the period in which Lewis was usher must have been about 1720-6. For Edmund Lewis also an usher, a little earlier, see *Annals of Westminster School*, p. 56.]

SHENSTONE

¹ WILLIAM SHENSTONE, the son of Thomas Shenstone and Anne Pen, was born in November, 1714, at the Leasowes in Hales-Owen¹, one of those insulated districts which, in the division of the kingdom, was appended, for some reason not now discoverable, to a distant county; and which, though surrounded by Warwickshire and Worcestershire, belongs to Shropshire, though perhaps thirty miles distant from any other part of it².

² He learned to read of an old dame, whom his poem of *The School-mistress*³ has delivered to posterity; and soon received such delight from books that he was always calling for fresh⁴ entertainment, and expected that when any of the family went to market a new book should be brought him, which when it came was in fondness carried to bed and laid by him. It is said that when his request had been neglected, his mother wrapped up a piece of wood of the same form, and pacified him for the night.

³ As he grew older he went for a while to the Grammar-school

¹ 'Shenstone's matriculation entry appears as "Gul. Shenstone, 17, Tho. fil. Wickstone in Com. Leicest. Gen. fil.'" Maclean's *Pemb. Coll.* p. 370.

² 'He was born on Nov. 13, 1714, and baptised at Hales-Owen on Dec. 6.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The matriculation entry shows that he was not born at Hales-Owen, but in either Wigstone Magna or Wigstone Parva, Leicestershire. The unusual interval between birth and baptism is probably due to the birth not taking place at the Shenstones' home. The Vicars of both Wigstones kindly inform me that there is no entry about him in their registers. It was baptisms, not births, that were recorded.

Graves, in his *Recollections of Shenstone*, 1788, p. 11, places the birth on Nov. 18. He adds that his mother's father owned the small estate of Harborough in Hagley,

half of which she inherited. When her son succeeded to it, 'it made his fortune about £300 a year.'

³ About ten miles distant. Shenstone celebrates his native county in *The School-Mistress*. Speaking of Shrewsbury cakes he continues:—
'Whose honour'd names th'inventive city own,
Rendering through Britain's isle
Salopia's praises known.'

Eng. Poets, lix. 297.

⁴ *Eng. Poets*, lix. 286; *post*, SHENSTONE, 8, 32. The motto to it is:—

'Auditae voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animae flentes in limine
primo.' VIRGIL, *Aeneid* vi. 426.

'Now as they enter'd doleful screams
they hear,

And tender cries of infants pierce
the ear.' PITT, vi. 592.

⁴ In the first edition, *new*.

in Hales-Owen, and was placed afterwards with Mr. Crumpton, an eminent school-master at Solihul¹, where he distinguished himself by the quickness of his progress.

When he was young (June, 1724) he was deprived of his ⁴ father, and soon after (August, 1726) of his grandfather, and was with his brother, who died afterwards unmarried, left to the care of his grandmother, who managed the estate.

From school he was sent in 1732 to Pembroke-College in ⁵ Oxford², a society which for half a century has been eminent for English poetry and elegant literature³. Here it appears that he found delight and advantage; for he continued his name in the book ten years, though he took no degree⁴. After the first four years he put on the Civilian's gown⁵, but without shewing any intention to engage in the profession.

About the time when he went to Oxford, the death of his ⁶ grandmother devolved his affairs to the care of the reverend Mr. Dolman of Brome in Staffordshire, whose attention he always mentioned with gratitude⁶.

At Oxford he employed himself upon English poetry⁷; and ⁷ in 1737 published a small *Miscellany*, without his name⁸.

¹ Solihul is seven miles from Birmingham on the Warwick Road. See Boswell's *Johnson*, vi. Add. p. 44, for Johnson's rejection in his application for the mastership in 1735, and for 'ye late master Mr. Crumpton's huffing the Foeofees.' Jago (*ante*, WEST, 15), who was one of Crumpton's pupils, writes in his *Edgehill*, 1767, p. 101:—

'With throbbing heart to the stern discipline [turn'd.]

Of pedagogue morose I sad re-

² Lady Luxborough, in her *Letters to Shenstone*, p. 146, says of one of the coaches from Birmingham to London:—'It breakfasts at Henley [in Arden], and lies at Chipping Norton; goes early next day to Oxford; stays there all day and night, and gets on the third day to London.'

³ See Appendix T.

⁴ 'A large mulberry-tree in the Fellows' Garden was called Shenstone's tree. The small tables in the Common Room were made from this when it was cut down.' Maclean's *Pemb. Coll.* p. 278.

⁵ He wore the gown of a student of civil law.

⁶ Of his inscription on an urn to his cousin, Miss Dolman (*Eng. Poets*, lix. 304), Landor wrote:—'The tender and virtuous Shenstone, in writing the most beautiful of epitaphs, was unaware how near he stood to Petrarca. "Heu quanto minus est cum aliis [reliquis] versari quam tui meminisse!"' LANDOR, *Longer Prose Works*, ed. Crump, ii. 103.

Shenstone was harassed with a Chancery suit by 'young D— [Dolman], the only near relation I have by the mother's side.' *Works*, iii. 230, 273, 277.

⁷ 'He amused himself with English poetry, and employed himself in the study of mathematics, &c.' Graves's *Recollections*, p. 23. For a curious account of the society of Pembroke College see *ib.* pp. 13-27, quoted by me in *Dr. Johnson: His Friends and his Critics*, p. 37.

⁸ *Poems upon Various Occasions, written for the Entertainment of the Author, and printed for the Amuse-*

- 8 He then for a time wandered about, to acquaint himself with life, and was sometimes at London, sometimes at Bath, or any other place of publick resort ; but he did not forget his poetry. He published in 1740 his *Judgement of Hercules*, addressed to Mr. Lyttelton¹, whose interest he supported with great warmth at an election²: this was two years afterwards followed by *The School-mistress*³.
- 9 Mr. Dolman, to whose care he was indebted for his ease and leisure, died in 1745, and the care of his own fortune now fell upon him. He tried to escape it a while, and lived at his house with his tenants, who were distantly related ; but, finding that imperfect possession inconvenient, he took the whole estate into his own hands, more to the improvement of its beauty than the increase of its produce.
- 10 Now was excited his delight in rural pleasures, and his ambition of rural elegance ; he began from this time to point his prospects, to diversify his surface, to entangle his walks, and to wind his waters⁴, which he did with such judgement and such fancy as made his little domain the envy of the great and the admiration of the skilful : a place to be visited by travellers, and copied by designers. Whether to plant a walk in undulating curves, and to place a bench at every turn where there is an object to catch the view ; to make water run where it will be heard, and to stagnate where it will be seen ; to leave intervals where the eye will be pleased, and to thicken the plantation where there is something to be hidden, demands any great powers of mind, I will not enquire : perhaps a sullen and surly speculator may think such performances rather the sport than the business of

ment of a few Friends prejudic'd in his Favour. Oxford, 1737. In the copy in the British Museum is transcribed a note made by G. Steevens in another copy. 'It is very rare, because Mr. Shenstone took uncommon pains to suppress it, by collecting and destroying the copies wherever he met with them.'

In the Dedication Shenstone describes his poetry as 'the product of a Young Genius, little exercis'd in versification.'

¹ *Eng. Poets*, lix. 199; *post*, SHENSTONE, 31. An extract is given in *Gent. Mag.* 1741, p. 215.

² Shenstone's *Works*, iii. 23, 27.

³ *Ante*, SHENSTONE, 2; *post*, 32. 'The School-Mistress, A Poem, price 6d.' *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 280; *Eng. Poets*, lix. 286. It first appeared in twelve stanzas in 1737 in *Poems upon Several Occasions*, p. 17. In 1742 it was published separately in twenty-eight stanzas, with numerous corrections. In the final version two stanzas were omitted and nine added.

⁴ 'They form'd their streams to please the view,
And bade them wind, as serpents do.'

The Progress of Taste, *Eng. Poets*, lix. 227.

human reason'. But it must be at least confessed that to embellish the form of nature is an innocent amusement, and some praise must be allowed by the most supercilious observer to him who does best what such multitudes are contending to do well².

This praise was the praise of Shenstone; but, like all other ¹¹ modes of felicity, it was not enjoyed without its abatements. Lyttelton was his neighbour and his rival, whose empire, spacious and opulent³, looked with disdain on the *petty State* that *appeared behind it*⁴. For a while the inhabitants of Hagley affected to tell their acquaintance of the little fellow that was trying to make himself admired; but when by degrees the Leasowes forced themselves into notice, they took care to defeat the curiosity which they could not suppress, by conducting their visitants perversely to inconvenient points of view, and introducing them at the wrong end of a walk to detect a deception⁵; injuries of which Shenstone would heavily complain⁶. Where

² Shenstone's defence may be found in his own lines (*Rural Elegance*, ll. 169-172, *Eng. Poets*, lix. 87):—

'And sure there seem of human kind
Some born to shun the solemn
strife;

Some for amusive tasks design'd,
To soothe the certain ills of life.'

³ In Shenstone's *Works*, ii. 287, is a plan of the Leasowes with a description. Among Goldsmith's 'unacknowledged Essays' is one on the Leasowes, entitled *The History of a Poet's Garden*. *Works*, iii. 340.

Johnson recorded on Sept. 19, 1774:—'We visited the Leasowes. It was rain, yet we visited all the waterfalls. There are in one place fourteen falls in a short line.' *Boswell's Johnson*, v. 457.

Wesley, who visited it in 1782, wrote:—'All this is comprised in the compass of three miles! I doubt if it be exceeded by anything in Europe.' *Journal*, 1827, iv. 226.

⁴ For Horace Walpole's description of 'the enchanting scenes of the park' at Hagley see his *Letters*, ii. 352.

⁵ 'When from behind there starts some petty state.'

DRYDEN, *Conquest of Grenada*, 2nd part, i. 1.

⁵ Graves, while denying any 'rivalship' between the Lytteltons and Shenstone, allows that the poet 'would sometimes peevishly complain that they and their company often went to the principal points of view, without waiting for any one to conduct them regularly through the whole walks.' *Recollections*, p. 83.

⁶ This passage and the *Life of Lyttelton* roused the anger of 'a whole tribe of blues, with Mrs. Montagu at their head.' At Mrs. Thrale's table 'Dr. Johnson cried:—"Mr. Pepys, I understand you are offended by my *Life of Lord Lyttelton*. What is it you have to say against it?"' He made Seward repeat 'fresh instances of Lyttelton's illiberal behaviour to Shenstone.' Mme. D'Arblay's *Diary*, ii. 45; *post*, LYTTELTON, 1 n.

The following passages from Lady Luxborough's *Letters to Shenstone*, 1775, pp. 58, 158, justify Johnson:—'Oct. 16, 1748. If your expostulations with Mr. Lyttelton were *brusques*, his visit was as much so.' 'Dec. 1749. Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Miller find so much at the Leasowes to raise their envy, and consequently their spleen, that it is happy for them some one object offers that they can

there is emulation there will be vanity, and where there is vanity there will be folly.

- 12 The pleasure of Shenstone was all in his eye; he valued what he valued merely for its looks: nothing raised his indignation more than to ask if there were any fishes in his water¹.
- 18 His house was mean, and he did not improve it²: his care was of his grounds. When he came home from his walks he might find his floors flooded by a shower through the broken roof; but could spare no money for its reparation³.
- 14 In time his expences brought clamours about him, that overpowered the lamb's bleat and the linnet's song; and his groves were haunted by beings very different from fauns and fairies⁴. He spent his estate in adorning it, and his death was probably hastened by his anxieties⁵. He was a lamp that spent its oil in blazing. It is said that if he had lived a little longer he would

vent it upon, . . . so vexed will they be to find themselves under a necessity of commending.'

Horace Walpole wrote of Hagley in 1753:—'There is a ruined castle built by Miller. . . . It has the true rust of the Barons' Wars.' *Letters*, ii. 352. For 'Miller, the great gardener' see *ante*, J. PHILIPS, 15. See also Graves's *Recollections*, p. 86; *John. Misc.* ii. 3.

¹ 'Johnson used to laugh at Shenstone for not caring whether there was anything good to eat in the streams he was so fond of, "as if (says he) one could fill one's belly with hearing soft murmurs or looking at rough cascades."' MRS. PIOZZI, *John. Misc.* i. 323.

² 'By his own good taste and his mechanical skill he acquired two tolerably elegant rooms from a mere farm-house.' Graves's *Recollections*, p. 72.

[Bishop Percy in 1805 writes:—'Johnson grossly misrepresented both Shenstone's circumstances and his house, which was small but elegant and displayed a great deal of taste in the alteration and accommodation of the apartments, &c. On his sideboard he had a neat marble cistern which by turning a cock was fed with living water.' Nichols's *Lit. Illustr.* vii. 151.]

³ Of himself, as Damon, he says:—

'He builds such buts as, in foul weather, [neither.]

Are fit for sheep nor shepherd
Progress of Taste, Eng. Poets, lix. 230.

⁴ 'That his groves were haunted by duns I believe to be a groundless surmise.' Graves's *Recollections*, p. 72.

⁵ *Ante*, SOMERVILLE, 3. On Aug. 21, 1748, he wrote:—'My affairs are miserably embroiled by my own negligence and the non-payment of tenants.' *Works*, iii. 142. In his *Progress of Taste (Eng. Poets*, lix. 231), after describing his embellishments, he adds:—

'Ah me! ('twas Damon's own confession)

Came poverty and took possession.'

In *Oeconomy* (*ib.* p. 254) he tells of 'the sad survey of present want And past profusion.'

His estate, says Dodsley, was not more than £300 a year. 'He left more than sufficient to pay all his debts.' *Works*, i. 9.

'I am afraid that he died of misery,' Johnson recorded, after visiting the Leasowes. Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 457.

For the various owners of the estate and the prices paid for it see *N. & Q.* 3 S. xii. 289. [Bishop Percy says the Leasowes was so improved by Shenstone's taste that when it was sold by auction in 1795, £17,000 was obtained. Nichols's *Lit. Illustr.* vii. 152.]

have been assisted by a pension: such bounty could not have been ever more properly bestowed; but that it was ever asked is not certain: it is too certain that it never was enjoyed¹.

He died at the Leasowes of a putrid fever about five on Friday 15 morning, February 11, 1763², and was buried by the side of his brother in the church-yard of Hales-Owen³.

He was never married, though he might have obtained the 16 lady, whoever she was, to whom his *Pastoral Ballad* was addressed⁴. He is represented by his friend Dodsley⁵ as a man of great tenderness and generosity, kind to all that were within his influence, but, if once offended, not easily appeased; inattentive to œconomy, and careless of his expences; in his person larger than the middle size, with something clumsy in his form⁶;

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 457. Shenstone believed that, owing to Wedderburne's application to Lord Bute, 'the patent for a pension was ordered to be made out.' *Graves*, p. 165. For Wedderburne and Johnson's pension see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 373.

Shenstone's latest letters refer to a scheme for publishing his *Works* by subscription. *Works*, iii. 326, 339, 342, 348, 351.

² *The Gent. Mag.* 1763, p. 98, just notices his death:—'Feb. 10. Wm. Shenstone, Esq., at Birmingham.' *The Ann. Reg.* has no notice of it.

³ 'Shenstone,' writes Malone, 'had a housekeeper, who lived with him in the double capacity of maid and mistress; being offended with her on some occasion he went out of his house and sat all night in his post-chaise in much agitation, in consequence of which he caught a cold that eventually caused his death.' Prior's *Malone*, p. 340.

Graves mentions a different version of this story, but denies its truth. *Recollections*, p. 167.

Akenside at the same age died of a putrid fever. *Post*, AKENSIDE, 13. Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, quotes Quincy's definition of it as 'that kind of fever, in which the humours, or part of them, have so little circulatory motion that they fall into an intestine one and putrefy.'

³ For a Frenchman's epitaph on

Shenstone see Phillimore's *Memoirs of Lyttelton*, i. 282.

⁴ *Eng. Poets*, lix. 154; *post*, SHENSTONE, 25. Graves, who speaks of her as Miss C——, doubts whether she would have married 'a man of so small a fortune. As he was sensible his income was not sufficient to support a lady of her description he never aspired to that happiness.' *Recollections*, p. 105. In an earlier passage (p. 47) Graves says a 'Miss G. took entire possession of his heart for some years.'

⁵ In his brief Memoir prefixed to Shenstone's *Works*, p. 8.

⁶ 'He had a dull heavy look,' writes Graves, 'unless when his features were animated by any sprightly sentiment, which rendered them extremely pleasing. His favourite dress was a plain blue coat and a scarlet waistcoat with a broad gold lace. . . . Every schoolboy, as soon as he was entered at the University, cut off his hair and put on a wig. Mr. Shenstone wore his own hair. It often exposed him to ill-natured remarks. After I was elected at All Souls [to a Fellowship] where there was often a party of loungers in the gateway, on my expostulating with him for not visiting me so often as usual, he said "he was ashamed to face his enemies in the gate" [see *Psalm* cxxvii].'
Recollections, pp. 25, 178. Malthus was Graves's pupil for some years. *Malthus*, by James Bonar, p. 403.

Dr. A. Carlyle (*Auto.* p. 370) de-

very negligent of his cloaths, and remarkable for wearing his grey hair in a particular manner, for he held that the fashion was no rule of dress, and that every man was to suit his appearance to his natural form.

- 17 His mind was not very comprehensive, nor his curiosity active; he had no value for those parts of knowledge which he had not himself cultivated¹.
- 18 His life was unstained by any crime; the *Elegy on Jessy*², which has been supposed to relate an unfortunate and criminal amour of his own, was known by his friends to have been suggested by the story of Miss Godfrey in Richardson's *Pamela*.
- 19 What Gray thought of his character, from the perusal of his *Letters*, was this:

'I have read too an octavo volume of Shenstone's *Letters*. Poor man! he was always wishing for money, for fame, and other distinctions; and his whole philosophy consisted in living against his will in retirement³, and in a place which his taste had adorned, but which he only enjoyed when people of note came to see and commend it: his correspondence is about nothing else but this place and his own writings, with two or three neighbouring clergymen, who wrote verses too⁴.'

scribes him in 1758 as 'a large heavy fat man, dressed in white clothes and silver lace, with his gray hairs tied behind and much powdered, which, added to his shyness and reserve, was not at first prepossessing. His reserve and melancholy abated, and he became good company.'

For Johnson wearing his own hair in early life see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 94.

¹ Gray wrote of him in 1758:—'There is Mr. Shenstone, who trusts to nature and simple sentiment, why does he do no better? He goes hopping along his own gravel walks, and never deviates from the beaten paths for fear of being lost.' *Letters*, ed. Tovey, ii. 25.

² *Elegy* xxvi.

³ 'Shenstone and Gray were two men, one of whom pretended to live to himself, and the other really did so. . . . Shenstone affected privacy that he might be sought out by the world.' HAZLITT, *Table Talk*, 1869, i. 130.

⁴ 'I do not think,' writes Graves,

'any consideration would have bribed Shenstone to live away from the Leasowes.' *Recollections*, p. 136.

⁴ Mitford's *Gray*, v. 93.

Horace Walpole wrote of these *Letters* on June 14, 1769:—'I felt great pity for the narrow circumstances of the author, and the passion for fame that he was tormented with; and yet he had much more fame than his talents entitled him to. Poor man! he wanted to have all the world talk of him for the pretty place he had made.' Walpole's *Letters*, v. 169. On Jan. 24, 1778, Walpole wrote:—'I have got two more volumes of Shenstone's *Correspondence*, and they are like all the rest, insipidity itself.' *Ib.* vii. 24.

⁴ Johnson agreed with Shenstone that it was wrong in the brother of one of his correspondents to burn his letters; "for (said he) Shenstone was a man whose correspondence was an honour.'" Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 268. His letters to Whistler were burnt. *Works*, iii. 234.

His poems consist of elegies, odes, and ballads, humorous 20 sallies, and moral pieces.

His conception of an elegy he has in his Preface very judiciously 21 and discriminately explained. It is, according to his account, the effusion of a contemplative mind, sometimes plaintive, and always serious, and therefore superior to the glitter of slight ornaments¹. His compositions suit not ill to this description. His topicks of praise are the domestick virtues, and his thoughts are pure and simple, but wanting combination they want variety. The peace of solitude, the innocence of inactivity, and the unenvied security of an humble station can fill but a few pages. That of which the essence is uniformity will be soon described. His *Elegies* have therefore too much resemblance of each other².

The lines are sometimes, such as elegy requires, smooth and 22 easy; but to this praise his claim is not constant: his diction is often harsh³, improper, and affected⁴; his words ill-coined or ill-chosen⁵, and his phrase unskilfully inverted⁶.

The *Lyrick Poems* are almost all of the light and airy kind, 23 such as trip lightly and nimbly along, without the load of any

¹ This is an abstract of Shenstone's words. *Eng. Poets*, lix. 5-13.

Burns, in the Preface to the first edition of his *Poems*, writes:—'It is an observation of Shenstone, whose divine *Elegies* do honour to our language, our nation and our species, that "Humility has depressed many a genius to [into] a hermit, but never raised one to fame [but never yet raised one into a poet of eminence. Shenstone's *Works*, ii. 13]."'

² E. FitzGerald wrote to Frederic Tennyson on Dec. 10, 1843:—'In the garden I see the heads of the snow-drops and crocuses just out of the earth. Another year with its same flowers and topics to open upon us. Shenstone somewhere sings:—

"Tedious again to mark the drizzling day,

Again to trace the same s2d tracts of snow;

Or, lull'd by vernal airs, again survey

The selfsame hawthorn bud, and cowslips blow.'"

FitzGerald's *Letters*, 1894, i. 146. Shenstone wrote:—

'Tedious again to curse the drizzling day,

Again to trace the wintry tracks of snow;

Or, sooth'd by vernal airs, again survey

The selfsame hawthorns bud, and cowslips blow.'

Elegy xi, Eng. Poets, lix. 36.

³ In *Elegy iii* he says of the Muse:—

'She tempts patricians from the fatal doors

Of vice's brothel forth to virtue's fane.'

In *Elegy v* within three lines he has *reliev'st*, *cheer'st*, and *deserv'st*.

⁴ Of the ancient Britons he says (*El. xv*):—

'They ting'd their bodies, but unmask'd their mind.'

⁵ 'The boastive rill,' *El. x*; 'dis-treams a tear,' *El. xix*; 'we drain the mine's embowell'd gold,' *El. xx*.

⁶ 'O teach them you to spread the sacred base,' *El. ii*.

'Twas on those Downs, by Roman hosts annoy'd,
Fought our bold fathers, rustic, un-refin'd.' *El. xv*.

weighty meaning¹. From these, however, *Rural Elegance*² has some right to be excepted. I once heard it praised by a very learned lady³; and though the lines are irregular, and the thoughts diffused with too much verbosity, yet it cannot be denied to contain both philosophical argument and poetical spirit⁴.

24 Of the rest I cannot think any excellent; *The Skylark* pleases me best, which has, however, more of the epigram than of the ode⁵.

25 But the four parts of his *Pastoral Ballad*⁶ demand particular notice. I cannot but regret that it is pastoral⁷; an intelligent reader acquainted with the scenes of real life sickens at the mention of the *crook*, the *pipe*, the *sheep*, and the *kids*, which it is not necessary to bring forward to notice, for the poet's art is selection, and he ought to shew the beauties without the grossness of the country life. His stanza seems to have been chosen in imitation of Rowe's *Despairing Shepherd*⁸.

26 In the first part are two passages, to which if any mind denies its sympathy it has no acquaintance with love or nature:

'I priz'd every hour that went by,
Beyond all that had pleas'd me before;
But now they are past, and I sigh,
And I grieve that I priz'd them no more⁹.

.

'When forc'd the fair nymph to forego,
What anguish I felt in [at] my heart!
Yet I thought—but it might not be so—
'Twas with pain that she saw me depart.

¹ 'Poor Shenstone was labouring through his whole life to write a perfect song, and, in my opinion at least, never once succeeded.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, viii. 509.

² 'I wanted to write one good song,' wrote Shenstone, 'and could never please myself.' *Works*, i. 11.

³ *Eng. Poets*, lix. 81.

⁴ Mrs. Carter was the most learned lady Johnson knew. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 122. Of her translation of Epictetus George Long wrote:— 'Perhaps no Englishman at that time would have made a better translation.' Long's *Epictetus*, 1877, Preface, p. 14.

⁵ The *Ode to Memory* (*Eng. Poets*, lix. 91) has a pretty stanza—

'Bring me the bells, the rattle bring,
And bring the hobby I bestrode,
When pleas'd in many a sportive ring

Around the room I jovial rode;
Ev'n let me bid my lyre adieu,
And bring the whistle that I blew.'

⁶ 'The diction' of the first line 'is harsh':—

'Go, tuneful bird, that glad'st the skies.' *Ib.* p. 121.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 154.

⁸ *Ante*, MILTON, 182.

⁹ *Ante*, ROWE, 33 n. 7.

¹⁰ Johnson wrote soon after Levett's death:— 'How much soever I valued him, I now wish I had valued him more.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 145.

'She gaz'd, as I slowly withdrew;
 My path I could hardly discern;
 So sweetly she bade me adieu,
 I thought that she bade me return¹.'

In the second this passage has its prettiness, though it be not 27 equal to the former:

'I have found out a gift for my fair;
 I have found where the wood-pigeons breed:
 But let me that plunder forbear,
 She will say 'twas a barbarous deed:
 'For he ne'er could be true, she averr'd,
 Who could rob a poor bird of its young;
 And I lov'd her the more, when I heard
 Such tenderness fall from her tongue².'

In the third he mentions the common-places of amorous poetry 28 with some address:

'Tis his with mock passion to glow;
 'Tis his in smooth tales to unfold,
 How her face is as bright as the snow,
 And her bosom, be sure, is as cold:
 'How the nightingales labour the strain,
 With the notes of his charmer to vie;
 How they vary their accents in vain,
 Repine at her triumphs, and die³.'

In the fourth I find nothing better than this natural strain of 29 Hope:

'Alas! from the day that we met,
 What hope of an end to my woes?
 When I cannot endure to forget
 The glance that undid my repose.
 'Yet Time may diminish the pain:
 The flower, and the shrub, and the tree,
 Which I rear'd for her pleasure in vain,
 In time may have comfort for me⁴.'

His *Levities* are by their title exempted from the severities of 30

¹ *Eng. Poets*, lix. 155. Boswell recorded in 1773:—"We talked of Shenstone. Dr. Johnson said he was a good layer-out of land, but would not allow him to approach excellence as a poet. He said he believed he had tried to read all his *Love Pastorals*, but did not get through them. I re-

peated the stanza,
 "She gaz'd, as I slowly withdrew," &c.
 He said, "That seems to be pretty."
 Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 267.

² *Eng. Poets*, lix. 157.

³ *Ib.* p. 160.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 162.

criticism; yet it may be remarked in a few words that his humour is sometimes gross, and seldom spritely¹.

- 81 Of the Moral Poems² the first is the *Choice of Hercules*³, from Xenophon⁴. The numbers are smooth, the diction elegant, and the thoughts just; but something of vigour perhaps is still to be wished, which it might have had by brevity and compression. His *Fate of Delicacy*⁵ has an air of gaiety, but not a very pointed general moral. His blank verses, those that can read them may probably find to be like the blank verses of his neighbours⁶. *Love and Honour*⁷ is derived from the old ballad *Did you not hear of a Spanish Lady*⁸—I wish it well enough to wish it were in rhyme.
- 32 *The School-mistress*⁹, of which I know not what claim it has to stand among the Moral Works, is surely the most pleasing of Shenstone's performances. The adoption of a particular style in light and short compositions contributes much to the increase

¹ Among the *Levities* are the lines *Written at an Inn at Henley*. Henley is Henley in Arden, where Johnson and Boswell slept the night of the day on which Johnson quoted them in the inn where they dined. "No, Sir (he said); there is nothing which has yet been contrived by man, by which so much happiness is produced as by a good tavern or inn." He then repeated, with great emotion, Shenstone's lines:—

"Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
[found
May sigh to think he still has
The warmest welcome at an inn."

Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 452.

For the lines see *Eng. Poets*, lix. 185; and for an earlier and fuller version see Dodsley's *Collection*, v. 51; *John. Misc.* ii. 253. 'Life's dull round' Shenstone may have borrowed from Johnson's *Adventurer*, No. 108. 'He grew weary of the same dull round of life.'

Graves says that this stanza was written in a summer-house at Edge Hill, on the evening of a day which he had passed travelling homewards from his friend Whistler's house in South Oxfordshire, of whom he had

taken 'a cool leave.' *Recollections*, p. 151. Edge Hill is full twenty miles from Henley. Probably he finished the poem next day at the inn.

E. FitzGerald (*Letters*, ii. 184) writes:—'Carlyle had the use of a phaeton and pony, which latter he calls "Shenstone" from a partiality to stopping at every inn door.'

² *Moral Pieces*. *Eng. Poets*, lix. 199.

³ *The Judgement of Hercules*. *Ante*, SHENSTONE, 8. 'Mr. Shenstone had the satisfaction at a coffee-house to hear some young people come to a resolution that it must certainly be either Pope's or Mr. Dodsley's.' *Graves*, p. 93.

⁴ [*Memorabilia*, ii. 1.]

⁵ *The Progress of Taste, or The Fate of Delicacy*. *Eng. Poets*, lix. 217.

⁶ *Ante*, MILTON, 274.

⁷ *Eng. Poets*, lix. 275.

⁸ *Will you hear a Spanish Lady*, Percy's *Reliques*, Book v. 23. 'If Shenstone had done nothing more than suggest to Percy the scheme of publishing the *Reliques* he would have been a great benefactor to the literature of his country.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, ii. 306. For the suggestion see *John. Letters*, i. 89 n.

⁹ *Ante*, SHENSTONE, 2, 8.

of pleasure: we are entertained at once with two imitations, of nature in the sentiments, of the original author in the style, and between them the mind is kept in perpetual employment¹.

The general recommendation of Shenstone is easiness and simplicity; his general defect is want of comprehension and variety. Had his mind been better stored with knowledge, whether he could have been great I know not; he could certainly have been agreeable².

APPENDIX T (PAGE 349)

'Being himself a poet, Johnson was peculiarly happy in mentioning how many of the sons of Pembroke were poets; adding with a smile of sportive triumph, "Sir, we are a nest of singing birds." Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 75. He left the College in 1729; his *Life of Shenstone* appeared in 1781, so that he does not fall within the half-century. Neither, of course, does Sir Thomas Browne. In the half-century come Shenstone; Richard Graves, author of *The Spiritual Quixote*, one of the poets of Dodsley's *Collection* (iv. 323, v. 62); Anthony Whistler, another of the poets (*ib.* iv. 320, v. 60); Sir William Blackstone, also of the poets with his *Lawyer's Farewell to his Muse* (*ib.* iv. 224); and William Hawkins, Professor of Poetry (1751-6), of whom Goldsmith wrote (*Works*, iv. 253):—"Be it enough to say in general that he was not born a poet, or that imitation has spoiled him." When Whistler died Shenstone wrote to Graves:—"The triumvirate, which was the greatest happiness and the greatest pride of my life, is broken." Graves was the third member. Shenstone's *Works*, iii. 228.

Whitfield also falls within the half-century (Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 78 n.); John Henderson (*ib.* iv. 298; *John. Misc.* ii. 197); J. L. Smithson,

¹ 'The Schoolmistress is excellent in its kind and masterly.' GRAY, *Letters*, i. 183.

'That water-gruel bard Shenstone never wrote anything good but his *Schoolmistress*.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, vii. 54.

'This poem is one of those happinesses in which a poet excels himself, as there is nothing in all Shenstone which any way approaches it in merit. . . . The antiquity of the style produces a very ludicrous solemnity.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 436.

Lamb, attacking 'a rustic Cockneyism,' continues:—"The true rustic style I think is to be found in Shenstone. Would his *Schoolmistress*, the prettiest of poems, have been better

if he had used quite the Goody's own language?' *Letters*, ii. 42.

'Shenstone's poems are indifferent and tasteless, except his *Pastoral Ballad* . . . and his *Schoolmistress*, which last is a perfect piece of writing.' HAZLITT, *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1819, p. 236. See also Wordsworth's *Works*, 1857, vi. 373.

² 'To some lady who was praising Shenstone's poems very much, and who had an Italian greyhound lying by the fire, Johnson said, "Shenstone holds amongst poets the same rank your dog holds amongst dogs; he has not the sagacity of the hound, the docility of the spaniel, nor the courage of the bull-dog, yet he is still a pretty fellow."' *John. Misc.* ii. 5.

founder of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington; and Dr. Thomas Beddoes. Macleane's *Hist. of Pemb. Coll.* pp. 370-81, 389-93.

Among the 'singing birds' of later days were T. L. Beddoes, that 'forgotten Oxford poet,' said Browning, 'on whom, if I were ever Professor of Poetry, my first lecture should be'; R. S. Hawker, whose Trelawny ballad deceived Macaulay; William Fulford, editor of *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*; R. W. Dixon and S. J. Stone. Dr. Edwin Hatch, the theologian, and Dr. Edward Moore, editor of Dante, were also members. So also were Professors Rolleston and Chandler, Sir John Scott, K.C.M.G., late Judicial Adviser to the Khedive, Mr. Sydney Prior Hall, and Mr. Charles Eamer Kempe.

Neither must I pass over the last master, Professor Bartholomew Price, who did so much for the Clarendon Press, in the improvement of which Johnson had taken a strong interest (Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 424). Macleane's *Pemb. Coll.* pp. 240, 424, 470-2, 475, 478, 491.

'Sir Thomas Browne,' writes Johnson, 'was the first man of eminence graduated from the new college, to which the zeal or gratitude of those that love it most can wish little better than that it may long proceed as it began.' *Works*, vi. 476. Floreat Collegium Pembrochiaë!

YOUNG

THE following life was written at my request by a gentleman who had better information than I could easily have obtained; and the publick will perhaps wish that I had solicited and obtained more such favours from him.

* Johnson, who had undertaken only to write Prefaces but had given Lives, grew weary of his task before he reached the end. Of the last Life of all—Lyttelton's—he wrote to Mrs. Thrale:—'I sent to Lord Westcote about his brother's life, but he says he knows not whom to employ; and is sure I shall do him no injury. There is an ingenious scheme to save a day's work, or part of a day, utterly defeated. Then what avails it to be wise? The plain and the artful man must both do their own work.—But I think I have got a life of Dr. Young.' *John. Letters*, ii. 189. A week later he wrote:—'I shall have Young's life given me to spite you.' *Ib.* p. 190.

Boswell describes the author, Herbert Croft, as 'then a Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, now a clergyman.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 58. In 1784 Croft met Johnson at Pembroke College. 'I am afraid,' writes Boswell, 'he was somewhat mortified by Dr. Johnson's not being highly pleased with some *Family Discourses* which he had printed; they were in too familiar a style to be approved of by so manly a mind.' *Ib.* iv. 298.

Croft, in a passage first printed in the second edition, says that he could not prevail on Johnson 'to make any alterations,' though 'he insisted on striking out one passage.' *Post, YOUNG*, 153. Johnson wrote of Croft's work to Nichols:—'What is crossed with black is expunged by the authour; what is crossed with red is expunged by me. If you find anything more that can be well omitted I shall not be sorry to see it

yet shorter.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 58.

The Rev. John Hussey (*John. Misc.* Preface, p. 12) recorded in a marginal note:—'Soon after the publication of the Prefaces, on my telling Dr. Johnson that I heard some reflections on the *Life of Young* being too long, and that he was too frequently called the Author of the *Night Thoughts*, he replied:—"Nay, I can acquit myself of the first charge, and Mr. Croft of the other. I expunged nearly half that was written, and he was called the Author of the *Night Thoughts* by my recommendation."

Of this *Life* by Croft Boswell writes:—'It has always appeared to me to have a considerable share of merit, and to display a pretty successful imitation of Johnson's style. When I mentioned this to a very eminent literary character [Burke], he opposed me vehemently, exclaiming, "No, no, it is *not* a good imitation of Johnson; it has all his pomp without his force; it has all the nodosities of the oak without its strength." This was an image so happy, that one might have thought he would have been satisfied with it; but he was not. And setting his mind again to work, he added, with exquisite felicity, "It has all the contortions of the Sybil, without the inspiration." Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 59.

It is strange that Boswell, whose own style is excellent, should have liked this intolerable piece of affectation. Happily for me it is no duty of mine to edit Croft.

[Sir Leslie Stephen, in his article on

2 'Dear Sir,

'In consequence of our different conversations about authentick materials for the *Life of Young* I send you the following detail. It is not, I confess, immediately in the line of my profession ; but hard indeed is our fate at the bar if we may not call a few hours now and then our own.

3 'Of great men something must always be said to gratify curiosity. Of the great author of the *Night Thoughts* much has been told of which there never could have been proofs ; and little care appears to have been taken to tell that of which proofs, with little trouble, might have been procured.

4 'EDWARD YOUNG was born at Upham, near Winchester, in June, 1681. He was the son of Edward Young, at that time Fellow of Winchester College and Rector of Upham, who was the son of Jo. Young of Woodhay in Berkshire, styled by Wood *gentleman*. In September, 1682, the Poet's father was collated to the prebend of Gillingham Minor, in the church of Sarum, by bishop Ward. When Ward's faculties were impaired by age his duties were necessarily performed by others. We learn from Wood that, at a visitation of Sprat's, July the 12th, 1686, the Prebendary preached a Latin sermon, afterwards published, with which the Bishop was so pleased that he told the Chapter he was concerned to find the preacher had one of the worst prebends in their church. Some time after this, in consequence of his merit and reputation, or of the interest of Lord Bradford, to whom, in 1702, he dedicated two volumes of sermons, he was appointed chaplain to King William and Queen Mary, and preferred to the deanery of Sarum. Jacob, who wrote in 1720, says "he was chaplain and clerk of the closet to the late Queen, who honoured him by standing godmother to the Poet." His fellowship of

YOUNG in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, has corrected several errors in Croft's *Life* and has given a very careful estimate of Young's place in English literature.]

Baronet and priest though he was, Croft seems to have been a rascal. Southey's son accuses him 'of having obtained possession from Mrs. Newton, Chatterton's sister, of all her brother's letters and MSS., under promise of speedily returning them. Instead of which he published them in a pamphlet entitled *Love and Madness*. Beyond the sum of £10 she could obtain no redress.' Her cause was supported by Southey, who, with Cottle, published for her benefit an edition of Chatterton's *Works*. It brought in over £300,

'a sum which rescued her and her daughter from great poverty.' Southey's *Life and Corres.* ii. 185.

Southey and Croft had had a controversy on this question in *Gent. Mag.* 1800, pp. 99, 222, 322. Southey wrote :—'Sir Herbert does not deny that he promised to return the letters in an hour when he borrowed them ; nor that he published them without the knowledge of the family for his own emolument. . . . He does not deny his promise to the family of after assistance ; nor that, when Mrs. Newton applied for it, he required a certificate of her character from the clergyman of the parish.' *Ib.* p. 226. Croft blustered and quoted a testimonial from a Bishop. *Ib.* p. 323.

Winchester he resigned in favour of a Mr. Harris, who married his only daughter. The Dean died at Sarum, after a short illness, in 1705, in the sixty-third year of his age. On the Sunday after his decease Bishop Burnet preached at the cathedral, and began his sermon with saying, "Death has been of late walking round us, and making breach upon breach upon us, and has now carried away the head of this body with a stroke; so that he whom you saw a week ago distributing the holy mysteries is now laid in the dust. But he still lives in the many excellent directions he has left us, both how to live and how to die."

'The Dean placed his son upon the foundation of Winchester 5 College, where he had himself been educated. At this school Edward Young remained till the election after his eighteenth birth-day, the period at which those upon the foundation are superannuated. Whether he did not betray his abilities early in life, or his masters had not skill enough to discover in their pupil any marks of genius for which he merited reward, or no vacancy at Oxford afforded them an opportunity to bestow upon him the reward provided for merit by William of Wykeham; certain it is, that to an Oxford fellowship our Poet did not succeed. By chance, or by choice, New College does not number among its Fellows him who wrote the *Night Thoughts*.

'On the 13th of October, 1703, he was entered an independent 6 member of New College, that he might live at little expence in the Warden's lodgings, who was a particular friend of his father, till he should be qualified to stand for a fellowship at All-souls. In a few months the Warden of New College died. He then removed to Corpus College. The President of this Society, from regard also for his father, invited him thither, in order to lessen his academical expences. In 1708 he was nominated to a law fellowship at All-souls by Archbishop Tennison, into whose hands it came by devolution. Such repeated patronage, while it justifies Burnet's praise of the father, reflects credit on the conduct of the son. The manner in which it was exerted seems to prove that the father did not leave behind him much wealth.

'On the 23rd of April, 1714, Young took his degree of Batchelor 7 of Civil Laws, and his Doctor's degree on the 10th of June, 1719.

'Soon after he went to Oxford he discovered, it is said, an 8 inclination for pupils. Whether he ever commenced tutor is not known. None has hitherto boasted to have received his academical instruction from the author of the *Night Thoughts*.

'It is certain that his college was proud of him no less as a 9 scholar than as a poet, for in 1716, when the foundation of the Codrington Library was laid, two years after he had taken his Batchelor's degree, he was appointed to speak the Latin oration. This is at least particular for being dedicated in English "To the

Ladies of the Codrington Family." To these Ladies he says "that he was unavoidably flung into a singularity by being obliged to write an epistle-dedicatory void of common-place, and such an one as was never published before by any author whatever; that this practice absolved them from any obligation of reading what was presented to them; and that the bookseller approved of it because it would make people stare was absurd enough, and perfectly right."

- 10 'Of this oration there is no appearance in his own edition of his works, and prefixed to an edition by Curll and Tonson in 1741 is a letter from Young to Curll, if Curll may be credited, dated December the 9th, 1739, wherein he says he has not leisure to review what he formerly wrote, and adds, "I have not the *Epistle to Lord Lansdowne*. If you will take my advice I would have you omit that and the oration on Codrington. I think the collection will sell better without them."
- 11 'There are who relate that, when first Young found himself independent and his own master at All-souls, he was not the ornament to religion and morality which he afterwards became.
- 12 'The authority of his father, indeed, had ceased some time before by his death, and Young was certainly not ashamed to be patronized by the infamous Wharton. But Wharton befriended in Young, perhaps, the poet, and particularly the tragedian. If virtuous authors must be patronized only by virtuous peers, who shall point them out?
- 13 'Yet Pope is said by Ruffhead to have told Warburton that "Young had much of a sublime genius, though without common sense; so that his genius, having no guide, was perpetually liable to degenerate into bombast. This made him, pass a 'foolish youth, the sport of peers and poets; but his having a very good heart enabled him to support the clerical character when he assumed it, first with decency, and afterwards with honour."
- 14 'They who think ill of Young's morality in the early part of his life may perhaps be wrong; but Tindal could not err in his opinion of Young's warmth and ability in the cause of religion. Tindal used to spend much of his time at All-souls. "The other boys," said the atheist, "I can always answer, because I always know whence they have their arguments, which I have read an hundred times; but that fellow Young is continually pestering me with something of his own."
- 15 'After all, Tindal and the censurers of Young may be reconcilable. Young might, for two or three years, have tried that kind of life, in which his natural principles would not suffer him to wallow long. If this were so, he has left behind him not only his evidence in favour of virtue, but the potent testimony of experience against vice.
- 16 'We shall soon see that one of his earliest productions was

more serious than what comes from the generality of unfledged poets.

'Young perhaps ascribed the good fortune of Addison to the 17
Poem to his Majesty, presented, with a copy of verses, to Somers, and hoped that he also might soar to wealth and honours on wings of the same kind. His first poetical flight was when Queen Anne called up to the House of Lords the sons of the Earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, and added in one day ten others to the number of peers. In order to reconcile the people to one at least of the new Lords, he published in 1712 *An Epistle to the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdowne*. In this composition the poet pours out his panegyrick with the extravagance of a young man, who thinks his present stock of wealth will never be exhausted.

'The poem seems intended also to reconcile the publick to the 18
late peace. This is endeavoured to be done by shewing that men are slain in war, and that in peace "harvests wave, and commerce swells her sail." If this be humanity, is it politicks? Another purpose of this epistle appears to have been to prepare the publick for the reception of some tragedy of his own. His Lordship's patronage, he says, will not let him "repent his passion for the stage"; and the particular praise bestowed on *Othello* and *Oroonoko* looks as if some such character as Zanga was even then in contemplation. The affectionate mention of the death of his friend Harrison of New College, at the close of this poem, is an instance of Young's art, which displayed itself so wonderfully some time afterwards in the *Night Thoughts*, of making the publick a party in his private sorrow.

'Should justice call upon you to censure this poem, it ought at 19
least to be remembered that he did not insert it into his works, and that in the letter to Curll, as we have seen, he advises its omission. The booksellers, in the late Body of English Poetry, should have distinguished what was deliberately rejected by the respective authors'. This I shall be careful to do with regard to Young. "I think," says he, "the following pieces in *four* volumes to be the most excuseable of all that I have written, and I wish *less apology* was needful for these. As there is no recalling what is got abroad, the pieces here republished I have revised and corrected, and rendered them as *pardonable* as it was in my power to do."

'Shall the gates of repentance be shut only against literary 20
sinners?

'When Addison published *Cato* in 1713 Young had the honour 21
of prefixing to it a recommendatory copy of verses. This is one of the pieces which the author of the *Night Thoughts* did not republish.

'On the appearance of his *Poem on the Last Day*, Addison did 22

* Dr. Johnson, in many cases, thought and directed differently, particularly in Young's Works. J. NICHOLS.

not return Young's compliment ; but *The Englishman* of October 29, 1713, which was probably written by Addison, speaks handsomely of this poem. *The Last Day* was published soon after the peace. The vice-chancellor's *imprimatur*, for it was first printed at Oxford, is dated May the 19th, 1713. From the Exordium Young appears to have spent some time on the composition of it. While other bards "with Britain's hero set their souls on fire," he draws, he says, a deeper scene. Marlborough *had been* considered by Britain as her *hero* ; but, when *The Last Day* was published, female cabal had blasted for a time the laurels of Blenheim. This serious poem was finished by Young as early as 1710, before he was thirty ; for part of it is printed in *The Tatler*. It was inscribed to the Queen, in a dedication which, for some reason, he did not admit into his works. It tells her that his only title to the great honour he now does himself is the obligation he formerly received from her royal indulgence.

- 23 'Of this obligation nothing is now known, unless he alluded to her being his godmother. He is said, indeed, to have been engaged at a settled stipend as a writer for the court. In Swift's *Rhapsody on poetry* are these lines, speaking of the court :

"Whence Gay was banish'd in disgrace,
Where Pope will never shew his face,
Where Y—— must torture his invention
To flatter knaves, or lose his pension."

- 24 'That Y—— means Young is clear from four other lines in the same poem :

"Attend, ye Popes and Youngs and Gays,
And tune your harps and strew your bays ;
Your panegyricks here provide ;
You cannot err on flattery's side."

- 25 'Yet who shall say with certainty that Young was a pensioner ? In all modern periods of this country have not the writers on one side been regularly called Hirelings, and on the other Patriots ?

- 26 'Of the dedication the complexion is clearly political. It speaks in the highest terms of the late peace : it gives her Majesty praise indeed for her victories, but says that the author is more pleased to see her rise from this lower world, soaring above the clouds, passing the first and second heavens, and leaving the fixed stars behind her ; nor will he lose her there, but keep her still in view through the boundless spaces on the other side of Creation, in her journey towards eternal bliss, till he behold the heaven of heavens open, and angels receiving and conveying her still onward from the stretch of his imagination, which tires in her pursuit, and falls back again to earth.

- 27 'The Queen was soon called away from this lower world to a

place where human praise or human flattery even less general than this are of little consequence. If Young thought the dedication contained only the praise of truth, he should not have omitted it in his works. Was he conscious of the exaggeration of party? Then he should not have written it. The poem itself is not without a glance to politicks, notwithstanding the subject. The cry that the church was in danger had not yet subsided. *The Last Day*, written by a layman, was much approved by the ministry and their friends.

'Before the Queen's death *The Force of Religion, or Vanquished Love* was sent into the world. This poem is founded on the execution of Lady Jane Gray and her husband Lord Guildford in 1554—a story chosen for the subject of a tragedy by Edmund Smith, and wrought into a tragedy by Rowe. The dedication of it to the countess of Salisbury does not appear in his own edition. He hopes it may be some excuse for his presumption that the story could not have been read without thoughts of the Countess of Salisbury, though it had been dedicated to another. "To behold," he proceeds, "a person *only* virtuous stirs in us a prudent regret; to behold a person *only* amiable to the sight warms us with a religious indignation; but to turn our eyes on a Countess of Salisbury gives us pleasure and improvement: it works a sort of miracle, occasions the bias of our nature to fall off from sin, and makes our very senses and affections converts to our religion, and promoters of our duty." His flattery was as ready for the other sex as for ours, and was at least as well adapted.

'August the 27th, 1714, Pope writes to his friend Jervas that he is just arrived from Oxford; that every one is much concerned for the Queen's death, but that no panegyricks are ready yet for the King. Nothing like friendship had yet taken place between Pope and Young; for, soon after the event which Pope mentions, Young published a poem on the Queen's death and his Majesty's accession to the throne. It is inscribed to Addison, then secretary to the Lords Justices. Whatever was the obligation which he had formerly received from Anne, the poet appears to aim at something of the same sort from George. Of the poem the intention seems to have been to shew that he had the same extravagant strain of praise for a King as for a Queen. To discover at the very outset of a foreigner's reign that the Gods bless his new subjects in such a King, is something more than praise. Neither was this deemed one of his *excuseable pieces*. We do not find it in his works.

'Young's father had been well acquainted with Lady Anne Wharton, the first wife of Thomas Wharton, Esq., afterwards Marquis of Wharton; a Lady celebrated for her poetical talents by Burnet and by Waller. To the Dean of Sarum's visitation sermon, already mentioned, were added some verses

"by that excellent poetess Mrs. Anne Wharton," upon its being translated into English, at the instance of Waller, by Atwood. Wharton, after he became ennobled, did not drop the son of his old friend. In him, during the short time he lived, Young found a patron, and in his dissolute descendant a friend and a companion. The Marquis died in April, 1715. The beginning of the next year the young Marquis set out upon his travels, from which he returned in about a twelvemonth. The beginning of 1717 carried him to Ireland, where, says the *Biographia*, "on the score of his extraordinary qualities he had the honour done him of being admitted, though under age, to take his seat in the House of Lords."

- 81 'With this unhappy character it is not unlikely that Young went to Ireland. From his Letter to Richardson *On Original Composition*, it is clear he was, at some period of his life, in that country. "I remember," says he, in that Letter, speaking of Swift, "as I and others were taking with him an evening walk about a mile out of Dublin he stopt short ; we passed on ; but, perceiving he did not follow us, I went back, and found him fixed as a statue, and earnestly gazing upward at a noble elm, which in its uppermost branches was much withered and decayed. Pointing at it, he said, 'I shall be like that tree, I shall die at top.'"—Is it not probable that this visit to Ireland was paid when he had an opportunity of going thither with his avowed friend and patron?
- 82 'From *The Englishman* it appears that a tragedy by Young was in the theatre so early as 1713. Yet *Busiris* was not brought upon Drury-Lane Stage till 1719. It was inscribed to the Duke of Newcastle, "because the late instances he had received of his Grace's undeserved and uncommon favour in an affair of some consequence, foreign to the theatre, had taken from him the privilege of chusing a patron." The Dedication he afterwards suppressed.
- 83 '*Busiris* was followed in the year 1721 by *The Revenge*. Left at liberty now to chuse his patron he dedicated this famous tragedy to the Duke of Wharton. "Your Grace," says the Dedication, "has been pleased to make yourself accessary to the following scenes, not only by suggesting the most beautiful incident in them, but by making all possible provision for the success of the whole."
- 84 'That his Grace should have suggested the incident to which he alludes, whatever that incident be, is not unlikely. The last mental exertion of the superannuated young man, in his quarters at Lerida in Spain, was some scenes of a tragedy on the story of Mary Queen of Scots.
- 85 'Dryden dedicated *Marriage à la Mode* to Wharton's infamous relation Rochester, whom he acknowledges not only as

the defender of his poetry, but as the promoter of his fortune. Young concludes his address to Wharton thus: "My present fortune is his bounty and my future his care, which I will venture to say will be always remembered to his honour, since he, I know, intended his generosity as an encouragement to merit, though, through his very pardonable partiality to one who bears him so sincere a duty and respect, I happen to receive the benefit of it." That he ever had such a patron as Wharton, Young took all the pains in his power to conceal from the world, by excluding this dedication from his works. He should have remembered that he at the same time concealed his obligation to Wharton for "the most beautiful incident" in what is surely not his least beautiful composition. The passage just quoted is, in a poem afterwards addressed to Walpole, literally copied:

"Be this thy partial smile from censure free!
'Twas meant for merit, though it fell on me."

'While Young, who, in his *Love of Fame*, complains grievously **86** how often "dedications wash an Æthiop white," was painting an amiable Duke of Wharton in perishable prose, Pope was perhaps beginning to describe the "scorn and wonder of his days" in lasting verse.

'To the patronage of such a character, had Young studied men **87** as much as Pope, he would have known how little to have trusted. Young, however, was certainly indebted to it for something material; and the Duke's regard for Young, added to his *Lust of Praise*, procured to All-souls College a donation which was not forgotten by the poet when he dedicated *The Revenge*.

'It will surprise you to see me cite second Atkins, Case 136, **88** *Stiles versus the Attorney General*, 14 March, 1740, as authority for the Life of a Poet. But Biographers do not always find such certain guides as the oaths of those whose lives they write. Chancellor Hardwicke was to determine whether two annuities, granted by the Duke of Wharton to Young, were for legal considerations. One was dated the 24th of March, 1719, and accounted for his Grace's bounty in a style princely and commendable, if not legal—"considering that the publick good is advanced by the encouragement of learning and the polite arts, and being pleased therein with the attempts of Dr. Young, in consideration thereof, and of the love he bore him, etc." The other was dated the 10th of July, 1722.

'Young, on his examination, swore that he quitted the Exeter **89** family, and refused an annuity of 100*l.* which had been offered him for his life if he would continue tutor to Lord Burleigh upon the pressing solicitations of the Duke of Wharton, and his Grace's assurances of providing for him in a much more ample manner. It also appeared that the Duke had given him a bond

for 600*l.* dated the 15th of March, 1721, in consideration of his taking several journies and being at great expences in order to be chosen member of the House of Commons at the Duke's desire, and in consideration of his not taking two livings of 200*l.* and 400*l.* in the gift of All-souls College, on his Grace's promises of serving and advancing him in the world.

- 40 'Of his adventures in the Exeter family I am unable to give any account. The attempt to get into Parliament was at Cirencester, where Young stood a contested election. His Grace discovered in him talents for oratory as well as for poetry. Nor was this judgement wrong. Young after he took orders became a very popular preacher, and was much followed for the grace and animation of his delivery. By his oratorical talents he was once in his life, according to the *Biographia*, deserted. As he was preaching in his turn at St. James's he plainly perceived it was out of his power to command the attention of his audience. This so affected the feelings of the preacher that he sat back in the pulpit, and burst into tears.—But we must pursue his poetical life.
- 41 'In 1719 he lamented the death of Addison in a Letter addressed to their common friend Tickell. For the secret history of the following lines, if they contain any, it is now vain to seek :

" *In joy once join'd*, in sorrow, now, for years,
Partner in grief, and brother of my tears,
Tickell, accept this verse, thy mournful due."

- 42 'From your account of Tickell it appears that he and Young used to "communicate to each other whatever verses they wrote, even to the least things."
- 43 'In 1719 appeared a *Paraphrase on Part of the Book of Job*. Parker, to whom it is dedicated, had not long, by means of the seals, been qualified for a patron. Of this work the author's opinion may be known from his letter to Curll: "You seem, in the Collection you propose, to have omitted what I think may claim the first place in it; I mean *A Translation from Part of Job*, printed by Mr. Tonson." The Dedication, which was only suffered to appear in Tonson's edition, while it speaks with satisfaction of his present retirement, seems to make an unusual struggle to escape from retirement. But every one who sings in the dark does not sing from joy. It is addressed, in no common strain of flattery, to a Chancellor, of whom he clearly appears to have had no kind of knowledge.
- 44 'Of his *Satires* it would not have been impossible to fix the dates without the assistance of first editions, which, as you had occasion to observe in your account of Dryden, are with difficulty found. We must then have referred to the poems to discover when they were written. For these internal notes of time we should not have referred in vain. The first *Satire* laments that

"Guilt's chief foe in Addison is fled." The second, addressing himself, asks,

"Is thy ambition sweating for a rhyme,
Thou unambitious fool, at this late time?
A fool at *forty* is a fool indeed."

'The *Satires* were originally published separately in folio under the title of *The Universal Passion*. These passages fix the appearance of the first to about 1725, the time at which it came out. As Young seldom suffered his pen to dry after he had once dipped it in poetry, we may conclude that he began his *Satires* soon after he had written the *Paraphrase on Job*. The last Satire was certainly finished in the beginning of the year 1726. In December, 1725, the King, in his passage from Helvoetsluys, escaped with great difficulty from a storm by landing at Rye; and the conclusion of the Satire turns the escape into a miracle, in such an encomiastick strain of compliment as poetry too often seeks to pay to royalty.

'From the sixth of these poems we learn,

"Midst empire's charms, how Carolina's heart
Glow'd with the love of virtue and of art";

since the grateful poet tells us in the next couplet,

"Her favour is diffus'd to that degree,
Excess of goodness! it has dawn'd on me."

Her Majesty had stood godmother, and given her name, to a daughter of the lady whom Young married in 1731.

'The fifth Satire, *On Women*, was not published till 1727, and 45 the sixth not till 1728.

'To these Poems, when, in 1728, he gathered them into one 46 publication, he prefixed a Preface, in which he observes that "no man can converse much in the world but, at what he meets with, he must either be insensible or grieve, or be angry or smile. Now to smile at it and turn it into ridicule," adds he, "I think most eligible, as it hurts ourselves least and gives vice and folly the greatest offence.—Laughing at the misconduct of the world will, in a great measure, ease us of any more disagreeable passion about it. One passion is more effectually driven out by another than by reason, whatever some teach." So wrote, and so of course thought, the lively and witty Satirist at the grave age of almost fifty, who many years earlier in life wrote *The Last Day*. After all, Swift pronounced of these *Satires* that they should either have been more angry or more merry.

'Is it not somewhat singular that Young preserved without 47 any palliation this Preface, so bluntly decisive in favour of laughing at the world, in the same collection of his works which contains the mournful, angry, gloomy *Night Thoughts*?

- 48 'At the conclusion of the Preface he applies Plato's beautiful fable of the *Birth of Love* to modern poetry, with the addition "that Poetry, like Love, is a little subject to blindness, which makes her mistake her way to preferments and honours; and that she retains a dutiful admiration of her father's family; but divides her favours, and generally lives with her mother's relations." Poetry, it is true, did not lead Young to preferments or to honours; but was there not something like blindness in the flattery which he sometimes forced her, and her sister Prose, to utter? She was always, indeed, taught by him to entertain a most dutiful admiration of riches; but surely Young, though nearly related to Poetry, had no connexion with her whom Plato makes the mother of Love. That he could not well complain of being related to Poverty appears clearly from the frequent bounties which his gratitude records, and from the wealth which he left behind him. By *The Universal Passion* he acquired no vulgar fortune, more than three thousand pounds. A considerable sum had already been swallowed up in the South-Sea. For this loss he took the vengeance of an author. His Muse makes poetical use more than once of a South-Sea Dream.
- 49 'It is related by Mr. Spence, in his Manuscript *Anecdotes*, on the authority of Mr. Rawlinson, that Young, upon the publication of his *Universal Passion*, received from the Duke of Grafton two thousand pounds; and that, when one of his friends exclaimed, "Two thousand pounds for a poem!" he said it was the best bargain he ever made in his life, for the poem was worth four thousand.
- 50 'This story may be true, but it seems to have been raised from the two answers of Lord Burghley and Sir Philip Sidney in *Spenser's Life*.
- 51 'After inscribing his *Satires*, not without the hope of preferments and honours, to the Duke of Dorset, Mr. Dodington, Mr. Spencer Compton, Lady Elizabeth Germain, and Sir Robert Walpole, he returns to plain panegyrick. In 1726 he addressed a poem to Sir Robert Walpole, of which the title sufficiently explains the intention. If Young was a ready celebrator he did not endeavour, or did not choose, to be a lasting one. *The Installation* is among the pieces he did not admit into the number of his *excuseable writings*. Yet it contains a couplet which pretends to pant after the power of bestowing immortality:
- "Oh! how I long, enkindled by the theme,
In deep eternity to launch thy name!"
- 52 'The bounty of the former reign seems to have been continued, possibly increased, in this. Whatever it was, the poet thought he deserved it; for he was not ashamed to acknowledge what,

without his acknowledgement, would now perhaps never have been known:

“My breast, O Walpole, glows with grateful fire.
The streams of royal bounty, turn'd by thee,
Refresh the dry domains of poesy.”

If the purity of modern patriotism term Young a pensioner, it must at least be confessed he was a grateful one.

‘The reign of the new monarch was ushered in by Young with 53 *Ocean, an Ode*. The hint of it was taken from the royal speech, which recommended the increase and encouragement of the seamen; that they might be “invited, rather than compelled by force and violence, to enter into the service of their country”—a plan which humanity must lament that policy has not even yet been able, or willing, to carry into execution. Prefixed to the original publication were an *Ode to the King*, *Pater Patriæ*, and an *Essay on Lyrick Poetry*. It is but justice to confess that he preserved neither of them, and that the ode itself, which in the first edition, and in the last, consists of seventy-three stanzas, in the author's own edition is reduced to forty-nine. Among the omitted passages is *A Wish*, that concluded the poem, which few would have suspected Young of forming; and of which few, after having formed it, would confess something like their shame by suppression.

‘It stood originally so high in the author's opinion that he 54 intitled the poem *Ocean, an Ode. Concluding with a Wish*. This wish consists of thirteen stanzas. The first runs thus:

“O may I *steal*
Along the *vale*
Of humble life, secure from foes!
My friend sincere,
My judgement clear,
And gentle business my repose!”

The three last stanzas are not more remarkable for just rhymes; but altogether they will make rather a curious page in the life of Young.

“Prophetick schemes,
And golden dreams,
May I, unsanguine, cast away!
Have what I *have*,
And live, not *leave*,
Enamour'd of the present day!

“My hours my own!
My faults unknown!
My chief revenue in content!
Then leave one *beam*
Of honest *fame*!
And scorn the labour'd monument!

"Unhurt my urn
 Till that great *turn*
 When mighty nature's self shall die,
 Time cease to glide,
 With human pride,
 Sunk in the ocean of eternity!"

- 55 'It is whimsical that he, who was soon to bid adieu to rhyme, should fix upon a measure in which rhyme abounds even to satiety. Of this he said, in his *Essay on Lyrick Poetry* prefixed to the poem, "For the more *harmony* likewise I chose the frequent return of rhyme, which laid me under great difficulties. But difficulties overcome give grace and pleasure. Nor can I account for the *pleasure of rhyme in general* (of which the moderns are too fond) but from this truth." Yet the moderns surely deserve not much censure for their fondness of what, by his own confession, affords pleasure, and abounds in harmony.
- 56 'The next paragraph in his *Essay* did not occur to him when he talked of "that great turn" in the stanza just quoted. "But then the writer must take care that the difficulty is overcome. That is, he must make rhyme consistent with as perfect sense and expression as could be expected if he was perfectly free from that shackle."
- 57 'Another part of this *Essay* will convict the following stanza of, what every reader will discover in it, "involuntary burlesque."
- "The northern blast,
 The shatter'd mast,
 The syrt, the whirlpool, and the rock,
 The breaking spout,
 The *stars gone out*,
 The boiling streight, the monster's shock."
- 58 'But would the English poets fill quite so many volumes if all their productions were to be tried, like this, by an elaborate essay on each particular species of poetry of which they exhibit specimens?
- 59 'If Young be not a lyrick poet he is at least a critick in that sort of poetry, and, if his lyrick poetry can be proved bad, it was first proved so by his own criticism. This surely is candid.
- 60 'Milbourne was styled by Pope "the fairest of Criticks," only because he exhibited his own version of Virgil to be compared with Dryden's which he condemned, and with which every reader had it otherwise in his power to compare it. Young was surely not the most unfair of poets for prefixing to a lyrick composition an essay on Lyrick Poetry so just and impartial as to condemn himself.
- 61 'We shall soon come to a work, before which we find indeed

no critical *Essay*; but which disdains to shrink from the touchstone of the severest critick, and which certainly, as I remember to have heard you say, if it contains some of the worst, contains also some of the best things in the language.

'Soon after the appearance of *Ocean*, when he was almost fifty, 62 Young entered into orders. In April, 1728, not long after he put on the gown, he was appointed chaplain to George the Second.

'The tragedy of *The Brothers*, which was already in rehearsal, 63 he immediately withdrew from the stage. The managers resigned it with some reluctance to the delicacy of the new clergyman. The Epilogue to *The Brothers*, the only appendage to any of his three plays which he added himself, is, I believe, the only one of the kind. He calls it an "historical" Epilogue. Finding that "Guilt's dreadful close his narrow scene denied," he, in a manner, continues the tragedy in the *Epilogue*, and relates how Rome revenged the shade of Demetrius, and punished Perseus "for this night's deed."

'Of Young's taking orders something is told by the biographer 64 of Pope, which places the easiness and simplicity of the poet in a singular light. When he determined on the Church he did not address himself to Sherlock, to Atterbury, or to Hare for the best instructions in theology, but to Pope, who, in a youthful frolick, advised the diligent perusal of Thomas Aquinas. With this treasure Young retired from interruption to an obscure place in the suburbs. His poetical guide to godliness hearing nothing of him during half a year, and apprehending he might have carried the jest too far, sought after him, and found him just in time to prevent what Ruffhead calls "an irretrievable derangement."

'That attachment to his favourite study which made him think 65 a poet the surest guide in his new profession, left him little doubt whether poetry was the surest path to its honours and preferments. Not long indeed after he took orders he published in prose, 1728, *A true Estimate of Human Life*, dedicated, notwithstanding the Latin quotations with which it abounds, to the Queen, and a sermon preached before the House of Commons, 1729, on the martyrdom of King Charles, intituled *An Apology for Princes, or the Reverence due to Government*. But the *Second Discourse*, the counterpart of his *Estimate*, without which it cannot be called "a true estimate," though in 1728 it was announced as "soon to be published," never appeared, and his old friends the Muses were not forgotten. In 1730 he relapsed to poetry, and sent into the world *Imperium Pelagi*; a *Naval Lyrick*, written in Imitation of *Pindar's Spirit*, occasioned by His Majesty's Return from Hanover, September 1729, and the succeeding Peace. It is inscribed to the Duke of Chandos. In the Preface we are told that "the ode is the

most spirited kind of Poetry, and that the Pindarick is the most spirited kind of ode." "This I speak," he adds with sufficient candour, "at my own very great peril. But truth has an eternal title to our confession, though we are sure to suffer by it." Behold again "the fairest of poets." Young's *Imperium Pelagi* as well as his tragedies was ridiculed in Fielding's *Tom Thumb*; but let us not forget that it was one of his pieces which the author of the *Night Thoughts* deliberately refused to own.

- 66 'Not long after this Pindarick attempt he published two Epistles to Pope, *Concerning the Authors of the Age*, 1730. Of these poems one occasion seems to have been an apprehension lest, from the liveliness of his satires, he should not be deemed sufficiently serious for promotion in the Church.
- 67 'In July, 1730, he was presented by his College to the rectory of Welwyn in Hertfordshire. In May, 1731, he married Lady Elizabeth Lee, daughter of the Earl of Litchfield and widow of Colonel Lee. His connexion with this lady arose from his father's acquaintance, already mentioned, with Lady Anne Wharton, who was coheirress of Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley, in Oxfordshire. Poetry had lately been taught by Addison to aspire to the arms of nobility, though not with extraordinary happiness.
- 68 'We may naturally conclude that Young now gave himself up in some measure to the comforts of his new connexion, and to the expectations of that preferment which he thought due to his poetical talents, or, at least, to the manner in which they had so frequently been exerted.
- 69 'The next production of his Muse was *The Sea-piece*, in two odes.
- 70 'Young enjoys the credit of what is called *An Extempore Epigram* on Voltaire, who, when he was in England, ridiculed, in the company of the jealous English poet, Milton's allegory of *Sin and Death*:

"You are so witty, profligate, and thin,
At once we think thee Milton, Death, and Sin."

From the following passage in the poetical Dedication of his *Sea-piece* to Voltaire it seems that his extemporaneous reproof (if it must be extemporaneous) for what few will now affirm Voltaire to have deserved any reproof, was something longer than a distich, and something more *gentle* than the distich just quoted.

"No stranger, Sir, though born in foreign climes;
On Dorset downs, when Milton's page
With Sin and Death provok'd thy rage,
Thy rage provok'd, who sooth'd with *gentle* rhymes?"

By "Dorset downs" he probably meant Mr. Dodington's seat. In Pitt's Poems is *An Epistle to Dr. Edward Young, at Eastbury in Dorsetshire, on the Review at Sarum*, 1722.

"While with your Dodington retir'd you sit,
Charm'd with his flowing Burgundy and wit," &c.

'Thomson, in his *Autumn*, addressing Mr. Dodington, calls his 71
seat the seat of the Muses:

"Where, in the secret bower and winding walk,
For virtuous Young and thee they twine the bay."

The praises Thomson bestows but a few lines before on Philips;
the second

"Who nobly durst, in rhyme-unfetter'd verse,
With British freedom sing the British song";

added to Thomson's example and success might perhaps induce
Young, as we shall see presently, to write his great work without
rhyme.

'In 1734 he published *The foreign Address, or the best Argu- 72*
ment for Peace; occasioned by the British Fleet and the Posture
of Affairs. Written in the Character of a Sailor. It is not to
be found in the author's four volumes.

'He now appears to have given up all hopes of overtaking 73
Pindar, and perhaps at last resolved to turn his ambition to some
original species of poetry. This poem concludes with a formal
farewell to Ode, which few of Young's readers will regret:

"My shell which Clio gave, which *Kings applaud*,
Which Europe's bleeding Genius call'd abroad,
Adieu!"

In a species of poetry altogether his own he next tried his skill,
and succeeded.

'Of his wife he was deprived in 1741. She had lost in her 74
life-time, at seventeen years of age, an amiable daughter, who
was just married to Mr. Temple, son of Lord Palmerston. This
was one of her three children by Colonel Lee. Mr. Temple did
not long remain after his wife¹. Mr. and Mrs. Temple have
always been considered as Philander and Narcissa. If they
were, they did not die long before Lady E. Young. How
suddenly and how nearly together the deaths of the three
persons whom he laments happened, none who has read the
Night Thoughts (and who has not read them?) needs to be
informed.

"Insatiate Archer! could not one suffice?
Thy shaft flew thrice; and thrice my peace was slain;
And thrice, ere thrice yon moon had fill'd her horn."

To the sorrow Young felt at his losses we are indebted for these

¹ The Irish Peerage, if authentic, in the account of Lord Palmerston's
family, somewhat confuses this business; but I take what I have related to
be the fact. CROFT.

poems. There is a pleasure, sure, in sadness which mourners only know. Of these poems the two or three first have been perused perhaps more eagerly, and more frequently, than the rest. When he got as far as the fourth or fifth his grief was naturally either diminished or exhausted. We find the same religion, the same piety; but we hear less of Philander and of Narcissa.

- 75 'Mrs. Temple died "in her bridal hour" at Nice. Young, with the rest of her family, accompanied her to the continent:

"I flew, I snatch'd her from the rigid North,
And bore her nearer to the sun."

The poet seems to dwell with more melancholy on the deaths of Philander and Narcissa than of his wife. But it is only for this reason. He who runs and reads may remember that in the *Night Thoughts* Philander and Narcissa are often mentioned, and often lamented. To recollect lamentations over the author's wife the memory must have been charged with distinct passages. This lady brought him one child, Frederick, now living, to whom the Prince of Wales was godfather.

- 76 'That domestick grief is, in the first instance, to be thanked for these ornaments to our language it is impossible to deny. Nor would it be common hardiness to contend that worldly discontent had no hand in these joint productions of poetry and piety. Yet am I by no means sure that, at any rate, we should not have had something of the same colour from Young's pencil, notwithstanding the liveliness of his *Satires*. In so long a life, causes for discontent and occasions for grief must have occurred. It is not clear to me that his Muse was not sitting upon the watch for the first which happened. *Night Thoughts* were not uncommon to her, even when first she visited the poet, and at a time when he himself was remarkable neither for gravity nor gloominess. In his *Last Day*, almost his earliest poem, he calls her the "melancholy Maid,"

"whom dismal scenes delight,
Frequent at tombs and in the realms of Night."

In the prayer which concludes the second book of the same poem, he says:

"Oh! permit the gloom of solemn night
To sacred thought may forcibly invite.
Oh! how divine to tread the milky way,
To the bright palace of Eternal Day!"

- 77 'When Young was writing a tragedy Grafton is said by Spence to have sent him a human skull, with a candle in it, as a lamp; and the poet is reported to have used it.
- 78 'What he calls "The *true* estimate of Human Life," which

has already been mentioned, exhibits only the wrong side of the tapestry ; and being asked why he did not show the right, he is said to have replied he could not ; though by others it has been told me that this was finished, but that a lady's monkey tore it in pieces before there existed any copy.

'Still, is it altogether fair to dress up the poet for the man, 79 and to bring the gloominess of the *Night Thoughts* to prove the gloominess of Young, and to shew that his genius, like the genius of Swift, was in some measure the sullen inspiration of discontent ?

'From them who answer in the affirmative it should not be 80 concealed that, though "Invisibilia non decipiunt" was inscribed upon a deception in Young's grounds, and "Ambulantes in horto audierunt vocem Dei" on a building in his garden, his parish was indebted to the good humour of the author of the *Night Thoughts* for an assembly and a bowling green.

'Whether you think with me, I know not ; but the famous 81 "De mortuis nil nisi bonum" always appeared to me to savour more of female weakness than of manly reason. He that has too much feeling to speak ill of the dead, who, if they cannot defend themselves, are at least ignorant of his abuse, will not hesitate by the most wanton calumny to destroy the quiet, the reputation, the fortune of the living. Censure is not heard beneath the tomb any more than praise. "De mortuis nil nisi verum, de vivis nil nisi bonum," would approach perhaps much nearer to good sense. After all, the few handfuls of remaining dust which once composed the body of the author of the *Night Thoughts*, feel not much concern whether Young passes now for a man of sorrow, or for a "fellow of infinite jest." To this favour must come the whole family of Yorick. His immortal part, wherever that now dwells, is still less solicitous on this head.

'But to a son of worth and sensibility it is of some little 82 consequence whether contemporaries believe, and posterity be taught to believe, that his debauched and reprobate life cast a Stygian gloom over the evening of his father's days, saved him the trouble of feigning a character completely detestable, and succeeded at last in bringing his "grey hairs with sorrow to the grave."

'The humanity of the world, little satisfied with inventing 83 perhaps a melancholy disposition for the father, proceeds next to invent an argument in support of their invention, and chooses that Lorenzo should be Young's own son. The *Biographia* and every account of Young pretty roundly assert this to be the fact ; of the absolute impossibility of which the *Biographia* itself, in particular dates, contains undeniable evidence. Readers I know there are of a strange turn of mind, who will hereafter peruse the

Night Thoughts with less satisfaction; who will wish they had still been deceived; who will quarrel with me for discovering that no such character as their Lorenzo ever yet disgraced human nature, or broke a father's heart. Yet would these admirers of the sublime and terrible be offended, should you set them down for cruel and for savage.

- 84 'Of this report, inhuman to the surviving son, if it be untrue, in proportion as the character of Lorenzo is diabolical, where are we to find the proofs? Perhaps it is clear from the poems.
- 85 'From the first line to the last of the *Night Thoughts*, no one expression can be discovered which betrays any thing like the father. In the second *Night* I find an expression which betrays something else; that Lorenzo was his friend; one, it is possible, of his former companions; one of the Duke of Wharton's set. The Poet styles him "gay Friend"; an appellation not very natural from a pious incensed father to such a being as he paints Lorenzo, and that being his son.
- 86 'But let us see how he has sketched this dreadful portrait, from the sight of some of whose features the artist himself must have turned away with horror. A subject more shocking, if his only child really sat to him, than the crucifixion of Michael Angelo; upon the horrid story told of which, Young composed a short Poem of fourteen lines in the early part of life, which he did not think deserved to be republished.
- 87 'In the first *Night*, the address to the Poet's supposed son is,
 "Lorenzo, Fortune makes her court to thee."
- 88 'In the fifth *Night*;
 "And burns Lorenzo still for the sublime
 Of life? to hang his airy nest on high?"
- Is this a picture of the son of the rector of Welwyn?
- 89 'Eighth *Night*;
 "In foreign realms (for thou hast travell'd far)"—
 which even now does not apply to his son.
- 90 'In *Night* five;
 "So wept Lorenzo fair Clarissa's fate,
 Who gave that angel-boy on whom he dotes,
 And died to give him, orphan'd in his birth!"
- 91 'At the beginning of the fifth *Night* we find;
 "Lorenzo, to recriminate is just.
 I grant the man is vain who writes for praise."
- 92 'But, to cut short all enquiry; if any one of these passages, if any passage in the poems be applicable, my friend shall pass for Lorenzo. The son of the author of the *Night Thoughts* was

not old enough, when they were written, to recriminate, or to be a father. The *Night Thoughts* were begun immediately after the mournful events of 1741. The first *Nights* appear in the books of the company of Stationers, as the property of Robert Dodsley, in 1742. The Preface to *Night Seven* is dated July the 7th, 1744. The marriage, in consequence of which the supposed Lorenzo was born, happened in May, 1731. Young's child was not born till June, 1733. In 1741 this Lorenzo, this finished infidel, this *father*, to whose education Vice had for some years put the last hand, was only *eight* years old.

'An anecdote of this cruel sort, so open to contradiction, so 93 impossible to be true, who could propagate? Thus easily are blasted the reputations of the living and of the dead.

'Who then was Lorenzo? exclaim the readers I have mentioned. 94 If he was not his son, which would have been finely terrible, was he not his nephew, his cousin?

'These are questions which I do not pretend to answer. For 95 the sake of human nature, I could wish Lorenzo to have been only the creation of the Poet's fancy: no more than the Quintus of *Anti-Lucretius*, "quo nomine," says Polignac, "quemvis Atheum intellige." That this was the case, many expressions in the *Night Thoughts* would seem to prove, did not a passage in *Night Eight* appear to shew that he had somebody in his eye for the groundwork at least of the painting. Lovelace or Lorenzo may be feigned characters; but a writer does not feign a name of which he only gives the initial letter.

"Tell not Calista. She will laugh thee dead,
Or send thee to her hermitage with L——."

'The *Biographia*, not satisfied with pointing out the son of 96 Young, in that son's lifetime, as his father's Lorenzo, travels out of its way into the history of the son, and tells of his having been forbidden his college at Oxford for misbehaviour. How such anecdotes, were they true, tend to illustrate the life of Young, it is not easy to discover. If the son of the author of the *Night Thoughts* was indeed forbidden his college for a time, at one of our Universities, the author of *Paradise Lost* is by some supposed to have been disgracefully ejected from the other. From juvenile follies who is free? But, whatever the *Biographia* chooses to relate, the son of Young experienced no dismissal from his college either lasting or temporary.

'Yet, were nature to indulge him with a second youth, and to 97 leave him at the same time the experience of that which is past, he would probably spend it differently—who would not?—he would certainly be the occasion of less uneasiness to his father. But, from the same experience, he would as certainly, in the same case, be treated differently by his father.

- 98 'Young was a poet ; poets, with reverence be it spoken, do not make the best parents. Fancy and imagination seldom deign to stoop from their heights ; always stoop unwillingly to the low level of common duties. Aloof from vulgar life, they pursue their rapid flight beyond the ken of mortals, and descend not to earth but when obliged by necessity. The prose of ordinary occurrences is beneath the dignity of poetry.
- 99 'He who is connected with the Author of the *Night Thoughts* only by veneration for the Poet and the Christian, may be allowed to observe, that Young is one of those concerning whom, as you remark in your account of Addison, it is proper rather to say "nothing that is false than all that is true."
- 100 'But the son of Young would almost sooner, I know, pass for a Lorenzo, than see himself vindicated, at the expence of his father's memory, from follies which, if it was blameable in a boy to have committed them, it is surely praise-worthy in a man to lament, and certainly not only unnecessary but cruel in a biographer to record.
- 101 'Of the *Night Thoughts*, notwithstanding their author's professed retirement, all are inscribed to great or to growing names. He had not yet weaned himself from Earls and Dukes, from Speakers of the House of Commons, Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and Chancellors of the Exchequer. In *Night Eight* the politician plainly betrays himself :

"Think no post needful that demands a knave :
When late our civil helm was shifting hands,
So P—— thought ; think better if you can."

Yet it must be confessed that at the conclusion of *Night Nine*, weary perhaps of courting earthly patrons, he tells his soul,

"Henceforth
Thy *patron* he, whose diadem has dropt
Yon gems of heaven ; Eternity thy prize ;
And leave the racers of the world their own."

- 102 'The Fourth *Night* was addressed by "a much-indebted Muse" to the Honourable Mr. Yorke, now Lord Hardwicke, who meant to have laid the Muse under still greater obligations by the living of Shenfield in Essex, if it had become vacant.
- 103 'The First *Night* concludes with this passage :

"Dark, though not blind, like thee, Meonides ;
Or Milton, thee. Ah ! could I reach your strain ;
Or his who made Meonides our own !
Man too he sung. Immortal man I sing.
Oh ! had he prest his theme, pursued the track
Which opens out of darkness into day !

Oh! had he mounted on his wing of fire,
 Soar'd, where I sink, and sung immortal man—
 How had it blest mankind, and rescued me!

'To the author of these lines was dedicated, in 1756, the first 104 volume of an *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, which attempted, whether justly or not, to pluck from Pope his "Wing of Fire," and to reduce him to a rank at least one degree lower than the first class of English poets. If Young accepted and approved the dedication, he countenanced this attack upon the fame of him whom he invokes as his Muse.

'Part of "paper-sparing" Pope's third book of the *Odyssey*, 105 deposited in the Museum, is written upon the back of a letter signed "E. Young," which is clearly the handwriting of our Young. The letter, dated only May the 2nd, seems obscure; but there can be little doubt that the friendship he requests was a literary one, and that he had the highest literary opinion of Pope. The request was a prologue, I am told.

"Dear Sir,

May the 2nd. 106

"Having been often from home I know not if you have done me the favour of calling on me. But, be that as it will, I much want that instance of your friendship I mentioned in my last; a friendship I am very sensible I can receive from no one but yourself. I should not urge this thing so much but for very particular reasons, nor can you be at a loss to conceive how a *trifle of this nature* may be of serious moment to me; and while I am in hopes of the great advantage of your advice about it, I shall not be so absurd as to make any further step without it. I know you are much engaged, and only hope to hear of you at your entire leisure.

"I am, Sir, your most faithful,

"and obedient servant,

"E. YOUNG."

Nay, even after Pope's death he says in *Night Seven*:

"Pope, who could'st make immortals, art thou dead?"

Either the *Essay* then was dedicated to a patron who disapproved its doctrine, which I have been told by the author was not the case; or Young, in his old age, bartered for a dedication an opinion entertained of his friend through all that part of life when he must have been best able to form opinions.

'From this account of Young two or three short passages, 107 which stand almost together in *Night Four*, should not be excluded. They afford a picture, by his own hand, from the study of which my readers may choose to form their own opinion of the features of his mind and the complexion of his life.

"Ah me! the dire effect
Of loitering here, of death defrauded long;
Of old so gracious (and let that suffice),
My very master knows me not.

I've been so long remember'd, I'm forgot.

When in his courtiers' ears I pour my plaint,
They drink it as the Nectar of the Great;
And squeeze my hand, and beg me come to-morrow.

Twice-told the period spent on stubborn Troy,
Court-favour, yet untaken, I *besiege*.

If this song lives, Posterity shall know
One, though in Britain born, with courtiers bred,
Who thought ev'n gold might come a day too late;
Nor on his subtle death-bed plann'd his scheme
For future vacancies in church or state."

Deduct from the writer's age "twice-told the period spent on stubborn Troy," and you will still leave him more than forty when he sate down to the miserable siege of *Court* favour. He has before told us

"A fool at forty is a fool indeed."

After all, the siege seems to have been raised only in consequence of what the General thought his "death-bed."

- 108 'By these extraordinary poems, written after he was sixty, of which I have been led to say so much, I hope, by the wish of doing justice to the living and the dead, it was the desire of Young to be principally known. He entitled the four volumes which he published himself, *The Works of the Author of the Night Thoughts*. While it is remembered that from these he excluded many of his writings, let it not be forgotten that the rejected pieces contained nothing prejudicial to the cause of virtue or of religion. Were every thing that Young ever wrote to be published he would only appear perhaps in a less respectable light as a poet, and more despicable as a dedicator: he would not pass for a worse christian, or for a worse man. This enviable praise is due to Young. Can it be claimed by every writer? His dedications, after all, he had, perhaps, no right to suppress. They all, I believe, speak, not a little to the credit of his gratitude, of favours received; and I know not whether the author, who has once solemnly printed an acknowledgement of a favour, should not always print it.
- 109 'Is it to the credit or to the discredit of Young as a poet that of his *Night Thoughts* the French are particularly fond?
- 110 'Of the *Epitaph on Lord Aubrey Beauclerk*, dated 1740, all

I know is that I find it in the late body of English Poetry, and that I am sorry to find it there.

'Notwithstanding the farewell which he seemed to have taken 111 in the *Night Thoughts* of every thing which bore the least resemblance to ambition, he dipped again in politicks. In 1745 he wrote *Reflections on the publick Situation of the Kingdom, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle*, indignant, as it appears, to behold

"a pope-bred Princeling crawl ashore,
And whistle cut-throats, with those swords that scrap'd
Their barren rocks for wretched sustenance,
To cut his passage to the British throne."

This political poem might be called a *Night Thought*. Indeed it was originally printed as the conclusion of the *Night Thoughts*, though he did not gather it with his other works.

'Prefixed to the second edition of Howe's *Devout Meditations* 112 is a letter from Young, dated January 19, 1752, addressed to Archibald Macaulay, Esq., thanking him for the book, which, he says, "he shall never lay far out of his reach; for a greater demonstration of a sound head and a sincere heart he never saw."

'In 1753, when *The Brothers* had lain by him above thirty 113 years, it appeared upon the stage. If any part of his fortune had been acquired by servility of adulation he now determined to deduct from it no inconsiderable sum, as a gift to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. To this sum he hoped the profits of *The Brothers* would amount. In his calculation he was deceived; but by the bad success of his play the Society was not a loser. The author made up the sum he originally intended, which was a thousand pounds, from his own pocket.

'The next performance which he printed was a prose publica- 114 tion, entitled *The Centaur not fabulous, in six Letters to a Friend on the Life in Vogue*. The conclusion is dated November 29, 1754. In the third letter is described the death-bed of the "gay, young, noble, ingenious, accomplished, and most wretched Altamont." His last words were, "My principles have poisoned my friend, my extravagance has beggared my boy, my unkindness has murdered my wife!" Either Altamont and Lorenzo were the twin production of fancy, or Young was unlucky enough to know two characters who bore no little resemblance to each other in perfection of wickedness. Report has been accustomed to call Altamont Lord Euston.

'*The Old Man's Relapse*, occasioned by an Epistle to Walpole, 115 if it was written by Young, which I much doubt, must have been written very late in life. It has been seen, I am told, in a Miscellany published thirty years before his death. In 1758 he exhibited *The Old Man's Relapse* in more than words, by again

becoming a dedicator, and publishing a sermon addressed to the King.

- 116 'The lively letter in prose *On Original Composition*, addressed to Richardson the author of *Clarissa*, appeared in 1759. Though he despairs "of breaking through the frozen obstructions of age and care's incumbent cloud into that flow of thought and brightness of expression which subjects so polite require," yet is it more like the production of untamed, unbridled youth, than of jaded fourscore. "Some sevenfold volumes put him in mind of Ovid's sevenfold channels of the Nile at the conflagration :

'ostia septem

Pulverulenta vacant, septem sine flumine valles.'

Such leaden labours are like Lycurgus's iron money, which was so much less in value than in bulk that it required barns for strong boxes and a yoke of oxen to draw five hundred pounds."

- 117 "'If there is a famine of invention in the land we must travel," he says, "like Joseph's brethren, far for food: we must visit the remote and rich antients. But an inventive genius may safely stay at home; that, like the widow's cruse, is divinely replenished from within, and affords us a miraculous delight." He asks why it should seem altogether impossible that Heaven's latest editions of the human mind may be the most correct and fair? And Jonson, he tells us, "was very learned, as Sampson was very strong to his own hurt. Blind to the nature of tragedy he pulled down all antiquity on his head, and buried himself under it."

'Is this "care's incumbent cloud," or "the frozen obstructions of age"?

- 118 'In this letter Pope is severely censured for his "fall from Homer's numbers, free as air, lofty and harmonious as the spheres, into childish shackles and tinkling sounds; for putting Achilles in petticoats a second time": but we are told that "the dying swan talked over an epick plan with Young a few weeks before his decease."

- 119 'Young's chief inducement to write this letter was, as he confesses, that he might erect a monumental marble to the memory of an old friend. He, who employed his pious pen for almost the last time in thus doing justice to the exemplary death-bed of Addison, might probably at the close of his own life afford no unuseful lesson for the deaths of others.

- 120 'In the postscript he writes to Richardson that he will see in his next how far Addison is an original. But no other letter appears.

- 121 'The few lines which stand in the last edition as "sent by Lord Melcombe to Dr. Young not long before his Lordship's death," were indeed so sent, but were only an introduction to what was there meant by 'the Muse's latest Spark.' The poem is

necessary, whatever may be its merit, since the Preface to it is already printed. Lord Melcombe called his *Tusculum La Trappe* :

"Love thy country, wish it well,
Not with too intense a care ;
'Tis enough that, when it fell,
Thou its ruin didst not share.

"Envy's censure, Flattery's praise,
With unmov'd indifference view ;
Learn to tread Life's dangerous maze
With unerring Virtue's clue.

"Void of strong desire and fear,
Life's wide ocean trust no more ;
Strive thy little bark to steer
With the tide, but near the shore.

"Thus prepar'd, thy shorten'd sail
Shall, whene'er the winds increase,
Seizing each propitious gale,
Waft thee to the Port of Peace.

"Keep thy conscience from offence,
And tempestuous passions free,
So, when thou art call'd from hence,
Easy shall thy passage be ;

"Easy shall thy passage be,
Chearful thy allotted stay,
Short the account 'twixt God and thee ;
Hope shall meet thee on the way ;

"Truth shall lead thee to the gate,
Mercy's self shall let thee in,
Where its never-changing state
Full perfection shall begin."

'The poem was accompanied by a letter.

122

"La Trappe, the 27th Oct. 1761.

"Dear Sir,

"You seemed to like the ode I sent you for your amusement ; I now send it you as a present. If you please to accept of it, and are willing that our friendship should be known when we are gone, you will be pleased to leave this among those of your own papers that may possibly see the light by a posthumous publication. God send us health while we stay, and an easy journey !

"My dear Dr. Young,

"Yours, most cordially,

"MELCOMBE."

- 123 'In 1762, a short time before his death, Young published *Resignation*. Notwithstanding the manner in which it was really forced from him by the world, criticism has treated it with no common severity. If it shall be thought not to deserve the highest praise, on the other side of fourscore by whom, except by Newton and by Waller, has praise been merited?
- 124 'To Mrs. Montagu, the famous champion of Shakespeare, I am indebted for the history of *Resignation*. Observing that Mrs. Boscawen, in the midst of her grief for the loss of the admiral, derived consolation from the perusal of the *Night Thoughts*, Mrs. Montagu proposed a visit to the author. From conversing with Young Mrs. Boscawen derived still further consolation, and to that visit she and the world were indebted for this poem. It compliments Mrs. Montagu in the following lines:

"Yet, write I must. A lady sues,
How shameful her request!
My brain in labour with dull rhyme,
Hers teeming with the best!"

And again:

"A friend you have, and I the same,
Whose prudent soft address
Will bring to life those healing thoughts
Which died in your distress.

"That friend, the spirit of my theme
Extracting for your ease,
Will leave to me the dreg, in thoughts
Too common; such as these."

- 125 'By the same lady I am enabled to say, in her own words, that Young's unbounded genius appeared to greater advantage in the companion, than even in the author; that the christian was in him a character still more inspired, more enraptured, more sublime than the poet; and that, in his ordinary conversation,

"—letting down the golden chain from high,
He drew his audience upward to the sky."

- 126 'Notwithstanding Young had said, in his *Conjectures on original Composition*, that "blank verse is verse unfallen, uncurs'd; verse reclaimed, reenthroned in the true language of the Gods," notwithstanding he administered consolation to his own grief in this immortal language, Mrs. Boscawen was comforted in rhyme.
- 127 'While the poet and the christian were applying this comfort, Young had himself occasion for comfort, in consequence of the sudden death of Richardson, who was printing the former part of the poem. Of Richardson's death he says,

"When heaven would kindly set us free,
And earth's enchantment end,
It takes the most effectual means,
And robs us of a friend."

'To *Resignation* was prefixed an *Apology* for its appearance; 128 to which more credit is due than to the generality of such apologies, from Young's unusual anxiety that no more productions of his old age should disgrace his former fame. In his will, dated February, 1760, he desires of his executors, "in a particular manner," that all his manuscript books and writings whatever might be burned, except his book of accounts.

'In September, 1764, he added a kind of codicil, wherein he 129 made it his dying intreaty to his housekeeper, to whom he left 1,000*l.*, "that all his manuscripts might be destroyed as soon as he was dead, which would greatly oblige her deceased friend."

'It may teach mankind the uncertainty of worldly friendships 130 to know that Young, either by surviving those he loved, or by outliving their affections, could only recollect the names of two friends, his housekeeper and a hatter, to mention in his will; and it may serve to repress that testamentary pride, which too often seeks for sounding names and titles, to be informed that the author of the *Night Thoughts* did not blush to leave a legacy to his "friend Henry Stevens, a hatter at the Temple-gate." Of these two remaining friends, one went before Young. But, at eighty-four "where," as he asks in *The Centaur*, "is that world into which we were born?"

'The same humility which marked a hatter and a housekeeper 131 for the *friends* of the author of the *Night Thoughts* had before bestowed the same title on his footman, in an epitaph in his churchyard upon James Barker, dated 1749, which I am glad to find in the late collection of his works.

'Young and his housekeeper were ridiculed, with more ill- 132 nature than wit, in a kind of novel published by Kidgell in 1755, called *The Card*, under the names of Dr. Elwes and Mrs. Fusby.

'In April, 1765, at an age to which few attain, a period was 133 put to the life of Young.

'He had performed no duty for the last three or four years of 134 his life, but he retained his intellects to the last.

'Much is told in the *Biographia*, which I know not to have 135 been true, of the manner of his burial; of the master and children of a charity-school, which he founded in his parish, who neglected to attend their benefactor's corpse; and of a bell which was not caused to toll so often as upon those occasions bells usually toll. Had that humanity, which is here lavished upon things of little consequence either to the living or to the dead, been shewn in its proper place to the living, I should have had less to say about

Lorenzo. They who lament that these misfortunes happened to Young forget the praise he bestows upon Socrates, in the Preface to *Night Seven*, for resenting his friend's request about his funeral.

136 ' During some part of his life Young was abroad, but I have not been able to learn any particulars.

137 ' In his seventh *Satire* he says

"When, after battle, I the field have *seen*
Spread o'er with ghastly shapes which once were *men*."

138 ' And it is known that from this or from some other "field" he once wandered into the enemy's camp, with a classick in his hand, which he was reading intently; and had some difficulty to prove that he was only an absent poet and not a spy.

139 ' The curious reader of Young's life will naturally inquire to what it was owing that, though he lived almost forty years after he took orders, which included one whole reign uncommonly long, and part of another, he was never thought worthy of the least preferment. The author of the *Night Thoughts* ended his days upon a living which came to him from his College without any favour, and to which he probably had an eye when he determined on the Church. To satisfy curiosity of this kind is at this distance of time far from easy. The parties themselves know not often, at the instant, why they are neglected, nor why they are preferred. The neglect of Young is by some ascribed to his having attached himself to the Prince of Wales, and to his having preached an offensive sermon at St. James's. It has been told me that he had two hundred a year in the late reign, by the patronage of Walpole, and that, whenever the King was reminded of Young, the only answer was, "he has a pension." All the light thrown on this inquiry, by the following letter from Secker, only serves to shew at what a late period of life the author of the *Night Thoughts* solicited preferment.

140

"Deanry of St. Paul's, July 8, 1758.

"Good Dr. Young,

"I have long wondered that more suitable notice of your great merit hath not been taken by persons in power. But how to remedy the omission I see not. No encouragement hath ever been given me to mention things of this nature to his Majesty. And therefore, in all likelihood, the only consequence of doing it would be weakening the little influence, which else I may possibly have on some other occasions. Your fortune and your reputation set you above the need of advancement; and your sentiments, above that concern for it, on your own account, which, on that of the Publick, is sincerely felt by

"Your loving Brother,
"THO^s. CANT."

At last, at the age of fourscore, he was appointed, in 1761, Clerk of the Closet to the Princess Dowager.

'One obstacle must have stood not a little in the way of that 141 preferment after which his whole life panted. Though he took orders he never intirely shook off politics. He was always the Lion of his master Milton, "pawing to get free his hinder parts." By this conduct, if he gained some friends, he made many enemies.

'Again, Young was a poet ; and again, with reverence be it 142 spoken, poets by profession do not always make the best clergymen. If the author of the *Night Thoughts* composed many sermons he did not oblige the publick with many.

'Besides, in the latter part of life, Young was fond of holding 143 himself out for a man retired from the world. But he seemed to have forgotten that the same verse which contains "oblitus meorum," contains also "obliviscendus et illis." The brittle chain of worldly friendship and patronage is broken as effectually, when one goes beyond the length of it, as when the other does. To the vessel which is sailing from the shore it only appears that the shore also recedes ; in life it is truly thus. He who retires from the world will find himself in reality deserted as fast, if not faster, by the world. The publick is not to be treated as the coxcomb treats his mistress ; to be threatened with desertion, in order to increase fondness.

'Young seems to have been taken at his word. Notwith- 144 standing his frequent complaints of being neglected, no hand was reached out to pull him from that retirement of which he declared himself enamoured. Alexander assigned no palace for the residence of Diogenes, who boasted his surly satisfaction with his tub.

'Of the domestick manners and petty habits of the author 145 of the *Night Thoughts* I hoped to have given you an account from the best authority : but who shall dare to say, to-morrow I will be wise or virtuous, or to-morrow I will do a particular thing ? Upon enquiring for his housekeeper I learned that she was buried two days before I reached the town of her abode.

'In a letter from Tscharner, a noble foreigner, to Count Haller, 146 Tscharner says he has lately spent four days with Young at Welwyn, where the author tastes all the ease and pleasure mankind can desire. "Every thing about him shews the man, each individual being placed by rule. All is neat without art. He is very pleasant in conversation, and extremely polite."

'This, and more, may possibly be true ; but Tscharner's was 147 a first visit, a visit of curiosity and admiration, and a visit which the author expected.

'Of Edward Young an anecdote which wanders among readers 148 is not true, that he was Fielding's Parson Adams. The original

of that famous painting was William Young. He too was a clergyman. He supported an uncomfortable existence by translating for the booksellers from Greek, and, if he was not his own friend, was at least no man's enemy. Yet the facility with which this report has gained belief in the world argues, were it not sufficiently known, that the author of the *Night Thoughts* bore some resemblance to Adams.

- 149 'The attention Young bestowed upon the perusal of books is not unworthy imitation. When any passage pleased him, he appears to have folded down the leaf. On these passages he bestowed a second reading. But the labours of man are too frequently vain. Before he returned a second time to much of what he had once approved he died. Many of his books, which I have seen, are by those notes of approbation so swelled beyond their real bulk, that they will not shut.

"What though we wade in wealth, or soar in fame!
Earth's highest station ends in, *Here he lies!*
And *dust to dust* concludes her noblest song!"

The author of these lines is not without his *hic jacet*.

- 150 'By the good sense of his son it contains none of that praise which no marble can make the bad or the foolish merit, which without the direction of a stone or a turf will find its way sooner or later to the deserving.

M. S.
Optimi parentis
EDWARDI YOUNG, LL.D.
Hujus Ecclesiæ rect.
Et Elizabethæ
fæm. prænob.
Conjugis ejus amantissimæ
Pio et gratissimo animo
Hoc marmor posuit
F. Y.
Filius superstes.

- 151 'Is it not strange that the author of the *Night Thoughts* has inscribed no monument to the memory of his lamented wife? Yet what marble will endure as long as the poems?
- 152 'Such, my good friend, is the account I have been able to collect of Young. That it may be long before any thing like what I have just transcribed be necessary for you, is the sincere wish of,

'Dear Sir,

'Your greatly obliged Friend,

'HERBERT CROFT, Jun.

'Lincoln's Inn, Sept. 1780.'

'P.S. This account of Young was seen by you in manuscript 153 you know, Sir; and, though I could not prevail on you to make any alterations, you insisted on striking out one passage only because it said that if I did not wish you to live long for your sake, I did for the sake of myself and of the world. But this postscript you will not see before it is printed; and I will say here, in spite of you, how I feel myself honoured and bettered by your friendship, and that, if I do credit to the church, after which I always longed and for which I am now going to give in exchange the bar, though not at so late a period of life as Young took orders, it will be owing in no small measure to my having had the happiness of calling the author of *The Rambler* my friend.

'Oxford, Sept. 1782.'

'H. C.

OF Young's poems it is difficult to give any general char- 154 acter, for he has no uniformity of manner': one of his pieces has no great resemblance to another. He began to write early and continued long, and at different times had different modes of poetical excellence in view. His numbers are sometimes smooth and sometimes rugged; his style is sometimes concatenated² and sometimes abrupt, sometimes diffusive and sometimes concise. His plan seems to have started in his mind at the present moment, and his thoughts appear the effects of chance, sometimes adverse and sometimes lucky, with very little operation of judgement³.

He was not one of the writers whom experience improves, and 155 who observing their own faults become gradually correct. His poem on *The Last Day*⁴, his first great performance, has an equability and propriety which he afterwards either never endeavoured or never attained. Many paragraphs are noble and few are mean, yet the whole is languid; the plan is too much extended, and a succession of images divides and weakens the general conception: but the great reason why the reader is disappointed is that the thought of the LAST DAY makes every man more than poetical by spreading over his mind a general

¹ 'Young's manner is unique; a compound of wit and religious madness; but that madness is the madness of a man of genius.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, i. Pref. 32.

² For 'the concatenation of Aken-side's verses' see *post*, AKENSIDE, 17.

³ 'Johnson said he believed Young was not a great scholar, nor had studied regularly the art of writing,' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 269. See *ib.* n. 3 for Mrs. Piozzi's remark on this.

⁴ *A Poem on the Last Day*. Oxford, 1713. *Brit. Mus. Cata.*

obscurity of sacred horror, that oppresses distinction and disdains expression¹.

156 His story of *Jane Grey*² was never popular. It is written with elegance enough, but Jane is too heroick to be pitied.

157 *The Universal Passion*³ is indeed a very great performance. It is said to be a series of Epigrams; but if it be it is what the author intended⁴: his endeavour was at the production of striking distichs and pointed sentences; and his distichs have the weight of solid sentiment, and his points the sharpness of resistless truth⁵. His characters are often selected with discernment and drawn with nicety⁶; his illustrations are often happy and his reflections often just. His species of satire is between those of Horace and of Juvenal: he has the gaiety of Horace without his laxity of numbers, and the morality of Juvenal with greater variation of images⁷. He plays, indeed, only on the surface of life; he never penetrates the recesses of the mind, and therefore the whole power of his poetry is exhausted by a single perusal: his conceits please only when they surprise⁸.

158 To translate he never condescended⁹, unless his *Paraphrase*

¹ *Ante*, COWLEY, 146; MILTON, 248; JOHN PHILIPS, 7.

² *The Force of Religion, or Vanquished Love, Eng. Poets*, lx. 45.

³ *Love of Fame, The Universal Passion in Seven Characteristical Satires*, *ib.* p. 69.

⁴ Dr. Warton writes in his Dedication to Young of *An Essay on Pope*, p. 6:—‘Had you written only these satires you would have gained the title of a man of wit and a man of sense; but, I am confident, would not insist on being denominated poet.’

⁵ ‘Should reason guide thee with her brightest ray,
And pour on misty doubt resistless day.’

JOHNSON, *Vanity of Human Wishes*, l. 145.

⁶ ‘Johnson repeated two passages from Young’s *Love of Fame*—the characters of Brunetta and Stella, which he praised highly.’ Boswell’s *Johnson*, v. 270. For these passages see *ib.* n. 2 and *Satires*, v. 145, v. 201.

⁷ Young, in the Preface to his

Universal Passion, writes:—‘Horace appears in good humour while he censures. . . . Juvenal is ever in a passion; he has little valuable but his eloquence and morality; the last of which I have had in my eye, but rather for emulation than imitation, through my whole work.’ *Eng. Poets*, lx. 73.

⁸ Swift, in 1732, says of his brother-satirists:—‘Dr. Young is the gravest among us, and yet his satires have many mixtures of sharp raillery.’ *Works*, xvii. 398. See also *ib.* xii. 383 for Swift’s verses *On Reading Dr. Young’s Satire*, and *ib.* xiv. 300 for *On Two Modern Celebrated Poets*, which ends:—

‘Then in a saw-pit and wet weather
Should Young and Philips drudge together.’

‘Young seems fonder of dazzling than pleasing; of raising our admiration for his wit than our dislike of the follies he ridicules.’ GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 439.

‘These *Satires* are wearing out of fashion.’ *Ann. Reg.* 1765, ii. 33.

⁹ *Ante*, POPE, 75.

on *Job*¹ may be considered as a version, in which he has not, I think, been unsuccessful; he indeed favoured himself by chusing those parts which most easily admit the ornaments of English poetry.

He had least success in his lyric attempts, in which he seems 159 to have been under some malignant influence: he is always labouring to be great, and at last is only turgid².

In his *Night Thoughts*³ he has exhibited a very wide dis- 160 play of original poetry, variegated with deep reflections and striking allusions, a wilderness of thought in which the fertility of fancy scatters flowers of every hue and of every odour⁴. This is one of the few poems in which blank verse could not be changed for rhyme but with disadvantage⁵. The wild diffusion of the sentiments and the digressive sallies of imagination would have been compressed and restrained by confinement to rhyme⁶.

¹ *Eng. Poets*, lx. 207. 'It is pious but dull.' *Ann. Reg.* 1765, ii. 33.

² The following stanza from his *Ocean* is a sample (*Eng. Poets*, lx. 191):—

'All aether burns!
Chaos returns!

And blends once more the seas and
skies;

No space between
Thy bosom green,

O Deep! and the blue concave lies.'

'The last time I saw Dr. Young he was severely censuring the false pomp of fustian writers and the nauseousness of bombast.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 205.

³ *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*, *Night* i, is in the June list of books in *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 336, under Divinity. An extract from *Night* ii is given *ib.* Dec. 1742, p. 656. *Nights* i-iv are in the June list, and *Night* v in the Dec. list of 1743, pp. 336, 672. *Night* vi is in the April list and *Night* vii in the July list, 1744, pp. 232, 400; *Night* viii in the July list, 1745, p. 392, and *Night* ix in the Jan. list, 1746, p. 48. 'He received of Dodsley 200 guineas for the first three *Nights*.' Swift's *Works*, 1803, xviii. 320 n.

'The title of my poem,' Young said, 'was not affected; for I never compose but at night, except some-

times when I am on horseback.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 378.

⁴ Coleridge, writing of Schiller's *Robbers* and its imitations, continues:—'About that time, and for some years before it, three of the most popular books in the German language were the translations of Young's *Night Thoughts*, Hervey's *Meditations* and *Clarissa*.' *Biographia Literaria*, ed. 1847, ii. 259.

'No English poem,' wrote Southey in 1807, 'has ever been so popular on the Continent as the *Night Thoughts*. It pleases all readers; for there is genius enough for the few, and folly enough for the many.' *Specimens*, ii. 333.

Young, I believe, is not mentioned by Voltaire, though to him was dedicated in 1730 *A Sea Piece*. *Eng. Poets*, lxii. 223.

'Danton took the *Night Thoughts* to prison with him.' J. G. Alger's *Englishmen in the French Revolution*, p. 144.

'Burns was a great reader of Young, as the Scotch indeed universally are.' T. CAMPBELL, *British Poets*, p. 467.

See also *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lxiii. 372 for his popularity abroad.

⁵ *Ante*, MILTON, 276; THOMSON, 47.

⁶ *Post*, AKENSIDE, 18. Gray suffered from rhyme in a different way.

The excellence of this work is not exactness, but copiousness; particular lines are not to be regarded: the power is in the whole¹, and in the whole there is a magnificence like that ascribed to Chinese Plantation, the magnificence of vast extent and endless diversity².

- 161 His last poem was the *Resignation*³, in which he made, as he was accustomed, an experiment of a new mode of writing⁴, and succeeded better than in his *Ocean*⁵ or his *Merchant*⁶. It was very falsely represented as a proof of decaying faculties⁷. There is Young in every stanza, such as he often was in his highest vigour.
- 162 His Tragedies not making part of the Collection, I had forgotten, till Mr. Steevens⁸ recalled them to my thoughts by remarking, that he seemed to have one favourite catastrophe, as his three plays all concluded with lavish suicide⁹; a method by

'Extreme conciseness of expression,' he wrote, 'yet pure, perspicuous and musical, is one of the grand beauties of lyric poetry: this I have always aimed at, and never could attain. The necessity of rhyming is one great obstacle to it.' Mitford's *Gray*, ii. Preface, p. 2.

"Poets are not upon oath, and one for sense and one for rhyme is a fair composition," said George Horne [Bishop of Norwich]. H. D. Best's *Memorials*, p. 267.

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 96, v. 269. 'The power of the poem, instead of "being in the whole," lies in short, vivid and broken gleams of genius.' CAMPBELL, *British Poets*, p. 466.

For Wesley's amending the poem see his *Journal*, 1827, iii. 341.

² Johnson refers to Sir William Chambers's *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, 'in which,' writes Boswell, 'we are told all odd, strange, ugly and even terrible objects are introduced for the sake of variety.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 186.

Goldsmith wrote of the *Night Thoughts* (*Works*, iii. 439):—"They are spoken of differently, either with exaggerated applause or contempt, as the reader's disposition is either turned to mirth or melancholy."

"The fault of Young in his *Night Thoughts*," said Gray, "was redun-

dancy of thought.'" Mitford's *Gray*, v. 37.

Matthew Arnold, speaking of the severe grand style, says:—"A kind of semblance of this style keeps Young going, one may say, through all the nine parts of that most indifferent production, the *Night Thoughts*.' *On Translating Homer*, 1896, p. 142.

³ Young's *Works*, 1858, ii. 217; *Gent. Mag.* 1762, p. 243, price 2s.

For Young's 'pining for preferences' and want of cheerfulness see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 251, iv. 120.

⁴ It begins:—

'The days how few, how short the years

Of man's too rapid race!

Each leaving, as it swiftly flies,

A shorter in its place.'

Works, ii. 217.

⁵ *Eng. Poets*, lx. 187.

⁶ *Post*, YOUNG, 165.

⁷ 'That taper which blazed as it declined was at last shamefully exhibited to the public as burning in the socket in *Resignation*.' *Ann. Reg.* 1765, ii. 35.

⁸ George Steevens, who 'republished Johnson's *Shakespeare*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 204.

⁹ Young is said to have been 'the great poet and ode-maker,' humorously described by Pope, who had never heard of the blade-bone in a

which, as Dryden remarked, a poet easily rids his scene of persons whom he wants not to keep alive¹. In *Busiris* there are the greatest ebullitions of imagination; but the pride of Busiris is such as no other man can have, and the whole is too remote from known life to raise either grief, terror, or indignation². The *Revenge* approaches much nearer to human practices and manners, and therefore keeps possession of the stage³; the first design seems suggested by *Othello*, but the reflections, the incidents, and the diction are original⁴. The moral observations are so introduced and so expressed as to have all the novelty that can be required⁵. Of *The Brothers*⁶ I may be allowed to say nothing, since nothing was ever said of it by the Publick⁷.

It must be allowed of Young's poetry that it abounds in 163

shoulder of mutton. 'And yet this man, so ignorant in modern butchery, has cut up half a hundred heroes, and quartered five or six miserable lovers in every tragedy he has written.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 261.

¹ 'The dagger and the cup of poison are always in a readiness.' Dryden's *Works*, vi. 410.

² 'Suicide is always to be had without expense of thought.' *Post*, GRAY, 47.

³ 'It was published in 1719. 'It appeared with success at Drury Lane.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 72.

Pope (*Imit. Hor., Epis.* i. 6. 87) says of Timon:—

'Or if three ladies like a luckless play,

Takes the whole house upon a poet's day.'

'The play,' writes Warton, 'was once said to be *Busiris*.' Warton's *Pope*, iv. 135.

⁴ 'It was acted at Drury Lane in 1721—only six nights.' *Biog. Dram.* iii. 202. It was published the same year. Macready took the part of Zanga in 1820. Macready's *Reminiscences*, i. 220.

⁵ 'For the copy-money Dr. Young could get no more than £50. But to drive a bargain was not the talent of this generous and disinterested man.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 471.

⁶ Mrs. Piozzi, in a marginal note,

finds its origin in a story in *The Guardian*, No. 37.

⁵ Wedderburne 'in a scurrilous invective against Dr. Franklin' quoted *The Revenge*:—'Amidst these tranquil events here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga:—

"Know then 'twas I—
I forged the letter—I disposed the picture—

I hated—I despised—and I destroy."
[Act v. sc. 2.]

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American.' *Chatham Corres.* iv. 323.

⁶ It is in the March list of books in *Gent. Mag.* 1753, p. 150, price 1s. 6d. See also *ib.* p. 135.

I have seen Young's receipt to Dodsley, dated March 7, 1753, for £147 for the copyright.

⁷ Horace Walpole wrote of 'theatric genius' (*Works*, 1798, i. 129):—'It turned to tuneful nonsense in *The Mourning Bride*, grew stark mad in Lee; whose cloak, a little the worse for wear, fell on Young; yet in both was still a poet's cloak. It recovered its senses in Hughes and Fenton, who were afraid it should relapse, and accordingly kept it down with a timid but amiable hand—and then it languished.'

thought, but without much accuracy or selection¹. When he lays hold of an illustration he pursues it beyond expectation, sometimes happily, as in his parallel of Quicksilver with Pleasure, which I have heard repeated with approbation by a lady, of whose praise he would have been justly proud, and which is very ingenious, very subtle, and almost exact²; but sometimes he is less lucky, as when, in his *Night Thoughts*, having it dropped into his mind that the orbs, floating in space, might be called the 'cluster' of Creation, he thinks on a cluster of grapes, and says that they all hang on the great Vine, drinking the 'nectareous juice of immortal Life'³.

- 164 His conceits are sometimes yet less valuable; in *The Last Day* he hopes to illustrate the re-assembly of the atoms that compose the human body at the 'Trump of Doom,' by the collection of bees into a swarm at the tinkling of a pan⁴.

- 165 The Prophet says of Tyre that her 'Merchants are Princes'⁵; Young says of Tyre in his *Merchant*,

'Her merchants Princes, and each deck a Throne'⁶.

Let burlesque try to go beyond him.

- 166 He has the trick of joining the turgid and familiar: to buy the alliance of Britain, 'Climes were paid down'⁷. Antithesis is

¹ 'Young has a surprising knack of bringing thoughts from a distance, from their lurking-places, in a moment's time.' SHENSTONE, *Works*, 1791, ii. 229.

² Mrs. Thrale was the lady, as she tells us. *John. Misc.* i. 258. For the parallel see *ib.* n. 6; *The Universal Passion*, v. 291.

³ 'Worlds! systems! and creations!
—and creations

In one agglomerated cluster hung,
Great Vine! on Thee, on Thee the
cluster hangs!

The filial cluster! infinitely spread
In glowing globes, with various
being fraught;
And drinks (nectareous draught!)
immortal life.'

Night ix. l. 1912.

⁴ *The Last Day*, ii. 49. He is still more absurd when he writes (*ib.* ii. 23):—

'Now charnels rattle; scatter'd limbs
and all [the call,
The various bones, obsequious to

Self-mov'd advance; the neck perhaps to meet

The distant head; the distant legs the feet.'

⁵ *Isaiah*, xxiii. 8.

⁶ 'Her merchants Princes, every deck a throne.'

Imperium Pelagi; The Merchant, Works, 1858, ii. 347. The poem is in *Eng. Poets* (lxii. 252). It opens:—

'Fast by the surge my limbs are spread,

The naval oak nods o'er my head.'

⁷ 'His sons, Po, Ganges, Danube, Nile,

Their sedgy foreheads lift and smile;

Their urns inverted prodigally pour

Streams charg'd with wealth, and vow to buy

Britannia for their great ally

With climes paid down; what can the gods do more?'

Young's *Poetical Works*, 1857-8, ii. 341.

his favourite: 'They for kindness hate'; and 'because she's right, she's ever in the wrong'.

His versification is his own³, neither his blank nor his rhyming 167 lines have any resemblance to those of former writers⁴: he picks up no hemistichs⁵, he copies no favourite expressions; he seems to have laid up no stores of thought or diction, but to owe all to the fortuitous suggestions of the present moment. Yet I have reason to believe that, when once he had formed a new design, he then laboured it with very patient industry, and that he composed with great labour and frequent revisions.

His verses are formed by no certain model, for he is no more 168 like himself in his different productions than he is like others. He seems never to have studied prosody, nor to have had any direction but from his own ear. But, with all his defects, he was a man of genius and a poet⁶.

³ *The Universal Passion*, v. 551.

⁴ *Ib.* vi. 200.

⁵ For Swift's prevailing with him to exclude alexandrines see *ante*, POPE, 376 n.

⁶ Johnson says the same of Thomson's blank verse. *Ante*, THOMSON, 46.

⁵ *Ante*, COWLEY, 198; PRIOR, 71.

⁶ Johnson, after being 'forced to prefer Young's description of Night to those of Dryden and Shakespeare,' continued:—'This is true; but remember that taking the compositions of Young in general, they are but like bright stepping-stones over a miry road: Young froths, and foams, and bubbles sometimes very vigorously; but we must not compare the noise made by your tea-kettle here with the roaring of the ocean.' *John. Misc.* i. 186.

To Young's son he spoke of him as 'that great man your father.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 120. For his meeting the poet see *ib.* v. 269.

For a coarse criticism by Pope on Young's 'being always on the strain and labouring for expression' see Warburton's *Pope*, iv. 224. In Warton's *Pope*, iv. 233, it is said that he was criticizing *Night Thoughts*. See also *ante*, YOUNG, 13.

For Young's condemnation of Pope's *Iliad* see *ante*, POPE, 349 n. His admiration of Shakespeare is far higher than would be expected from his own dramas. In his *Conjectures on Original Composition* (*Works*, 1770, iv. 289) he says:—'Shakespeare mingled no water with his wine, lowered his genius by no vapid imitation; Shakespeare gave us a Shakespeare, nor could the first in ancient fame have given us more. Shakespeare is not their son, but brother; their equal; and that in spite of all his faults.'

Coleridge said that 'Young was not a poet to be read through at once. His love of point and wit had often put an end to his pathos and sublimity; but there were parts in him which must be immortal. He loved to read a page of Young, and walk out to think of him.' *Table Talk*, 1884, p. 297.

[Since Sir Leslie Stephen contributed his admirable life of Young to the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* fresh material has been made available by the publication of the poet's letters to the Duchess of Portland, 1740-65. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 1904, Report on MSS. of Marquis of Bath, i. 254-300.]

MALLET

1 **O**F DAVID MALLET, having no written memorial, I am able to give no other account than such as is supplied by the unauthorised loquacity of common fame and a very slight personal knowledge¹.

2 He was by his original one of the Macgregors, a clan that became, about sixty years ago, under the conduct of Robin Roy, so formidable and so infamous for violence and robbery, that the name was annulled by a legal abolition²; and when they were all to denominate themselves anew the father, I suppose, of this author called himself Malloch.

3 David Malloch was, by the penury of his parents, compelled to be Janitor of the High School at Edinburgh; a mean office, of which he did not afterwards delight to hear³. But he surmounted the disadvantages of his birth and fortune; for when the Duke of Montrose⁴ applied to the College of Edinburgh for a tutor to educate his sons Malloch was recommended; and I never heard that he dishonoured his credentials⁵.

4 When his pupils were sent to see the world they were entrusted to his care; and having conducted them round the common circle of modish travels⁶ he returned with them to London, where, by the influence of the family in which he resided, he naturally gained admission to many persons of the highest rank and the highest character, to wits, nobles, and statesmen.

¹ He was born about the year 1705. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² Scott, in the Introduction to *Rob Roy*, says that the name was abolished in 1603; it was restored at the Restoration, and a second time abolished after the Revolution. Johnson refers to the exception of the clan from the Act of Grace of 1717. *Ante*, PRIOR, 39 n.

Horace Walpole, on Feb. 3, 1781, mentioning Governor Johnstone, and having Dr. Johnson in mind, continues:—"With or without a *t* that is

a detestable name and a corrupt one. I would as soon be a Macgregor.' *Letters*, vii. 508.

³ I have seen it stated—where I forget—that as janitor he had to 'horse' the boys when they were flogged.

⁴ *Ante*, THOMSON, 7.

⁵ "'My encouragement is £30." Mallet to Ker, July, 1723.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 362.

⁶ For a letter of his dated 'Geneva, 1735,' see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 90.

Of his works, I know not whether I can trace the series. His 5 first production¹ was *William and Margaret*², of which, though it contains nothing very striking or difficult, he has been envied the reputation, and plagiarism has been boldly charged but never proved³.

Not long afterwards he published *The Excursion*⁴ (1728), 6 a desultory and capricious view of such scenes of Nature as his fancy led him, or his knowledge enabled him, to describe. It is not devoid of poetical spirit. Many of the images are striking, and many of the paragraphs are elegant. The cast of diction seems to be copied from Thomson, whose *Seasons* were then in their full blossom of reputation. He has Thomson's beauties and his faults⁵.

His poem on *Verbal Criticism*⁶ (1733) was written to pay 7

¹ 'His first printed production was a Pastoral in the *Edinburgh Miscellany*, 1720.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 362; Tovey's *Thomson*, Preface, p. 16.

² Mallet's *William and Margaret* was printed in Aaron Hill's *Plain Dealer*, No. 36, July 24, 1724. In its original state it was very different from what it is in the last edition of his works. JOHNSON.

In *The Plain Dealer* the opening stanza runs:—

'When hope lay hush'd in silent night,
And woe was wrapp'd in sleep,
In glided Marg'ret's pale-ey'd ghost,
And stood at William's feet.'

In a broad-sheet in the Brit. Mus. (n. d.) it runs:—

'Now all was wrapt in dark mid-night
And all were fast asleep;
In glided Margaret's grimly ghost,
And stood at William's feet.'

In *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 191, it runs:—

'Twas at the silent, solemn hour
When night and morning meet,
In glided Margaret's grimly ghost,
And stood at William's feet.'

For *The Plain Dealer* see *ante*, SAVAGE, 59.

³ Captain Edward Thompson, in an edition of Marvell in 1776, charged Mallet with plagiarism from that poet. See *Gent. Mag.* 1776, pp. 355, 401. On p. 559 it is asserted that the ballad was written in 1622, and is quoted by Fletcher in *The Knight*

of the Burning Pestle [Act ii. sc. 8] in the following stanza:—

'When it was grown to dark midnight,
And all were fast asleep,
In came Margaret's grimly ghost,
And stood at William's feet.'

Gibbon wrote on May 24, 1776:—
'Poor Mallet! I pity his misfortune, and feel for him probably more than he does for himself at present. His *William and Margaret*, his only good piece of poetry, is torn from him.' Gibbon's *Corres.* 1896, i. 283.

Professor F. J. Child says that 'a copy of the date 1711, with the title *William and Margaret, an Old Ballad*, turns out to be substantially the piece which Mallet published as his own in 1724. . . . *William and Margaret* is simply *Fair Margaret and Sweet William* rewritten in what used to be called an elegant style.' *Eng. and Scot. Popular Ballads*, 1882-98, ii. 199.

⁴ *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 41.

⁵ Mallet was writing this poem when Thomson was writing *Summer*, as Thomson's letters to him show. *Philobiblon Misc.* vol. iv.

⁶ *Of Verbal Criticism, an Epistle to Mr. Pope, occasioned by Theobald's Shakespeare and Bentley's Milton.* *Gent. Mag.* March, 1734, p. 167; *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 7.

On Nov. 7, 1733, Pope wrote to Mallet:—'The *Epistle* I have read over and over with great and just

court to Pope, on a subject which he either did not understand or willingly misrepresented; and is little more than an improvement, or rather expansion, of a fragment which Pope printed in a *Miscellany*¹ long before he engrafted it into a regular poem. There is in this piece more pertness than wit, and more confidence than knowledge². The versification is tolerable, nor can criticism allow it a higher praise.

8 His first tragedy was *Eurydice*, acted at Drury-Lane in 1731; of which I know not the reception nor the merit, but have heard it mentioned as a mean performance³. He was not then too high to accept a Prologue and Epilogue from Aaron Hill⁴, neither of which can be much commended.

9 Having cleared his tongue from his native pronunciation so as to be no longer distinguished as a Scot⁵, he seems inclined to disencumber himself from all adherences of his original, and took upon him to change his name from Scotch Malloch to English Mallet, without any imaginable reason of preference which the eye or ear can discover⁶. What other proofs he gave of dis-

delight.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 86. He mentions it also in a letter to Richardson, written, I believe, in the same month, but dated Nov. 2, 1732. *Ib.* ix. 498. For a quotation from it see *John. Misc.* i. 358.

¹ [The 'fragment' of which *Verbal Criticism* is an 'expansion' was inserted by Pope in his *Miscellany* of 1727 under the title of *Fragment of a Satire*. The 'regular poem' into which Pope engrafted it is *The Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, being the Prologue to the Satires*, published in 1735. The *Fragment of a Satire*, consisting of sixty-eight lines, contains the celebrated attack on Addison, preceded by some lines in disparagement of critics and commentators which, like Mallet's *Verbal Criticism*, are aimed especially at Bentley and Theobald. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 236. For the *Fragment of a Satire* from the *Miscellany* see *ib.* 538.]

² Dr. Warton describes it as 'stuffed with illiberal cant about pedantry and collators of manuscripts.' *Essay on Pope*, ii. 299.

³ Hill was present at the first re-

presentation on Feb. 22, 1731. Hill's *Works*, 1754, i. 97. See also *Gent. Mag.* 1731, p. 135. 'It was brought out with alterations at Drury Lane in 1760. The success of it was never great.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 207.

⁴ Hill's *Works*, iii. 334, iv. 74; ante, SAVAGE, 55; POPE, 154.

⁵ JOHNSON. 'I never caught Mallet in a Scotch accent; and yet Mallet, I suppose, was past five-and-twenty before he came to London.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 159.

Hume got Mallet to help him in clearing his *History* from Scotticisms. Burton's *Hume*, ii. 3, 142.

[Mallet's residence in Oxford may have helped him to get rid of his accent. Together with his pupil Mr. Newsham, he matriculated from St. Mary Hall on Nov. 2, 1733, proceeding B.A. on March 15, 1734, and M.A. on April 6 of the same year. *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1715-1886, iii. 906, and Mallet's *Ballads and Songs*, ed. Dinsdale, 1857, p. 25.]

⁶ Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, defines *alias* as 'a Latin word, signifying otherwise; often used in the trials of criminals whose danger has obliged them to change their names, as

respect to his native country I know not; but it was remarked of him that he was the only Scot whom Scotchmen did not commend¹.

About this time Pope, whom he visited familiarly, published 10 his *Essay on Man*, but concealed the author²; and when Mallet entered one day, Pope asked him slightly what there was new. Mallet told him that the newest piece was something called an *Essay on Man*, which he had inspected idly; and seeing the utter inability of the author, who had neither skill in writing nor knowledge of his subject, had tossed it away. Pope, to punish his self-conceit, told him the secret³.

A new edition of the works of Bacon being prepared (1740) 11

Simpson, *alias* Smith, *alias* Baker.' In his *Abridged Dictionary* (published not long after Byng's execution, *post*, MALLET, 21) he defines it as 'a Latin word, signifying otherwise; as Mallet *alias* Malloch; that is *otherwise* Malloch.' See *ante*, THOMSON, 13.

In the lines prefixed to Thomson's *Winter*, 3rd ed. 1726 (*ante*, THOMSON, 13), Mallet signs himself 'D. Malloch.'

'The change of name occurred in 1726. "My Cousin Paton," he says to Ker in 1724, "would have me write my name Mallet, for there is not one Englishman that can pronounce it." Johnson was ignorant of the proper pronunciation. To a Scottish ear there is a considerable difference between *Mallock* and *Malloch*.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 365.

In an entry in the Register of Laureations in the University of Edinburgh, dated April 16, 1734, he is described as 'David Malloch *alias* Mallet, olim alumnus noster.' *N. & Q.* 7 S. xii. 265.

¹ Johnson, contrasting the Irish with the Scotch, said:—"The Irish are not in a conspiracy to cheat the world by false representations of the merits of their countrymen. No, Sir, the Irish are a fair people; they never speak well of one another." Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 307.

² In 1733. *Ante*, POPE, 176.

³ Johnson's authority is Ayre's *Pope*, ii. 215. See also Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 261. Mr. Elwin, who shows that one part of Ayre's story is false,

considers the rest of it improbable. *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 262.

After the sixth verse in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* Pope had inserted the following:—

'Yet worse, vile poets rise before 'tis light,

And walk, like Marg'ret's ghost, at dead of night.'

'This,' writes Mr. Courthope, 'appears to be an allusion to Mallet. Pope may have intended to punish him for his depreciation of the *Essay on Man*.' *Ib.* iii. 241. Mr. Elwin says that Warburton 'had appended a bitter note upon Mallet; but the leaf was cancelled.' *Ib.* i. Introd. p. 17. For the cancelled leaf see *ib.* iii. 534-5, where it is shown that, 'to fill the hiatus,' Warburton invented the title of *Prologue to the Satires*.'

'Mallet, thinking Warburton intended to write Pope's life, told him he had an anecdote which he believed nobody knew but himself. "I was sitting one day with Mr. Pope in his last illness. "Mr. Mallet," said he, "I have had an odd kind of a vision; methought I saw my own head open, and Apollo come out of it; then I saw your head open, and Apollo went into it; after which our heads closed up again." Warburton replied:—"Why, Sir, if I had an intention of writing your life this might, perhaps, be a proper anecdote; but I do not see that in Mr. Pope's it will be of any consequence whatever."'*Ruffhead*, p. 532.

for the press, Mallet was employed to prefix a *Life*, which he has written with elegance, perhaps with some affectation¹; but with so much more knowledge of history than of science, that when he afterwards undertook the *Life of Marlborough*, Warburton remarked that he might perhaps forget that Marlborough was a general, as he had forgotten that Bacon was a philosopher².

- 12 When the Prince of Wales was driven from the palace³, and, setting himself at the head of the opposition, kept a separate Court, he endeavoured to increase his popularity by the patronage of literature, and made Mallet his under-secretary, with a salary of two hundred pounds a year. Thomson likewise had a pension⁴; and they were associated in the composition of the masque of *Alfred*, which in its original state was played at Cliefden in 1740⁵; it was afterwards almost wholly changed by Mallet, and brought upon the stage at Drury-Lane in 1751, but with no great success⁶.

- 18 Mallet, in a familiar conversation with Garrick, discoursing of the diligence which he was then exerting upon the *Life of Marl-*

¹ Fielding, in *Joseph Andrews* (1742), says to the Muse who presides over biography:—'Thou who hast carefully guided the judgment, whilst thou hast exalted the nervous manly style of thy Mallet.' Bk. iii. ch. 6.

Gibbon, in 1762, referring to this *Life*, speaks of 'the vigorous sense of Mallet.' *Memoirs*, p. 146. Nearly thirty years later he said 'the *Life* had rated above its value.' *Autos*. p. 300*n*.

² Warburton, in the cancelled note [*ante*, MALLET, 10 *n*. 3], says of *Marg'ret's Ghost*:—'Written by one Malloch. Since risen by due degrees from a maker of Ballads to a maker of Lives. He made L. B.'s life, and by ill-hap forgot he was a *Philosopher*; he is now about making the D. of M.'s. Be not surprised, therefore, gentle reader, if he should forget that his Grace was a *General*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 534.

³ In July, 1737, the Prince, 'who considered himself a state prisoner in the palace of his father,' under the plea of the Princess being seized with

the pangs of child-birth, hurried her from Hampton Court, where the Royal Family was staying, to St. James's. The King ordered him to leave that palace with his family, as soon as it was safe for her to move. He also forbade all persons who paid court to them to be admitted into his presence. The correspondence that passed was published by his order. Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 533, 543.

For the Duchess of Marlborough's defence of the Princess see Walpole's *Letters*, Preface, p. 149. See also *ante*, POPE, 217; THOMSON, 28; *post*, LYTTTELTON, 6.

⁴ *Ante*, THOMSON, 28.

⁵ *Ante*, THOMSON, 33. In the list of books in *Gent. Mag.* March, 1745, p. 168, is '*Alfred, An Opera altered from the play*. By Mr. Thomson and Mr. Mallet. Price 1*s*.'

⁶ Garrick, who played the part of Alfred, thought that by his acting, the splendid scenery and fine music, 'the play would have been crowned with brilliant success. He was much disappointed.' Murphy's *Garrick*, p. 132.

borough, let him know that in the series of great men, quickly to be exhibited, he should 'find a nich' for the hero of the theatre. Garrick professed to wonder by what artifice he could be introduced, but Mallet let him know that, by a dexterous anticipation, he should fix him in a conspicuous place. 'Mr. Mallet,' says Garrick in his gratitude of exultation, 'have you left off to write for the stage?' Mallet then confessed that he had a drama in his hands. Garrick promised to act it; and *Alfred* was produced¹.

The long retardation of the *Life of the Duke of Marlborough* 14 shews, with strong conviction, how little confidence can be placed in posthumous renown. When he died it was soon determined that his story should be delivered to posterity; and the papers supposed to contain the necessary information were delivered to the lord Molesworth², who had been his favourite in Flanders. When Molesworth died the same papers were transferred with the same design to Sir Richard Steele, who in some of his exigences put them in pawn. They then remained with the old dutchess, who in her will assigned the task to Glover³ and Mallet, with a reward of a thousand pounds, and a prohibition to insert any verses⁴. Glover rejected, I suppose, with disdain the legacy⁵, and devolved the whole work upon Mallet, who had from the late duke of Marlborough a pension to promote his industry, and who talked of the discoveries which he made; but left not, when he died, any historical labours behind him⁶.

¹ Davies, in his *Garrick*, ii. 57, tells this story of Mallet's *Elvira*. *Post*, MALLET, 20.

² Richard Molesworth, third Viscount. He saved the Duke's life at Ramillies. He died in 1758. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Johnson seems to confuse him with Robert Molesworth, first Viscount, who died in 1725, to whom Swift addressed the fifth *Drapier's Letter*. *Works*, vi. 467. See also *ante*, KING, 4.

³ For the poet, Richard Glover, 'Leonidas' Glover, see Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 116.

⁴ In *Gent. Mag.* 1744, p. 588, is an abstract of her will. 'She desires that no part of the history be in verse, and that it may begin only from the Revolution. Before it is printed it shall have the approbation of Lord

Chesterfield and all her executors. She gives to Mr. Glover and Mr. Mallet £500 each, to be paid when it is finished to the satisfaction as aforesaid.' She gave them also the copyright. Horace Walpole (*Letters*, ii. 160) admired her humour in the limitation about verses.

⁵ [Glover says in his *Memoirs* (ed. 1814, p. 57), 'I cannot at intervals refrain from regret that the capricious restrictions in the Duchess of Marlborough's will appointing me to write the life of her illustrious husband compelled me to reject the undertaking.']

⁶ 'Johnson said that from Mallet's way of talking he saw, and always said, that he had not written any part of the *Life*, though perhaps he intended to do it at some time, in which

- 15 While he was in the Prince's service he published *Mustapha*, with a Prologue by Thomson, not mean, but far inferior to that which he had received from Mallet for *Agamemnon*¹. The Epilogue, said to be written by a friend, was composed in haste by Mallet², in the place of one promised, which was never given. This tragedy was dedicated to the Prince his master. It was acted at Drury-Lane in 1739, and was well received, but was never revived.
- 16 In 1740 he produced, as has been already mentioned, the masque of *Alfred*, in conjunction with Thomson³.
- 17 For some time afterwards he lay at rest. After a long interval his next work was *Amyntor and Theodora* (1747)⁴, a long story in blank verse; in which it cannot be denied that there is copiousness and elegance of language, vigour of sentiment, and imagery well adapted to take possession of the fancy⁵. But it is blank verse. This he sold to Vaillant for one hundred and twenty pounds⁶. The first sale was not great, and it is now lost in forgetfulness.

case he was not culpable in taking the pension.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 175.

Johnson perhaps had in mind his own treatment of the subscribers to his *Shakespeare*. *Ib.* i. 319, 496. He added:—'Mallet groped for materials, and thought of it, till he had exhausted his mind. Thus it sometimes happens that men entangle themselves in their own schemes.' *Ib.* iii. 386. See *post*, GRAY, 19.

Hume wrote to Millar, the bookseller, on April 21, 1763:—'Mr. Mallet complains much of a report that I was writing the English History since the Revolution; which, he says, he cannot believe, because it would be a very invidious task to him. I answered him that I had not wrote a line; that as he was near twenty years advanced before me, it was ridiculous to fear that I could overtake him.' Burton's *Hume*, ii. 143. On Mallet's death the Marlborough papers were offered to Hume, with the view of his continuing his own *History*. *Ib.* p. 392.

In 1762 Mallet had the impudence, in a Dedication to the third Duke, to hold out hopes of a speedy publication. *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 131.

¹ *Ib.* lxiii. 24; *ante*, THOMSON, 29.

² The Epilogue, with the Dedication, is given in *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1739, p. 95. The play was printed in the same month. *Ib.* p. 108. Pope wrote to Mallet:—'I heartily rejoice in the success you so justly merit, and so fortunately have met with, considering what a stage, and what a people you have to do with.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 93. See also Aaron Hill's *Works*, ii. 67.

³ *Ante*, THOMSON, 33.

⁴ *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 77. It is in the May list of books in *Gent. Mag.* 1747, p. 252, quarto, price 3s. 6d. Mallet's Poems apparently were worth pirating, for there is added to the advertisement the following most rare announcement:—'This poem is entered in the hall-book of the company of stationers, and whoever pirates it will be prosecuted.'

⁵ Of this poem Dr. Warton wrote in 1756:—'The nauseous affectation of expressing everything pompously and poetically is nowhere more visible than in a poem lately published, entitled *Amyntor and Theodora*.' *Essay on Pope*, i. 145.

⁶ This sentence is not in the first

Mallet, by address or accident, perhaps by his dependance on 18 the Prince, found his way to Bolingbroke; a man whose pride and petulance made his kindness difficult to gain or keep¹, and whom Mallet was content to court by an act which, I hope, was unwillingly performed². When it was found that Pope had clandestinely printed an unauthorised number of the pamphlet called *The Patriot King*, Bolingbroke, in a fit of useless fury, resolved to blast his memory, and employed Mallet (1747)³ as the executioner of his vengeance. Mallet had not virtue, or had not spirit, to refuse the office; and was rewarded, not long after, with the legacy of lord Bolingbroke's works⁴.

Many of the political pieces had been written during the 19 opposition to Walpole, and given to Franklin, as he supposed, in perpetuity⁵. These, among the rest, were claimed by the will. The question was referred to arbitrators; but when they decided against Mallet he refused to yield to the award⁶, and by the help of Millar the bookseller⁷ published all that he

edition. According to Nichols he received 120 guineas. *Swift's Works*, 1803, xviii. 320.

¹ For his boast that he was faithful in his friendships see *ante*, POPE, 252 n.

² Mallet wrote two days after Pope's death:—'His person I loved, his worth I know, and shall ever cherish his memory with all the regard of esteem, with all the tenderness of friendship.' *Pope's Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 522.

³ 'Mallet had many obligations to Pope, no disobligations to him, and was one of his grossest flatterers.' *WALPOLE, Letters*, ii. 160.

⁴ It was in 1749 that the attack on Pope's memory was made. *Ante*, POPE, 250 n.

⁵ *Ante*, POPE, 94. Johnson said of Bolingbroke and his legacy:—'Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward; a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward, because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half a crown to a beggarly Scotchman to draw the trigger after his death.' *Boswell's Johnson*, i. 268. See *ante*, A. PHILIPS, 4 n. 2.

⁶ In *Gent. Mag.* 1754, p. 247, is advertised *A short state of the case*

relating to a claim made by Richard Franklin on David Mallet, on account of some copies which are inserted in the works of the late Lord Bolingbroke, published by Mallet, and which were originally printed by Franklyn [sic].

Bolingbroke says in his will:—'I have not assigned to any person whatsoever the copy of the said books.' *Works*, 1809, Preface, p. 219.

⁶ 'Mallet said there was no occasion for bonds of arbitration, as he hoped they were both men of honour, and, as such, declared he would abide by the decision.' *Gent. Mag.* 1754, p. 247.

⁷ 'The Maecenas of the age,' as Johnson called him. *Boswell's Johnson*, i. 287 n. Hume writing to him on May 20, 1757, about a report that 'the stop in the sale of my *History* proceeded from some strokes of irreligion, which had raised the cry of the clergy against me,' continues:—'The cause assigned could never have produced that effect; it was rather likely to increase the sale. . . . You had offered (as I heard) a large sum for Bolingbroke's *Works*, trusting to this consequence.' *Burton's Hume*, ii. 24.

could find, but with success very much below his expectation¹.

- 20 In 1753 his masque of *Britannia*² was acted at Drury-Lane, and his tragedy of *Elvira* in 1763³; in which year he was appointed keeper of the book of Entries for ships in the port of London⁴.
- 21 In the beginning of the last war, when the nation was exasperated by ill success, he was employed to turn the publick vengeance upon Byng, and wrote a letter of accusation under the character of 'A Plain Man'⁵. The paper was with great industry circulated and dispersed; and he, for his seasonable intervention, had a considerable pension bestowed upon him, which he retained to his death⁶.

¹ In the March list of books in *Gent. Mag.* 1754, p. 144, are '*The Works of Lord Bolingbroke*, 5 vols. 4to, price 3*l.* 15*s.* sheets,' and in the June list, p. 295, '*Bolingbroke's Philosophical Works*, 5 vols. 8vo.'

Dr. Warton says in a passage printed about 1762, though not published till 1782:—'No writings that raised so mighty an expectation in the public as those of Bolingbroke ever perished so soon and sunk into oblivion.' *Essay on Pope*, ii. 179.

'Who now reads Bolingbroke?' asked Burke in 1790. 'Who ever read him through?' Burke's *Works*, 1808, v. 172.

'The dreary pages of Bolingbroke's disquisitions,' wrote Mark Pattison. *Essays*, 1889, ii. 353.

For Garrick's verses on 'St. John's fell genius' see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 269.

² On May 1, 1755. Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*, iv. 411. 'The Prologue, in the character of a drunken sailor reading a play-bill, by Mallet and Garrick, and spoken by Garrick, was called for by the audience many nights when the piece itself was not performed.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 68. For the Prologue see *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 186.

³ 'This being looked upon by many as a ministerial play, and the rather as it was brought on at the critical time when our political pack were in full cry, hunting down the Scotch peace, as they called it, it was beheld

in a very unpopular light.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 191.

Boswell and two Scotch friends 'wrote a pamphlet, entitled *Critical Strictures*, against it.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 408.

Gibbon, who was starting for Italy says:—'My last act in town was to applaud Mallet's new tragedy of *Elvira*.' *Memoirs*, p. 148. On Jan. 19, 1763, he recorded:—'My father and I went to the Rose, in the passage of the play-house, where we found Mallet, with about thirty friends. We dined together, and went thence into the pit, where we took our places in a body, ready to silence all opposition. However, we had no occasion to exert ourselves. Notwithstanding the malice of party, Mallet's nation, connections, and indeed imprudence, we heard nothing but applause. I think it was deserved.' A few days later there was a riot in the theatre—a protest against the abolition of half-price at the end of the third act. 'The benches were torn up and the glass lustres were broken.' The play did not run many nights longer. *Ib.* p. 304.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1763, p. 98.

⁵ *Observations on the Twelfth Article of War*, &c. By a Plain Man. London, 8vo. 1757. Byng was shot on March 14, 1757. The pamphlet is dated March 27. It was written to justify the execution.

⁶ 'Johnson said Mallet was ready for any dirty job; that he had wrote

Towards the end of his life he went with his wife to France'; 22 but after a while, finding his health declining, he returned alone to England, and died in April, 1765².

He was twice married, and by his first wife had several 28 children. One daughter, who married an Italian of rank named Cilesia³, wrote a tragedy called *Almida*, which was acted at Drury-Lane⁴. His second wife was the daughter of a nobleman's steward, who had a considerable fortune, which she took care to retain in her own hands⁵.

His stature was diminutive, but he was regularly formed; his 24 appearance, till he grew corpulent, was agreeable, and he suffered it to want no recommendation that dress could give it⁶. His

against Byng at the instigation of the ministry, and was equally ready to write for him, provided he found his account in it.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 128.

Smollett, in *The Adventures of an Atom*, says of Byng:—'Authors were enlisted to defame him in public writings.' *Works*, 1901, xii. 278. He does not mention Mallet by name.

¹ Cunningham (iii. 370) publishes a MS. letter of his dated Paris, Dec. 16, 1764, which shows that 'his last dirty job' was in the Hamilton and Douglas case [Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 50, 229, v. 353].

² 'April 21, David Mallet, Esq., well known in the republic of letters.' *Gent. Mag.* 1765, p. 199.

Chesterfield wrote on April 22, 1765:—'Mallet died two days ago of a diarrhoea, which he had carried with him to France, and brought back again hither.' *Letters to his Son*, iv. 224.

³ Gibbon, who met her at Genoa in 1764, recorded:—'La tyrannie de sa belle-mère l'avait jetée entre les bras de M. Cilesia, alors Envoyé de Gènes en l'Angleterre, qui l'a épousée.' *Misc. Works*, i. 180.

⁴ Gibbon wrote on Jan. 15, 1771, that *Almida* 'was received last Saturday with great and deserved applause.' *Corres.* i. 124.

According to Murphy (*Life of Garrick*, p. 310), it was 'to Mrs. Barry's inimitable acting that the piece owed its brilliant success during a run of twelve nights.'

In an attack on the play in *Gent. Mag.* 1771, p. 128, it is said that 'Mrs. Barry rises like perfection out of Chaos.'

⁵ 'Oct. 7, 1742. David Mallet, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Pr. of Wales, to Miss Lucy Elstob with 10,000l.' *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 546.

Mrs. Piozzi, in a marginal note on *The Tatler*, No. 63 [ed. 1789, ii. 130], described her as 'a famous wit and an infidel.'

'She was not destitute of wit or learning,' writes Gibbon, *Memoirs*, p. 115. He called on her in Paris in 1777. 'She received me with a shriek of joy and a close embrace. . . . I found her exactly the same talkative, positive, passionate, conceited creature as we knew her twenty years ago. She raved with her usual indiscretion and fury of Gods, Kings, and Ministers, the perfections of her favourites and the vice or folly of every person she disliked.' *Corres.* i. 315. For her disconcerting Hume see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 8 n.

⁶ 'Every shilling of her fortune Mrs. Mallet settled upon herself; but then she took all imaginable care that Mr. Mallet should appear like a gentleman of distinction; she always purchased everything that he wore. His favourite dress was a suit of black velvet.' T. DAVIES, *Life of Garrick*, ii. 48.

'JOHNSON. Mallet was the prettiest drest puppet about town, and always kept good company.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 174.

conversation was elegant and easy¹. The rest of his character may, without injury to his memory, sink into silence².

- 25 As a writer he cannot be placed in any high class. There is no species of composition in which he was eminent. His Dramas had their day, a short day, and are forgotten³: his blank verse seems to my ear the echo of Thomson. His *Life of Bacon* is known as it is appended to Bacon's volumes, but is no longer mentioned. His works are such as a writer, bustling in the world, shewing himself in publick, and emerging occasionally from time to time into notice, might keep alive by his personal influence; but which, conveying little information and giving no great pleasure, must soon give way, as the succession of things produces new topicks of conversation and other modes of amusement⁴.

¹ According to Steevens Johnson said:—'I have seldom met with a man whose colloquial ability exceeded that of Mallet.' *John. Misc.* ii. 320.

² Gibbon tells how, on his mother's death, his father frequented the Mallets' house. 'The poet's conversation (we may trust Dr. Johnson, an unforgiving enemy) was easy and elegant. . . . Their society soothed and occupied his grief; and as they both thought with freedom on the subjects of religion and government, they successfully laboured to correct the prejudices of his education.' Gibbon's *Autos.* p. 379.

There was nothing, I believe, personal in Johnson's enmity. With Pope he might have said:—

'Ask you what provocation I have had?

The strong antipathy of good to bad.' *Epil. Sat.* ii. 197.

When Gibbon avowed himself a Roman Catholic his father carried

him to Mallet's house; 'by whose philosophy,' he writes, 'I was rather scandalised than reclaimed.' *Memoirs*, p. 82.

Wedderburne wrote to Hume from Paris on Oct. 28, 1764:—'From the knowledge I have of Mallet I feel an unaccountable propensity to believe the contrary of what he tells me.' *Letters of Eminent Persons to Hume*, 1849, p. 111.

³ Gibbon, in 1791, described him as 'the author of some forgotten poems and plays.' *Autos.* p. 300.

⁴ Boswell writes under date of April 29, 1773:—'The character of Mallet having been introduced, and spoken of slightly by Goldsmith; JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, Mallet had talents enough to keep his literary reputation alive as long as he himself lived; and that, let me tell you, is a good deal."' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 233. *Literary* is not in Johnson's *Dictionary*.

AKENSIDE¹

MARK AKENSIDE was born on the ninth of November, 1721, at Newcastle upon Tyne. His father, Mark, was a butcher² of the Presbyterian sect; his mother's name was Mary Lumsden. He received the first part of his education at the grammar-school of Newcastle³, and was afterwards instructed by Mr. Wilson, who kept a private academy.

At the age of eighteen he was sent to Edinburgh that he might qualify himself for the office of a dissenting minister, and received some assistance from the fund which the Dissenters employ in educating young men of scanty fortune⁴. But a wider view of the world opened other scenes and prompted other hopes: he determined to study physick, and repaid that contribution, which, being received for a different purpose, he justly thought it dishonourable to retain.

Whether, when he resolved not to be a dissenting minister, he ceased to be a Dissenter, I know not. He certainly retained an unnecessary and outrageous zeal for what he called and thought liberty⁵—a zeal which sometimes disguises from the world, and not

¹ Johnson in this *Life* follows closely the *Life* in *Biog. Brit.* 1778, i. 103.

² 'A halt in Akenside's gait was occasioned, when a boy, by the falling of a cleaver from his father's stall.' *Gent. Mag.* 1777, p. 384.

³ Lord Stowell and the Earl of Eldon were at the same school about a quarter of a century later.

⁴ The Principal of Mansfield College informs me that 'at, or soon after, the Revolution a "Fund Board" was founded; from it grants were made to students to help them to proceed to a Continental or Scotch university, or even to find education at home.'

⁵ Johnson at first wrote 'a furious and outrageous zeal,' &c. Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 56. For Lyttelton's

'indistinct and headstrong ardour for liberty' see *post*, LYTTELTON, 3.

Akenside is the pedantic physician in *Peregrine Pickle*, who maintained 'that no country could flourish but under the administration of the mob.' Ch. 43.

In *Gent. Mag.* Sept. 1761, p. 431, he appears as physician in 'the list of the household of the future Queen.' In the same list is a 'bottle man.'

Dr. Robertson, who was a student of divinity at the University, told Dugald Stewart that 'he attended the meetings of the Medical Society, chiefly to hear the speeches of Akenside, the great object of whose ambition then was a seat in Parliament.' Stewart's *Elem. of the Phil. of the Human Mind (Notes)*, iii. 501, 4to, quoted in Dyce's *Akenside*, Aldine

rarely from the mind which it possesses, an envious desire of plundering wealth or degrading greatness; and of which the immediate tendency is innovation and anarchy, an impetuous eagerness to subvert and confound, with very little care what shall be established.

- 4 Akenside was one of those poets who have felt very early the motions of genius, and one of those students who have very early stored their memories with sentiments and images. Many of his performances were produced in his youth¹; and his greatest work, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, appeared in 1744². I have heard Dodsley, by whom it was published, relate that when the copy was offered him the price demanded for it, which was an hundred and twenty pounds³, being such as he was not inclined to give precipitately, he carried the work to Pope, who, having looked into it, advised him not to make a niggardly offer; for 'this was no every-day writer.'
- 5 In 1741 he went to Leyden in pursuit of medical knowledge⁴; and three years afterwards (May 16, 1744) became doctor of physick, having, according to the custom of the Dutch Universities, published a thesis, or dissertation. The subject which he chose was *The Original and Growth of the Human Fœtus*⁵, in which he is said to have departed, with great judgement, from the opinion then established, and to have delivered that which has been since confirmed and received.
- 6 Akenside was a young man, warm with every notion that by nature or accident had been connected with the sound of liberty,

Poets, Preface, p. 5. For the change in politics of Dyson and Akenside see *Dyce*, p. 52.

In *Biog. Brit.* i. 105, instances are given of the suppression of some republican sentiments in a later edition of his early poems.

¹ Verses by him appeared in *Gent. Mag.* 1737, pp. 244, 309, 441; 1738, p. 427; 1739, p. 544. See *Dyce*, Preface, p. 2.

² *Gent. Mag.* 1744, p. 56, price 4s. The title was borrowed from Addison. *Ante*, ADDISON, 80. It was published anonymously. According to Johnson Richard Rolt 'went over to Ireland, published an edition of it, and put his own name to it. Upon the fame of this he lived for several

months, being entertained at the best tables as "the ingenious Mr. Rolt."' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 359.

³ According to Nichols, guineas. Swift, *Works*, 1803, xviii. 320 n. Dodsley made a good bargain; 'the demand for several successive republications was so quick' as not to give the poet time 'in any of the intervals to complete the whole of his corrections.' *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 201.

⁴ He went there in the spring of 1744. *Dyce*, p. 16. Goldsmith went ten years later as a student of medicine. Forster's *Goldsmith*, 1871, i. 54.

⁵ *De Ortu et Incremento Foetus humani*. *Biog. Brit.* i. 104.

and by an excentricity which such dispositions do not easily avoid, a lover of contradiction, and no friend to any thing established. He adopted Shaftesbury's foolish assertion of the efficacy of ridicule for the discovery of truth¹. For this he was attacked by Warburton², and defended by Dyson³: Warburton afterwards reprinted his remarks at the end of his dedication to the Freethinkers⁴.

The result of all the arguments which have been produced in 7 a long and eager discussion of this idle question may easily be collected. If ridicule be applied to any position as the test of truth, it will then become a question whether such ridicule be just; and this can only be decided by the application of truth as the test of ridicule⁵. Two men fearing, one a real and the other a fancied danger, will be for a while equally exposed to the inevitable consequences of cowardice, contemptuous censure, and ludicrous representation; and the true state of both cases must be known before it can be decided whose terror is rational and whose is ridiculous, who is to be pitied and who to be despised. Both are for a while equally exposed to laughter, but both are not therefore equally contemptible⁶.

In the revisal of his poem, though he died before he had 8 finished it⁷, he omitted the lines which had given occasion to Warburton's objections⁸.

¹ Akenside, who in a note in *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 287, calls Shaftesbury 'the noble restorer of ancient philosophy,' adopts his assertion in a note on p. 301. For this assertion see Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, 1714, i. 61, 73; *John. Misc.* i. 452 n. See also Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 387, for an examination of this question by Akenside in a letter.

² In *Remarks on Several Occasional Reflections*, 1744, Preface, p. 1.

³ Johnson refers to *An Epistle to Mr. Warburton, occasioned by his Treatment of the Author of the Pleasures of the Imagination*. *Gent. Mag.* 1744, p. 288. 'I am inclined to believe,' writes Dyce (p. 14), 'that the greater part of it was composed by Akenside.'

⁴ It was published as a postscript to vols. i and ii of *The Divine Legation*, 1766. Dyce, p. 66. Akenside replied by publishing a satire on

Warburton's edition of Pope's *Works*, entitled *An Ode to Thomas Edwards* (*Eng. Poets*, lxiv. 92), with an account of Warburton's letter to Concanen (*ante*, POPE, 186). *Biog. Brit.* i. 104.

⁵ 'When Johnson chose,' writes Murphy, 'by apt illustration to place the argument of his adversary in a ludicrous light, one was almost inclined to think ridicule the test of truth.' *John. Misc.* i. 452.

'Cheats can seldom stand long against laughter.' *Ante*, BUTLER, 48.

⁶ This last sentence is not in the first edition.

⁷ [In the three editions of the *Lives* published in Johnson's lifetime:—'which he died before he had finished.']

⁸ *Post*, AKENSIDE, 20. The lines remained the same (with one or two corrections), though transferred from Bk. iii. 259-77 to Bk. ii. 523-41.

- 9 He published, soon after his return from Leyden (1745), his first collection of odes¹; and was impelled by his rage of patriotism² to write a very acrimonious epistle to Pulteney, whom he stigmatizes, under the name of Curio, as the betrayer of his country.
- 10 Being now to live by his profession, he first commenced physician at Northampton³, where Dr. Stonhouse⁴ then practised, with such reputation and success that a stranger was not likely to gain ground upon him. Akenside tried the contest a while; and, having deafened the place with clamours for liberty, removed to Hampstead, where he resided more than two years⁵, and then fixed himself in London, the proper place for a man of accomplishments like his.
- 11 At London he was known as a poet, but was still to make his way as a physician; and would perhaps have been reduced to great exigences, but that Mr. Dyson⁶, with an ardour of friendship that has not many examples, allowed him three hundred

¹ *Odes on Several Subjects*, price 1s. 6d. *Gent. Mag.* 1745, p. 168.

² Johnson at first wrote, 'rage for liberty.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 56.

³ The writer in *Biog. Brit.* (i. 104 n.) was living in that town during Akenside's residence.

⁴ [Sir James Stonhouse, the well-known physician and divine. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*]

⁵ Wordsworth wrote in 1837:—'I am not unfrequently a visitor on Hampstead Heath, and seldom pass by the entrance of Mr. Dyson's villa on Golder's Hill close by without thinking of the pleasure which Akenside often had there.' Wordsworth adds:—'He was fond of sitting in St. James's Park, with his eyes upon Westminster Abbey.' *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, 1851, ii. 350. In his *Odes*, ii. 12, Akenside describes how at Golder's Hill his

'Musing footsteps rove
Round the cool orchard or the
sunny lawn.'

The place is now a public park.

⁶ Jeremiah Dyson, Secretary to the Treasury. Horace Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 59. Later on he was Cofferer to the Household. On March 23, 1774, Walpole wrote of Grenville's

bill for trying elections:—'It passed as rapidly as if it had been for a repeal of Magna Charta, brought in by Mr. Cofferer Dyson.' *Ib.* vi. 68. 'He was supposed to have all the Journals of the House of Commons by heart.' *Gent. Mag.* 1776, p. 416.

Hawkins says that he and Akenside 'dwelt together at North End, Hampstead, during the summer, frequenting the Long Room and all Clubs and Assemblies of the inhabitants.' Dyson later on 'settled him in a small house in Bloomsbury Square, and enabled him to keep a chariot.' Hawkins's *Johnson*, p. 243.

In an early letter of Akenside's to Dyson is a passage which, had it been written later, would have been thought a parody of Boswell in his letters to Johnson—'I never think of my connection with you without being happier and better for the reflection. I enjoy, by means of it, a more animated, a more perfect relish of every social, of every natural pleasure. My own character, by means of it, is become an object of veneration and applause to myself.' *Dyce*, p. 19.

pounds a year. Thus supported he advanced gradually in medical reputation, but never attained any great extent of practice or eminence of popularity. A physician in a great city seems to be the mere plaything of Fortune; his degree of reputation is, for the most part, totally casual: they that employ him know not his excellence; they that reject him know not his deficiency. By an acute observer, who had looked on the transactions of the medical world for half a century, a very curious book might be written on the Fortune of Physicians¹.

Akenside appears not to have been wanting to his own success: 12 he placed himself in view by all the common methods; he became a Fellow of the Royal Society²; he obtained a degree at Cambridge³, and was admitted into the College of Physicians⁴; he wrote little poetry, but published, from time to time, medical essays and observations⁵; he became physician to St. Thomas's Hospital⁶; he read the *Gulstonian Lectures in Anatomy*⁷; but began to give, for the *Crounian Lecture*⁸, a history of the revival

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 242 n.

² In *Gent. Mag.* 1758, p. 523, is a notice of a paper by him in the *Transactions*.

³ 'He was admitted by *mandamus* to the degree of Doctor in Physic.' *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 204.

⁴ 'A *mandamus* lies to compel the admission of the party applying to academical degrees.' Blackstone's *Comm.* 1775, iii. 110.

I owe the following note to the kindness of Dr. W. Aldis Wright:—

'The last degree conferred by royal mandate was that of D.D. on G. E. L. Cotton; Bishop Designate of Calcutta. The date of the royal letter was March 9, 1858. By the Statutes which were signed on July 31, 1858, the power of conferring degrees which had previously been given in obedience to a royal mandate was transferred to the University. I saw Akenside's signature. The date of his degree was Jan. 4, 1753.'

Mr. Falconer Madan, Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian, informs me that 'he thinks that at Oxford no degree was conferred by a naked *mandamus*, but that such degrees were cloaked under the disguise of a request, or advice, from the Chancellor of the University.'

In Clark's *Register of the Univ.* vol. ii. part 1, pp. 150, 151, instances are given of the non-compliance of the University with orders from Queen Elizabeth. Johnson's D.C.L. degree was conferred on a recommendation of the Chancellor, who was also Prime Minister. Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 331. For a dispensation by *mandamus* to hold a Fellowship see *ante*, TICKELL, 1 n.

⁵ In 1754. *Dyce*, p. 42.

⁶ For a list of his medical writings see *Biog. Brit.* i. 107.

⁷ In March, 1759. *Gent. Mag.* 1759, p. 147. Dr. Lettsom (Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 68; *John. Misc.* ii. 402), who was a student at the Hospital, is reported to have said that 'he was the most supercilious and unfeeling physician that he had hitherto known.' *Dyce*, p. 49.

⁸ A lectureship was founded by Theodore Goulston or Gulston, who died in 1632. 'These lectures have been annually delivered since 1639, to the great advantage of medicine in England.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Akenside lectured in 1755. *Biog. Brit.* i. 107.

⁹ The widow of William Croone or Croune, in accordance with her husband's intention, in 1706 left the

of Learning, from which he soon desisted; and, in conversation, he very eagerly forced himself into notice by an ambitious ostentation of elegance and literature¹.

- 13 His *Discourse on the Dysentery* (1764) was considered as a very conspicuous specimen of Latinity², which entitled him to the same height of place among the scholars as he possessed before among the wits; and he might perhaps have risen to a greater elevation of character, but that his studies were ended with his life by a putrid fever, June 23, 1770, in the forty-ninth year of his age³.

- 14 AKENSIDE is to be considered as a didactick and lyrick poet. His great work is *The Pleasures of Imagination*, a performance which, published as it was at the age of twenty-three, raised expectations that were not afterwards very amply satisfied⁴. It has undoubtedly a just claim to very particular notice as an

College of Physicians by her will money to support an annual lectureship. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Akenside lectured in 1756. According to Kippis in *Biog. Brit.* (i. 107), 'he gave up the course in disgust,' as some objected to the subject as 'foreign to the institution.' Mr. Dyce points out (p. 45) that 'the course is always of three lectures, and three he gave.'

¹ He was the original of the physician in *Peregrine Pickle*, chs. 42-3, who was 'a young man in whose air and countenance appeared all the uncouth gravity and supercilious self-conceit of a physician piping hot from his studies. . . . Not contented with displaying his importance in the world of taste and polite literature, his vanity manifested itself in arrogating certain material discoveries in the province of physick.'

Hawkins, allowing that 'his conversation was of the most delightful kind,' says that he failed through 'the want of that quality which Swift somewhere calls an aldermanly virtue, discretion.' Hawkins's *Johnson*, pp. 242, 247. Swift, in his *Essay on the Fates of Clergymen*, attributes the fall of such men as Bacon, Strafford and Laud to their 'wanting a reasonable infusion of this aldermanly discretion.' *Works*, viii. 222.

Henderson, the actor (Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 326 n., iv. 244 n.), said that 'Akenside, when he walked in the streets, looked for all the world like one of his own Alexandrines set upright.' Dyce, p. 76. See also *ib.* p. 55, and *John. Letters*, ii. 21 n.

² *De Dysenteria Commentarius*. In *Gent. Mag.* 1766, p. 489, is announced *A Commentary on the Dysentery from the Latin of Dr. Akenside*. By J. Ryan, M.D.

'Of all our poets perhaps Akenside was the best Greek scholar since Milton.' WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 455.

³ His death is noticed neither in *Gent. Mag.* nor in *Ann. Reg.* For Shenstone's death by the same fever see *ante*, SHENSTONE, 15.

⁴ Gray wrote of it on April 26, 1744:—'It seems to me above the middling, and now and then (but for a little while) rises even to the best, particularly in description. It is often obscure and even unintelligible, and too much infected with the Hutcheson-jargon. In short its great fault is that it was published at least nine years too early.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 119. According to Norton Nicholls, 'Gray disliked Akenside, and in general all poetry in blank verse except Milton.' *ib.* ii. 280.

example of great felicity of genius and uncommon amplitude of acquisitions, of a young mind stored with images, and much exercised in combining and comparing them.

With the philosophical or religious tenets of the author I have 15 nothing to do; my business is with his poetry. The subject is well chosen, as it includes all images that can strike or please, and thus comprises every species of poetical delight. The only difficulty is in the choice of examples and illustrations, and it is not easy in such exuberance of matter to find the middle point between penury and satiety. The parts seem artificially disposed, with sufficient coherence, so as that they cannot change their places without injury to the general design.

His images are displayed with such luxuriance of expression 16 that they are hidden, like Butler's Moon, by a 'Veil of Light'; they are forms fantastically lost under superfluity of dress. 'Pars minima est ipsa puella sui'.² The words are multiplied till the sense is hardly perceived; attention deserts the mind and settles in the ear. The reader wanders through the gay diffusion, sometimes amazed and sometimes delighted; but after many turnings in the flowery labyrinth comes out as he went in. He remarked little, and laid hold on nothing³.

To his versification justice requires that praise should not be 17 denied. In the general fabrication of his lines he is perhaps superior to any other writer of blank verse; his flow is smooth and his pauses are musical, but the concatenation of his verses⁴ is commonly too long continued, and the full close does not recur with sufficient frequency. The sense is carried on through a long intertexture of complicated clauses, and as nothing is distinguished, nothing is remembered.

The exemption which blank verse affords from the necessity of 18 closing the sense with the couplet, betrays luxuriant and active minds into such self-indulgence that they pile image upon image, ornament upon ornament, and are not easily persuaded to close the sense at all⁵. Blank verse will therefore, I fear, be too often

¹ *Ante*, THOMSON, 50 n.

² OVID, *Remedia Amoris*, l. 344. It is the motto of *The Tatler*, No. 116, one of Addison's most humorous papers, entitled *Court of Judicature on the Petticoat*.

³ Johnson said of the poem:—

'Sir, I could not read it through.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 164.

⁴ *Ante*, YOUNG, 154.

⁵ *Ante*, YOUNG, 160. In Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* Crites says:—'But verse, you say, circumscribes a quick and luxuriant fancy,

found in description exuberant, in argument loquacious, and in narration tiresome.

- 19 His diction is certainly poetical as it is not prosaick, and elegant as it is not vulgar¹. He is to be commended as having fewer artifices of disgust than most of his brethren of the blank song². He rarely either recalls old phrases or twists his metre into harsh inversions. The sense, however, of his words is strained; when 'he views the Ganges from Alpine heights³,' that is, from mountains like the Alps. And the pedant surely intrudes—but when was blank verse without pedantry?—when he tells how 'Planets absolve the stated round of Time⁴.'
- 20 It is generally known to the readers of poetry that he intended to revise and augment this work, but died before he had completed his design⁵. The reformed work as he left it, and the additions which he had made, are very properly retained in the late collection⁶. He seems to have somewhat contracted his diffusion; but I know not whether he has gained in closeness what he has lost in splendour. In the additional book *The Tale of Solon* is too long⁷.
- 21 One great defect of his poem is very properly censured by

which would extend itself too far on every subject, did not the labour which is required to well-turned and polished rhyme set bounds to it.' Neander replies:—'Verse is a rule and line by which the master-workman keeps his building compact and even, which otherwise lawless imagination would raise either irregularly or loosely.' *Works*, xv. 360, 376.

¹ In the first edition:—'His diction is certainly so far poetical as it is not prosaick, and so far valuable as it is not common.'

² 'Of Dodsley's *Publick Virtue* Johnson said, "It was fine blank" (meaning to express his usual contempt for blank verse).' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 20. See also *ante*, MILTON, 274.

³ 'Who that from Alpine heights his labouring eye

Shoots round the wide horizon, to survey

Nilus or Ganges rolling his bright wave.'

Bk. i. l. 177.

In the revised version:—

'Who that from heights aerial sends his eye

Around a wild horizon, and surveys Indus or Ganges rolling his broad wave.'

Bk. i. l. 232.

Dante calls one of the Apennines 'l' alpestro monte.' *Purgatorio*, xiv. 32.

⁴ 'Bend the reluctant planets to absolve

The fated rounds of time.'

Bk. i. l. 194.

In the revised version:—

'Bend the reluctant planets to move each

Round its perpetual year.'

Bk. i. l. 252.

⁵ See Dyson's Preface to Aken-side's *Works*, ed. 1772, *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. p. 201; *Dyce*, p. 70.

⁶ *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 311.

⁷ It is in a new, but unfinished third book. *Eng. Poets*, lxiii. 363. He wrote also 130 lines of a fourth book. There is in it a passage, ll. 38-58, which must have influenced Wordsworth in his *Prelude*.

Mr. Walker¹, unless it may be said in his defence that what he has omitted was not properly in his plan. 'His picture of man is grand and beautiful, but unfinished. The immortality of the soul, which is the natural consequence of the appetites and powers she is invested with, is scarcely once hinted throughout the poem². This deficiency is amply supplied by the masterly pencil of Dr. Young, who, like a good philosopher, has invincibly proved the immortality of man, from the grandeur of his conceptions and the meanness and misery of his state; for this reason a few passages are selected from the *Night Thoughts*, which, with those from Akenside, seem to form a complete view of the powers, situation, and end of man.' *Exercises for Improvement in Elocution*, p. 66 [p. 67].

His other poems are now to be considered; but a short consideration will dispatch them. It is not easy to guess why he addicted himself so diligently to lyric poetry, having neither the ease and airiness of the lighter, nor the vehemence and elevation of the grander ode. When he lays his ill-fated hand upon his harp his former powers seem to desert him: he has no longer his luxuriance of expression nor variety of images. His thoughts are cold and his words inelegant. Yet such was his love of lyrics that, having written with great vigour and poignancy his *Epistle to Curio*, he transformed it afterwards into an ode disgraceful only to its author³.

Of his odes nothing favourable can be said: the sentiments commonly want force, nature, or novelty; the diction is sometimes harsh and uncouth, the stanzas ill-constructed and unpleasant, and the rhymes dissonant or unskilfully disposed, too

¹ Boswell, who calls him 'the celebrated master of elocution,' met him at Johnson's house. Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 206.

The whole of this paragraph first appears in the 1783 edition.

² Mr. Dyce (p. 79) points to passages in the first edition which perhaps hint at it, and to the following lines in the revised edition (Bk. i. l. 489):—
'Led by that hope sublime, whose
cloudless eye,
Through the fair toils and ornaments of earth,
Discerns the nobler life reserv'd for
Heaven,' &c.

³ *Eng. Poets*, lxiv. 29, 151. Smollett says of the physician in *Peregrine Pickle* (ch. 43):—'He was strangely possessed with the opinion that he himself was inspired by the soul of Pindar.'

Macaulay says of the *Epistle*:—
'If Akenside had left lyric composition to Gray and Collins, and had employed his powers in grave and elevated satire, he might have disputed the pre-eminence of Dryden.' *Essays*, ii. 133. This praise is extravagant.

distant from each other or arranged with too little regard to established use, and therefore perplexing to the ear, which in a short composition has not time to grow familiar with an innovation¹.

- 24 To examine such compositions singly cannot be required; they have doubtless brighter and darker parts: but when they are once found to be generally dull all further labour may be spared, for to what use can the work be criticised that will not be read²?

¹ *Post*, GRAY, 42.

² 'JOHNSON. I see they have published a splendid edition of Akenside's works. One bad ode may be suffered; but a number of them together makes one sick.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 164. 'He [Johnson] now gave it as his opinion that "Akenside was a superior poet both to Gray and Mason."' *Ib.* iii. 32.

Horace Walpole, on March 29, 1745, after speaking of 'the most absurd lines in Lee,' continues:— 'There is another of these tame genius's, a Mr. Akenside, who writes Odes; in one he says, "Light the tapers, urge the fire." Had you not rather make gods "jostle in the dark" than light the candles for fear they should break their heads?' *Letters*, i. 347. The lines are:—

'Haste, light the tapers, urge the fire,
And bid the joyless day retire.'
Hymn to Cheerfulness, *Eng. Poets*,
lxiv. 18.

He has the same strange use of urge in his *Ode on the Winter Solstice*:—

'Urge the warm bowl and splendid fire.'
Ib. p. 9.

'Jostle in the dark' is in Act iv. sc. 1 of *Oedipus*, written by Lee (*ante*, DRYDEN, 81):

'Through all the inmost chambers of the sky

May there not be a glimpse, one starry spark,

But gods meet gods, and jostle in the dark.'

Dryden's *Works*, vi. 219.

Gray wrote on March 8, 1758, of Dodsley's *Coll.*:— 'The two last volumes are worse than the four first; particularly Dr. Akenside is in a deplorable way.' Mason's *Gray*, ii. 139. In vol. vi. pp. 15, 25, are two of his Odes. He was one year earlier than Collins, and two than Gray, in publishing Odes. 'He was not a good reader of his own verse.' *Dyce*, p. 53. For bad readers among the poets see *ante*, SWIFT, 119 n.

The motto to Wordsworth's *Yarrow Revisited and Other Poems*, 1835, is from Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination*, iv. 102.

'Poets . . . dwell on earth

To clothe whate'er the soul admires
and [or] loves

With language and with numbers.'

GRAY

THOMAS GRAY, the son of Mr. Philip Gray, a scrivener¹ of 1 London, was born in Cornhill³, November 26, 1716⁴. His grammatical education he received at Eton under the care of Mr. Antrobus, his mother's brother, then assistant to Dr. George, and when he left school, in 1734, entered a pensioner at Peterhouse in Cambridge⁵.

The transition from the school to the college is, to most young² scholars, the time from which they date their years of manhood, liberty, and happiness⁶; but Gray seems to have been very little delighted with academical gratifications: he liked at Cambridge neither the mode of life nor the fashion of study, and lived sullenly on to the time when his attendance on lectures was no longer required. As he intended to profess the Common Law he took no degree⁷.

¹ Boswell, speaking of this *Life*, mentions 'the clamour which has been raised, as if Johnson had been culpably injurious to the merit of that bard, and had been actuated by envy.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 404. See also *ib.* iv. 64.

Walpole wrote on Jan. 27, 1781:—'Johnson's *Life* [of Gray], or rather criticism on his *Odes*, is come out; a most wretched, dull, tasteless, verbal criticism—yet timid too.' *Letters*, vii. 505.

² *Ante*, MILTON, 4.

³ The house, with eighty more, was burnt down on March 25, 1748. *Gent. Mag.* 1748, pp. 138, 149, 392; Gray's *Letters*, ed. D. C. Tovey, i. 175. 'It was on the south side of Cornhill, being the second house west of St. Michael's Alley.' *N. & Q.* 6 S. x. 256.

⁴ On Dec. 26. On Dec. 27, 1746, he wrote to Wharton:—'I was 30 years old yesterday. What is it o'clock by you?' Gray's *Letters*, i. 154.

⁵ His father was a cruel brute. The son was almost entirely supported by

his mother both at school and college. She and her sister 'kept a kind of India warehouse on Cornhill, under the name of Gray and Antrobus.' Gray's *Works*, with *Life* by Mason, 1807, i. 278; Gray's *Works*, ed. Mitford, 1835-43, i. Preface, p. 96.

⁶ It was not the case with Johnson's young scholar.

'When first the College rolls receive his name
The young enthusiast quits his ease for fame.'

The Vanity of Human Wishes, l. 135.

⁷ He wrote in Dec. 1736:—'You must know that I do not take degrees, and, after this term, shall have nothing more of College impertinences to undergo. . . . Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known by the name of Babylon, that the prophet spoke.' He goes on to quote *Isaiah* xiii. 21, xxxii. 14, xxxiv. 14, 15. *Letters*, i. 3.

In his *Hymn to Ignorance*, speaking of Cambridge, he writes:—
'Glad I revisit thy neglected reign.'

3 When he had been at Cambridge about five years, Mr. Horace Walpole, whose friendship he had gained at Eton, invited him to travel with him as his companion¹. They wandered through France into Italy, and Gray's letters contain a very pleasing account of many parts of their journey. But unequal friendships are easily dissolved: at Florence they quarrelled and parted², and Mr. Walpole is now content to have it told that it was by his fault³. If we look, however, without prejudice on the world we shall find that men, whose consciousness of their own merit sets them above the compliances of servility, are apt enough in their association with superiors to watch their own dignity with troublesome and punctilious jealousy, and in the fervour of independance to exact that attention which they refuse to pay⁴. Part they did, whatever was the quarrel, and the rest of their travels was doubtless more unpleasant to them both. Gray continued his journey in a manner suitable to his own little fortune, with only an occasional servant⁵.

4 He returned to England in September, 1741, and in about two months afterwards buried his father⁶, who had, by an injudicious waste of money upon a new house⁷, so much lessened his fortune that Gray thought himself too poor to study the law. He therefore retired to Cambridge, where he soon after became Bachelor

¹ Walpole wrote of him on his death, as 'one with whom I lived in friendship from thirteen years old.' Walpole's *Letters*, v. 322. To Mason he wrote:—'I can add nothing to your account of Gray's going abroad with me. It was my own thought and offer, and cheerfully accepted.' *Mitford*, iv. 219. They started on March 10, 1739. Walpole's *Letters*, Preface, p. 62. 'We rode over the Alps in the same chaise,' wrote Walpole, 'but Pegasus drew on his side, and a cart-horse on mine.' *Ib.* vi. 290.

² It was at Reggio they parted, where they were in May, 1741. *Ib.* i. 67; *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 9.

³ In a note to Mason's *Gray*, i. 178, 'he charged himself with the chief blame in their quarrel.' He wrote to Mason on March 2, 1773:—'I treated him insolently; he loved me, and I did not think he did. . . . Forgive me if I say that his temper was not con-

ciliating.' Walpole's *Letters*, v. 441. See also *ib.* p. 481, vi. 16. See also *Walpoliana*, vol. i. p. 95, art. cx. The passage is given in *N. & Q.* 6 S. ii. 356.

⁴ *Ante*, SWIFT, 52, 134. Boswell recorded at Lord Errol's house:—'I observed that Dr. Johnson, though he showed that respect to his lordship which, from principle, he always does to high rank, yet, when they came to argument, maintained that manliness which becomes the force and vigour of his understanding.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 103.

⁵ He returned by Venice, Turin, and Lyons. 'He travelled with only a "laquais de voyage."' He arrived in London about Sept. 1, 1741. *Mason*, i. 274, 277.

⁶ He died on Nov. 6, 1741. *Ib.* i. 277.

⁷ At Wanstead. *Ib.* i. 277.

of Civil Law¹, and where, without liking the place or its inhabitants, or professing² to like them, he passed, except a short residence at London, the rest of his life³.

About this time he was deprived of Mr. West, the son of a 5 chancellor of Ireland⁴, a friend on whom he appears to have set a high value, and who deserved his esteem by the powers which he shews in his letters, and in the *Ode to May*, which Mr. Mason has preserved⁵, as well as by the sincerity with which, when Gray sent him part of *Agrippina*⁶, a tragedy that he had just begun, he gave an opinion⁷ which probably intercepted the progress of the work⁸, and which the judgement of every reader will confirm. It was certainly no loss to the English stage that *Agrippina* was never finished.

In this year (1742) Gray seems first to have applied himself 6 seriously to poetry, for in this year were produced the *Ode to Spring*, his *Prospect of Eton*, and his *Ode to Adversity*⁹. He began likewise a Latin Poem, *De Principiis Cogitandi*¹⁰.

¹ In 1744. Gray's *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i. 113 n., 121. In 1768 he wrote:—'I am so totally uninformed, indeed so helpless in matters of law, that there is no one perhaps in the kingdom you could apply to for advice with less effect than to me.' *Mitford*, iv. 116.

² In the first edition, 'pretending.'

³ 'He spent his summer vacations at Stoke, near Windsor, during the lives of his mother and aunts,' whither they had removed soon after his father's death in 1741. *Mason*, i. 278, ii. 23.

⁴ The Chancellor was author of *Hecuba*, a tragedy 'damned the first night.' Prior's *Malone*, p. 451. His portrait is in the Parliament Chamber of the Inner Temple. *N. & Q.* 5 S. iv. 315. The son's name was Richard. His mother was Bishop Burnet's daughter. He died at Hatfield on June 1, 1742. *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 16. Gray, who was at Stoke, first learnt of his loss on June 17 'by some verses in a newspaper.' *Mason*, ii. 7; *Gray's Letters*, i. 111. Gray wrote on him a sonnet (*Mitford*, i. 90), beautiful in spite of imperfect rhymes, and of other faults pointed out by Wordsworth and Coleridge. Coleridge's *Biog. Lit.*

1847, ii. 68, 78.

⁵ *Mason*, i. 312; *Mitford*, ii. 161. For his poems see *ib.* i. Preface, p. 16.

⁶ *ib.* i. 128.

⁷ *ib.* ii. 148, 155.

⁸ Gray wrote of it in 1747:—'Poor West put a stop to that tragic torrent he saw breaking in upon him.' *ib.* iii. 30.

⁹ The *Ode to Spring* (*post*, GRAY, 28) was composed in 1742. 'Written,' wrote Gray, 'at Stoke, the beginning of June, 1742, and sent to Mr. West, not knowing he was then dead.' *Mason*, ii. 7. It was first published in Jan. 1747-8 in Dodsley's *Coll.* ii. 265. The *Prospect of Eton* (*post*, GRAY, 30) was published separately by Dodsley in June, 1747, price 6d. *Gent. Mag.* 1747, p. 300. 'Little notice was taken of it,' writes Warton. *Essay on Pope*, ii. 292. The *Hymn to Adversity* appeared in 1755 in Dodsley's *Coll.* iv. 7. Mason changed the title to *Ode to Adversity*. *Mason*, i. 12. Gray, writing to Walpole about his 'six Odes,' continues:—'for so you are pleased to call everything I write, though it be but a receipt to make apple-dumplings.' *Gray's Letters*, i. 219.

¹⁰ He wrote of it to West from Florence on April 21, 1741:—'I send

- 7 It may be collected from the narrative of Mr. Mason¹, that his first ambition was to have excelled in Latin poetry²: perhaps it were reasonable to wish that he had prosecuted his design; for though there is at present some embarrassment in his phrase, and some harshness in his Lyrick numbers, his copiousness of language is such as very few possess, and his lines, even when imperfect, discover a writer whom practice would quickly have made skilful³.
- 8 He now lived on at Peterhouse, very little solicitous what others did or thought, and cultivated his mind and enlarged his views without any other purpose than of improving and amusing himself⁴; when Mr. Mason, being elected fellow of Pembroke-hall⁵, brought him a companion who was afterwards to be his editor, and whose fondness and fidelity has kindled in him a zeal of admiration, which cannot be reasonably expected from the neutrality of a stranger and the coldness of a critic⁶.
- 9 In this retirement he wrote (1747) an ode on *The Death of Mr. Walpole's Cat*⁷, and the year afterwards attempted a poem of more importance, on *Government and Education*, of which the fragments which remain have many excellent lines⁸.

you the beginning, not of an Epic Poem, but of a Metaphysic one. Poems and Metaphysics (say you, with your spectacles on) are inconsistent things. A metaphysical poem is a contradiction in terms. It is true; but I will go on. It is Latin too, to increase the absurdity.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 88. He sent the first fifty-three lines. *Mason*, i. 273. See also *ib.* ii. 10.

¹ In the first edition:—'It seems to be the opinion of Mr. Mason.'

² *Mason*, i. 136, ii. 9. 'I have many scraps and letters of his that show how very early his genius was ripe.' WALPOLE, *Letters*, v. 336. 'Both Gray and West had abilities marvellously premature.' *ib.* vi. 15.

³ Walpole wrote in 1775:—'Faults are found, I hear, at Eton with the Latin poems for false quantities—no matter—they are equal to the English—and can one say more?' *ib.* vi. 199.

⁴ *Mason*, ii. 25. He wrote in 1747:—'I am now in Pindar and Lysias; for I take verse and prose together like

bread and cheese.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 162.

⁵ In 1747 Mason, 'greatly owing to Gray,' was nominated to the Fellowship. Through the opposition of the Master he was not elected till 1749. *Mason*, ii. 26.

⁶ See Appendix U.

⁷ *Post*, GRAY, 29. First printed in Dodsley's *Coll.* 1748, ii. 267. See also Gray's *Letters*, i. 156.

⁸ 'I mean to show,' wrote Gray, 'that Education and Government must necessarily concur to produce great and useful men.' *ib.* i. 192.

'When I asked him,' writes Nicholls, 'why he had not continued that beautiful fragment, he said because he could not.' *Mitford*, v. 35.

Gibbon, quoting ll. 52-7, continues:—'Instead of compiling tables of chronology and natural history, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finish the philosophic poem of which he has left such an exquisite specimen?' *The Decline and Fall*, iii. 332. (In l. 56 Gibbon changes 'breathing' into

His next production (1750) was his far-famed *Elegy in the 10 Church-yard*¹, which, finding its way into a Magazine, first, I believe, made him known to the publick.

An invitation from lady Cobham² about this time gave 11 occasion to an odd composition called *A Long Story*, which adds little to Gray's character³.

Several of his pieces were published (1753), with designs, by 12 Mr. Bentley, and, that they might in some form or other make a book, only one side of each leaf was printed⁴. I believe the poems and the plates recommended each other so well, that the whole impression was soon bought. This year he lost his mother⁵.

Some time afterwards (1756) some young men of the college, 18 whose chambers were near his, diverted themselves with disturbing him by frequent and troublesome noises, and, as is said, by pranks yet more offensive and contemptuous⁶. This insolence, having endured it a while, he represented to the governors of the society, among whom perhaps he had no friends, and, finding his complaint little regarded, removed himself to Pembroke-hall⁷.

'opening.') He again quotes it (ll. 100-end), *ib.* v. 457, and, referring to a description of the Nile by a French consul at Cairo, continues:—'From a college at Cambridge the poetic eye of Gray had *seen* the same objects with a keener glance.'

¹ See Appendix X.

² For her father, Edmund Halsey, the brewer, see *ante*, POPE, 272 n. He had bought the Mansion House at Stoke Pogis. *Mason*, ii. 74; *Gray's Letters*, i. 218.

³ In the first edition, 'which, though perhaps it adds little to Gray's character, I am not pleased to find wanting in this Collection. It will therefore be added to this Preface.' To it was added also the *Ode for Musick*. Both poems are included in *Eng. Poets*, 1790.

Of *A Long Story* Gray wrote:—'It was never meant for the public.' *Mitford*, iv. 91. On Dec. 18, 1751 he wrote:—'The verses being shew'd about in Town are not liked there at all.' *Gray's Letters*, i. 220.

⁴ See Appendix Y.

⁵ [Gray's epitaph on her tombstone in Stoke Pogis churchyard thus ends, —'The careful tender mother of many children, one of whom alone had the misfortune to survive her.' Mathias's *Gray*, i. 339.]

She died on March 11, 1753. *Mason*, ii. 97. On Sept. 21 Gray wrote to Mason, who had lost his father:—'I know what it is to lose a person that one's eyes and heart have long been used to, and I never desire to part with the remembrance of that loss, nor would wish you should.' *Gray's Letters*, i. 236.

⁶ In the first edition the sentence ends at 'noises.'

⁷ Johnson's authority is *Mason*, ii. 113. Gray wrote on March 25, 1756:—'I have been taken up in quarrelling with Peter-house, and in removing myself from thence to Pembroke.' *Letters*, i. 292. For the quarrel see *ib.* n. 3, and p. 291. An incredible account is given in R. Polwhele's *Traditions*, p. 212.

'Pembroke Hall was Ridley's "own dear College," ...; by Elizabeth

- 14 In 1757 he published *The Progress of Poetry* and *The Bard*¹, two compositions at which the readers of poetry were at first content to gaze in mute amazement². Some that tried them confessed their inability to understand them, though Warburton said that they were understood as well as the works of Milton and Shakespeare, which it is the fashion to admire³. Garrick wrote a few lines in their praise⁴. Some hardy champions undertook to rescue them from neglect, and in a short time many were content to be shewn beauties which they could not see⁵.
- 15 Gray's reputation was now so high that, after the death of Cibber, he had the honour of refusing the laurel, which was then bestowed on Mr. Whitehead⁶.
- 16 His curiosity not long after drew him away from Cambridge to a lodging near the Museum, where he resided near three

apostrophized as "domus antiqua et religiosa." Spenser and Pitt were there.' Maclean's *Pembroke College, Oxford*, p. 211.

¹ *Post*, GRAY, 32. Walpole recorded:—'Aug. 8, 1757. I published two Odes by Mr. Gray, the first production of my press.' Walpole's *Letters*, Preface, p. 68. On July 12 he wrote:—'I snatched them out of Dodsley's hands.' *Ib.* iii. 89. The title-page is '*Odes by Mr. Gray*. Printed at Strawberry-Hill. For R. & J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall. 1757.' 'On June 29, 1757, Gray received forty guineas for his two Odes.' *Mitford*, iii. 169. Of 2,000 copies printed '12 or 1300 were gone,' Gray wrote that same year. Gray's *Letters*, i. 350. There is no mention of them in *Gent. Mag.* At the Fraser Library Sale 'the Odes with MS. notes by the poet, extra illustrations, &c., sold for £370.' *The Athenaeum*, May 4, 1901, p. 567.

² 'Aug. 17, 1757. I hear we are not at all popular; the great objection is obscurity.

'Aug. 25. All people of condition are agreed not to admire, nor even to understand.' GRAY, *Letters*, i. 345-6.

Walpole, on Aug. 4, described them as 'two amazing Odes of Mr. Gray; they are Greek, they are Pindaric,

they are sublime! consequently, I fear, a little obscure. . . . I could not persuade him to add more notes; he says whatever wants to be explained don't deserve to be.' Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 94.

'I would not have put another note,' Gray writes, 'to save the souls of all the owls in London.' *Letters*, i. 348.

Ib. i. 366.

⁴ Gray wrote on Aug. 25:—'I have heard of nobody but a player and a doctor of divinity that profess their esteem for them.' *Ib.* p. 346. For Garrick's lines in *The London Chronicle*, Oct. 1, 1757, see *ib.* p. 366 n.

⁵ *Post*, GRAY, 32. 'JOHNSON. The obscurity in which Gray has involved himself will not persuade us that he is sublime.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 402.

Goldsmith wrote in 1770 of 'the misguided innovators' in poetry—Gray and his school:—'They have adopted a language of their own, and call upon mankind for admiration. All those who do not understand them are silent, and those who make out their meaning are willing to praise to show they understand.' *Works*, iv. 141.

⁶ See Appendix Z.

years, reading and transcribing¹; and, so far as can be discovered, very little affected by two odes on *Oblivion* and *Obscurity*, in which his Lyrick performances were ridiculed with much contempt and much ingenuity².

When the Professor of Modern History at Cambridge died he 17 was, as he says, 'cockered and spirited up,' till he asked it of lord Bute, who sent him a civil refusal; and the place was given to Mr. Brocket, the tutor of Sir James Lowther³.

His constitution was weak, and believing that his health was 18 promoted by exercise and change of place he undertook (1765) a journey into Scotland, of which his account⁴, so far as it extends, is very curious and elegant; for as his comprehension was ample his curiosity extended to all the works of art, all the appearances of nature, and all the monuments of past events⁵.

¹ *Mason*, ii. 24. In July, 1759, he took lodgings in Southampton Row. 'I am now settled in my new territories commanding... all the fields as far as Highgate and Hampstead. Here is air, and sunshine, and quiet.' In the reading-room of the Museum they were, he said, five readers in all. *Mitford*, iii. 219. He visited Cambridge more than once. *Ib.* p. 253.

² Colman's *Prose on Several Occasions*, &c., 1787, ii. 273. 'These Odes,' writes Colman, 'were a piece of boys' play with my school-fellow Lloyd, with whom they were written in concert.' *Ib.* Preface, p. 11. They are quoted in *Gent. Mag.* June, 1760, p. 291. According to Steevens Johnson said:—'Colman never produced a luckier thing than his first Ode in ridicule of Gray. A considerable part of it may be numbered among those felicities which no man has twice attained.' *John. Misc.* ii. 320. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 334.

Gray wrote in June, 1760:—'I believe Mr. Colman's Odes sell no more than mine did, for I saw a heap of them lie in a bookseller's window, who recommended them to me as a very pretty thing.' *Letters*, ii. 147. See also *ib.* p. 161.

'Gray is said to have been so much hurt by a foolish and impertinent parody of two of his finest

odes, that he never afterwards attempted any considerable work.' Adam Smith, *Moral Sent.* 1801, i. 255.

Walpole, in 1796, says of Payne Knight:—'He tells a silly falsehood of Gray being terrified from writing by Lloyd's and Colman's trash.' *Letters*, ix. 462.

'Dr. J. Warton says:—"Colman and Lloyd once said to me that they repented of the attempt."' Gray's *Letters*, ii. 140 n.

³ *Mitford*, iii. 301, letter of Dec. 4, 1762. Lowther, a year before, had married Bute's daughter. Burke's *Peerage*. Later on he was known as 'the bad Lord Lonsdale,' that 'gloomy despot,' among whose victims was Wordsworth's father. He treated Boswell also with brutality. Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 179 n., v. 113. Walpole, speaking of the vast succession that fell to him in 1756, says 'it makes him Croesus.' *Letters*, iii. 5. Nevertheless he was mean enough to pension his tutor at the cost of the University.

⁴ In his letters. *Mitford*, iv. 51-65.

⁵ In 1758 he wrote:—'The drift of my present studies is to know, wherever I am, what lies within reach that may be worth seeing.' *Ib.* iii. 188. For his Naturalist's Calendar see *ib.* iii. 216, 224, 276, iv. 13; for his observations on architecture and painting see *ib.* iv. 70, 225, v. 325.

He naturally contracted a friendship with Dr. Beattie, whom he found a poet, a philosopher, and a good man¹. The Mareschal College at Aberdeen offered him the degree of Doctor of Laws, which, having omitted to take it at Cambridge, he thought it decent to refuse².

- 19 What he had formerly solicited in vain was at last given him without solicitation. The Professorship of History became again vacant, and he received (1768) an offer of it from the duke of Grafton³. He accepted, and retained it to his death; always designing lectures, but never reading them; uneasy at his neglect of duty, and appeasing his uneasiness with designs of reformation, and with a resolution which he believed himself to have made of resigning the office, if he found himself unable to discharge it⁴.
- 20 Ill health made another journey necessary⁵, and he visited (1769) Westmoreland and Cumberland. He that reads his epistolary narration⁶ wishes that to travel, and to tell his travels, had been more of his employment; but it is by studying at

¹ *Mitford*, iv. 62-5. 'JOHNSON. We all love Beattie. Mrs. Thrale says, if ever she has another husband, she'll have Beattie.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 148.

² In declining the honour he speaks of Cambridge in a tone different from his ordinary one—'a set of men among whom I have passed so many easy, and, I may say, happy hours of my life.' *Mitford*, iv. 63.

³ The Duke was Prime Minister. Gray wrote on Aug. 1, 1768, that 'on Sunday se'nnight Brocket died by a fall from his horse, being (as I hear) drunk. On the Wednesday following I received a letter from the D. of Grafton saying he had the King's commands to offer me the vacant Professorship.' *Ib.* iv. 123. On Oct. 31 he wrote:—'It is the best thing the Crown has to bestow (on a layman) here; the salary is £400 per ann.' *Ib.* p. 127. The drunken Brocket was in orders. *Gent. Mag.* 1768, p. 398. One of Gray's correspondents, Richard Stonehewer, was the Duke's Secretary. 'He is a great favourite of the Duke, and the person that recommended Mr. Gray.' WALPOLE, *Letters*, v. 117, 128. Gray, a year later, wrote an *Ode for Music*

for the Installation of the Duke as Chancellor of the University. *Mitford*, iv. 137. *Post*, GRAY, 48 n. 9.

⁴ This state of mind Johnson knew only too well. *Ante*, MALLET, 14 n.

Gray wrote to Nicholls on March 20, 1770:—'As to Wales, doubtless I should wish it this summer, but I can answer for nothing; my own employment so sticks in my stomach, and troubles my conscience.' *Mitford*, v. 104. On May 20, 1771 (a few weeks before his death), he wrote:—'The sense of my own duty, which I do not perform, my own low spirits (to which this consideration not a little contributes),' &c. *Ib.* p. 141. Nicholls replied:—'For God's sake how can you neglect a duty which never existed but in your own imagination? It never yet was performed, nor, I believe, expected.' *Ib.* For University Professors see Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 53.

⁵ In his last published letter he wrote:—'Travel I must or cease to exist.' *Mitford*, iv. 200. See also *ib.* p. 188.

⁶ *Ib.* iv. 139-78; *Mason*, ii. 255-92.

home that we must obtain the ability of travelling with intelligence and improvement¹.

His travels and his studies were now near their end. The gout, 21 of which he had sustained many weak attacks, fell upon his stomach², and, yielding to no medicines, produced strong convulsions, which (July 30, 1771) terminated in death³.

His character I am willing to adopt, as Mr. Mason has done, 22 from a letter written to my friend Mr. Boswell, by the Rev. Mr. Temple, rector of St. Gluvias in Cornwall⁴; and am as willing as his warmest well-wisher to believe it true.

'Perhaps he was the most learned man in Europe⁵. He was

¹ 'JOHNSON. As the Spanish proverb says, "He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him." So it is in travelling; a man must carry knowledge with him if he would bring home knowledge.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 302.

'They every scene with so much wit did store

That who brought any in went out with more.'

Epil. to The Rehearsal, ed. Arber, p. 136.

² In 1765 he wrote to Walpole, who was ill of the gout:—'The pain in your feet I can bear; but I shudder at the sickness in your stomach. . . . I conjure you, as you love yourself, I conjure you by Strawberry [Walpole's house] not to trifle with these edge-tools.' *Mitford*, iv. 68.

³ *ib.* pp. 204-7, 213. Mason (ii. 318) wrongly gives July 31 as the day of his death, as also *Ann. Reg.* 1771, i. 179. In both *Gent. Mag.* (1771, p. 378) and *Ann. Reg.* he is called 'Rev. Dr. Thomas Grey'—three errors in four words in describing one of the first poets of the time.

Walpole wrote on Sept. 9:—'One single paragraph is all that has been said on our friend; but when there are columns in every paper on Sir Francis Delaval [a wealthy baronet] ought we not to be glad?' *Letters*, v. 336.

⁴ *Mason*, ii. 321; *Mitford*, v. 164.

In the first edition the character is adopted 'from a nameless writer.' On Aug. 24, 1782, Johnson wrote to

Boswell:—'My *Lives* are reprinting, and I have forgotten the author of Gray's character; write immediately, and it may be perhaps yet inserted.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 153.

Temple was Vicar of St. Gluvias; his grandson was Archbishop of Canterbury 1896-1903. *ib.* i. 436 n. Some of Boswell's letters to him were published in 1857. In one of them (p. 185) Boswell recalls the time 'when you and I sat up all night at Cambridge and read Gray with a noble enthusiasm.' 'Mr. Mason,' he adds, 'concludes his *Life of Gray* with a character of him, which he says he has taken from *The London Magazine* [1772, p. 140]. He mentions it as by an anonymous writer. What is it, think you, but a character of Gray written by you to me in a letter soon after his death, which I copied out for the Magazine, of which I am a proprietor?' *ib.* p. 184. See also *ib.* p. 206.

For Gray's kindness to Temple see his correspondence with Nicholls. *Mitford*, v. 62, 69, 85, 110, 119, 133, 137.

⁵ For his learning see *Mason*, ii. 236; *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 73. 'When (writes Nicholls) I expressed my astonishment at the extent of his reading, he said:—"Why should you be surprised, for I do nothing else." He said he knew from experience how much might be done by a person who did not fling away his time on middling or inferior authors, and read with method.' *ib.* v. 42.

'Reading, he has often told me

equally acquainted with the elegant and profound parts of science, and that not superficially but thoroughly. He knew every branch of history, both natural¹ and civil; had read all the original historians of England, France, and Italy; and was a great antiquarian. Criticism, metaphysics, morals, politics made a principal part of his study; voyages and travels of all sorts were his favourite amusements; and he had a fine taste in painting, prints, architecture², and gardening. With such a fund of knowledge, his conversation must have been equally instructing and entertaining³; but he was also a good man, a man of virtue and humanity. There is no character without some speck, some imperfection; and I think the greatest defect in his was an affectation in delicacy⁴, or rather effeminacy, and a visible fastidiousness, or contempt and disdain of his inferiors in science⁵. He also had, in some degree, that weakness which disgusted Voltaire so much in Mr. Congreve⁶: though he seemed to value others chiefly according to the progress they had made in knowledge, yet he could not bear to be considered himself merely as a man of letters; and though without birth, or fortune, or station, his desire was to be looked upon as a private

(writes Mason), was much more agreeable to him than writing.' *Mason*, ii. 25.

¹ *Ib.* ii. 243. 'Gray said he learnt botany merely for the sake of sparing himself the trouble of thinking.' *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 119.

'He often vexed me,' wrote Walpole, 'by finding him heaping notes on an interleaved *Linnaeus* instead of pranking on his lyre.' *Letters*, ix. 343. *Prank* in this sense is not in Johnson's *Dict.*

² *Mason*, ii. 239. In 1765 he attacked 'the rage of repairing, beautifying, whitewashing, painting and gilding. . . . This well-meant fury has been, and will be, little less fatal to our ancient magnificent edifices than the Reformation and the Civil Wars.' *Mitford*, iv. 73.

Walpole, in *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 195, speaking of architecture, says:—'If some parts of this work are more accurate than my own ignorance or carelessness would have left them, the reader and I are obliged to Mr. Gray, who condescended to correct what he never could have descended to write.'

³ Walpole wrote in 1748:—'Gray is the worst company in the world,

From a melancholy turn, from living reclusely, and from a little too much dignity, he never converses easily; all his words are measured and chosen, and formed into sentences; his writings are admirable; he himself is not agreeable.' *Letters*, ii. 128. See also *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 64. Bonstetten said of him:—'Il avait de la gaieté dans l'esprit, et de la mélancolie dans le caractère.' *Ib.* v. 181.

⁴ 'I wish I could say,' writes Mr. Tovey, 'that Gray's mirth was always free from coarseness; but even his extant letters are sometimes marked by the bad taste of his time.' *Mitford* advised that some of his letters should be 'strictly preserved from inspection.' *Letters of Gray*, Preface, p. 22.

⁵ 'I have no relish,' he wrote, 'for any other fame than what is conferred by the few real judges that are so thinly scattered over the face of the earth.' *Mitford*, iv. 19.

'Gray says (very justly) that learning never should be encouraged; it only draws out fools from their obscurity.' WALPOLE, *Letters*, ii. 438.

⁶ *Ante*, CONGREVE, 31.

independent gentleman, who read for his amusement¹. Perhaps it may be said, What signifies so much knowledge, when it produced so little? Is it worth taking so much pains to leave no memorial but a few poems²? But let it be considered that Mr. Gray was, to others, at least innocently employed; to himself, certainly beneficially³. His time passed agreeably; he was every day making some new acquisition in science; his mind was enlarged, his heart softened, his virtue strengthened; the world and mankind were shewn to him without a mask; and he was taught to consider every thing as trifling, and unworthy of the attention of a wise man, except the pursuit of knowledge and practice of virtue, in that state wherein God hath placed us.'

To this character Mr. Mason has added a more particular²³ account of Gray's skill in zoology⁴. He has remarked that Gray's effeminacy was affected most 'before those whom he did not wish to please⁵'; and that he is unjustly charged with making knowledge his sole reason of preference, as he paid his esteem to none whom he did not likewise believe to be good⁶.

What has occurred to me, from the slight inspection of his²⁴ letters⁷ in which my undertaking has engaged me, is that

¹ 'A certain degree of pride led him to despise the idea of being thought an author professed.' *Mason*, ii. 236.

² 'I have no notion of poor Mr. Gray's delicacy. I would not sell my talents, as orators and senators do [his father had enriched him with sinecures. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 19 n.]; but I would keep a shop, and sell any of my own works that would gain me a livelihood, whether books or shoes, rather than be tempted to sell myself.' H. WALPOLE, *Letters*, v. 339.

³ Sainte-Beuve, after quoting Bonstetten's explanation of Gray's melancholy by his living 'enseveli dans une espèce de cloître,' continues:—'Je ne sais si le secret de la mélancolie de Gray était dans ce manque d'amour; je le chercherais plutôt dans la stérilité d'un talent poétique si distingué, si rare, mais si avare.' *Causeries*, xiv. 430.

⁴ 'I fancy Gray would have written and published more had his ideas been more copious, and his expression more easy to him.' E. FITZGERALD, *More Letters*, p. 216.

⁵ 'To find one's self business is the great art of life.' GRAY, *Mitford*, iii. 236. 'To be employed is to be happy.' *Letters*, i. 347.

⁶ *Mason*, ii. 321.

⁷ Wesley, after reading Mason's *Memoirs of Gray*, recorded on Dec. 4, 1776:—'He does not appear, upon the whole, to have been an amiable man. His picture, I apprehend, expresses his character; sharp, sensible, ingenious, but at the same time proud, morose, envious, passionate and resentful.' *Journal*, 1827, iv. 87.

According to the Rev. William Cole, 'in *Gil Blas* the print of Scipio in the arbour was so like the countenance of Mr. Gray that, if he sat for it, it could not be more so. It is in a 12mo edition printed at Amsterdam, 1735, vol. iv. p. 94.' *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 101. The edition in the Museum is of 1755; the vol. and page are the same.

⁸ *Mason*, ii. 323 n.

⁹ *Ante*, GRAY, 8 n. 6. 'I find more people like the grave letters than those of humour, and some think the latter a little affected, which is as

his mind had a large grasp ; that his curiosity was unlimited, and his judgement cultivated ; that he was a man likely to love much where he loved at all ¹, but that he was fastidious and hard to please ². His contempt, however, is often employed, where I hope it will be approved, upon scepticism and infidelity ³. His short account of Shaftesbury I will insert ⁴.

'You say you cannot conceive how lord Shaftesbury came to be a philosopher in vogue ; I will tell you: first, he was a lord ; secondly, he was as vain as any of his readers ; thirdly, men are very prone to believe what they do not understand ; fourthly, they will believe any thing at all, provided they are under no obligation to believe it ; fifthly, they love to take a new road, even when that road leads no where ; sixthly, he was reckoned a fine writer, and seems [seemed] always to mean more than he said. Would you have any more reasons ? An interval of above forty years has pretty well destroyed the charm. A dead lord ranks [but] with commoners ⁵: vanity is no longer interested in the matter ; for a new road is [has] become an old one.'

wrong a judgment as they could make ; for Gray never wrote anything easily but things of humour. Humour was his natural and original turn.' WALPOLE, *Letters*, vi. 206.

'I once thought Swift's letters the best that could be written ; but I like Gray's better.' COWPER, *Works*, xv. 38.

'Were it not for Gray's *Letters*, which are full of warm exuberant power, we might almost doubt whether Gray was a man of genius ; nay, was a living man at all.' CARLYLE, *Goethe, Misc.* (n. d.) i. 185.

'Mark Pattison,' writes Mr. Morley (*Crit. Misc.* 1886, iii. 162), 'used to contend that in many respects the most admirable literary figure of the eighteenth century was the poet Gray. Gray, he would say, never thought that devotion to letters meant the making of books. He gave himself up for the most part to ceaseless observation and acquisition.'

'Jamais, disait-il [Bonstetten], je n'ai vu personne qui donnât autant que Gray l'idée d'un gentleman accompli.' *Causeries du Lundi*, xiv. 429.

¹ See his letters to Bonstetten, *Mitford*, iv. 178, 185, 187.

² 'It was rather an affectation in delicacy and effeminacy than the

things themselves, and he chose to put on this appearance chiefly before persons whom he did not wish to please.' *Mason*, ii. 322 n.

³ Gray, in answer to a letter from Walpole, says of the French:—'I rejoice at their dulness and their nastiness. . . . Their atheism is a little too much, too shocking to rejoice at. I have been long sick at it in their authors, and hated them for it ; but I pity their poor innocent people of fashion. They were bad enough when they believed everything.' *Mitford*, iv. 69. See also *ib.* p. 190.

He shows a liberal spirit in criticizing one of Middleton's unpublished works. 'The rest [of it],' he writes, 'is employed in exposing the folly and cruelty of stiffness and zealotism in religion.' *Id.* iii. 85.

⁴ *Id.* iii. 196.

⁵ *Ante*, HALIFAX, 15 ; SHEFFIELD, 22 ; GRANVILLE, 25. Pattison, after mentioning how 'the inferior fry of Deistical writers' were attacked, continues:—'The only exception to this is the case of Shaftesbury, to whom, as well after his death as in his lifetime, his privileges as a peer seem to have secured immunity from hangman's usage. He is simply "a late noble author."' *Essays*, ii. 99.

Mr. Mason has added from his own knowledge that though 25 Gray was poor, he was not eager of money, and that out of the little that he had, he was very willing to help the necessitous¹.

As a writer he had this peculiarity, that he did not write his 26 pieces first rudely, and then correct them, but laboured every line as it arose in the train of composition², and he had a notion not very peculiar, that he could not write but at certain times, or at happy moments; a fantastick foppery³, to which my kindness for a man of learning and of virtue wishes him to have been superior⁴.

GRAY'S poetry is now to be considered, and I hope not to 27 be looked on as an enemy to his name if I confess that I contemplate it with less pleasure than his life.

¹ *Mason*, ii. 235. On the death of his aunt and mother he was no longer poor; his professorship made him still easier. He left about £6,000. He had, it was said, purchased an annuity. *Mitford*, iv. 213. He would accept no money for a reprint of his poems. *Ib.* pp. 91, 104.

'I always maintained,' he wrote in 1753, 'that nobody has occasion for pride but the poor; and that everywhere else it is a sign of folly.' *Ib.* iii. 112. In 1769 he wrote:—'Remember that "Honestas res est laeta paupertas."' [SENECA, *Epis.* ii. 5.] I see it with respect, and so will every one whose poverty is not seated in their mind. There is but one real evil in it, . . . that you have less the power of assisting others, who have not the same resources to support them.' *Mitford*, iv. 132.

He bought lottery tickets and won a £20 prize. *Ib.* iii. 194, iv. 134.

² *Ante*, POPE, 299; *Mason*, ii. 103. 'Mason, Gray said, never gave himself time to think, but imagined that he should do best by writing hastily in the first fervour of his imagination, and therefore never waited for epithets if they did not occur readily, but left spaces for them, and put them in afterwards. This, Mr. Gray said, enervated his poetry, "for nothing is done so well as at the first concoction."

He said, "We think in words." ' *Mitford*, v. 39.

³ Johnson defines *foppery* as 'affectation of show or importance; showy folly.'

⁴ *Ante*, MILTON, 118.

In *Education and Government* he mocks this weakness in a passage that begins (l. 72):—

'Unmanly thought! what seasons can control,

What fancied zone can circumscribe the soul?'

'Sir Joshua used to work at all times, whether he was in the humour or not.' Northcote's *Conversations*, p. 311. But then, as Johnson said of him:—'Sir Joshua is the same all the year round.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 5.

'Macaulay,' wrote Prescott, 'tells me he has his moods for writing. When not in the vein he does not press it. Johnson, you remember, ridiculed this in Gray.' TICKNOR'S *Prescott*, 1864, p. 294.

'Nothing,' wrote Jowett, 'seems to me more uncertain than composition. One month a good harvest is reaped, the next all barren. In these fits and starts, with much pain and melancholy I calculate that I accomplish somewhat less than half of what I always intend.' *Life*, i. 284. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 203, 332.

- 28 His *Ode on Spring*¹ has something poetical, both in the language and the thought; but the language is too luxuriant, and the thoughts have nothing new. There has of late arisen a practice of giving to adjectives, derived from substantives, the termination of participles, such as the *cultured* plain, the *daisied* bank; but I was sorry to see, in the lines of a scholar like Gray, 'the *honied* Spring².' The morality is natural, but too stale; the conclusion is pretty.
- 29 The poem on the Cat³ was doubtless by its author considered as a trifle, but it is not a happy trifle. In the first stanza 'the azure flowers that blow' shew resolutely a rhyme is sometimes made when it cannot easily be found⁴. Selima, the Cat, is called a nymph, with some violence both to language and sense; but there is good use made of it when it is done; for of the two lines,

'What female heart can gold despise?
What 'cat's averse to fish?'

the first relates merely to the nymph, and the second only to the cat. The sixth stanza contains a melancholy truth, that 'a favourite⁵ has no friend,' but the last ends in a pointed sentence of no relation to the purpose; if what glistened had been 'gold,' the cat would not have gone into the water; and, if she had, would not less have been drowned.

- 30 The *Prospect of Eton College* suggests nothing to Gray which every beholder does not equally think and feel⁶. His supplica-

¹ *Ante*, GRAY, 6.

² 'The insect youth are on the wing,
Eager to taste the honied spring.'

On the Spring, l. 25.

Shenstone has 'our cultur'd vales,' *Elegies*, xxv, and Goldsmith 'cultur'd walks,' *Traveller*, l. 236. Shakespeare has 'the prettiest daisied plot,' *Cymbeline*, iv. 2. 398, and 'Gay 'entangled shades and daisy'd lawns,' *Dione*, i. 4. 4. Shakespeare has 'honied sentences,' *Henry V*, i. 1. 50, and Milton 'honied showers,' *Lycidas*, l. 140.

For Lord Grenville's criticism of Johnson's position see *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 17.

'I regret to see that vile and barbarous vocable *talented* stealing out of the newspapers into the leading

reviews. Why not *shillinged*, *farthinged*, *tenpenced*, &c.? The formation of a participle passive from a noun is a licence that nothing but a very peculiar felicity can excuse.' COLERIDGE, *Table Talk*, 1884, p. 167.

³ *Ante*, GRAY, 9.

⁴ Coleridge, quoting (not quite correctly) *The Bard*, ll. 71-6, says:—'The words "realm" and "sway" are rhymes dearly purchased.' *Biog. Lit.* i. 19.

⁵ For Johnson's definition of *favourite* see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 295 n.

⁶ 'The view from the Terrace [of Windsor Castle] is the noblest I know of, taking it with all its associations together. Gray's *Ode* rises up into the mind as one looks around—does

tion to father Thames', to tell him who drives the hoop or tosses the ball, is useless and puerile. Father Thames has no better means of knowing than himself². His epithet 'buxom health' is not elegant; he seems not to understand the word³. Gray thought his language more poetical as it was more remote from common use⁴: finding in Dryden 'honey redolent of Spring'⁵, an expression that reaches the utmost limits of our language, Gray drove it a little more beyond common apprehension, by making 'gales' to be 'redolent of joy and youth.'

Of the *Ode on Adversity*⁶ the hint was at first taken from 31 'O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium'⁷; but Gray has excelled his original by the variety of his sentiments and by their moral

it not?—a sure proof that, however people may condemn certain conceits and expressions in the poem, the spirit of it is genuine.

"Ye distant spires, ye antique towers"—

very large and noble, like the air that breathes upon one as one looks down along the view.' E. FITZGERALD, *Letters*, i. 63.

¹ 'Say, Father Thames,' is found in Matthew Green's *Grotto*, privately printed in 1732. It was inserted in Dodsley's *Coll.* 1758, v. 159. Gray wrote of this poem to Walpole in 1748:—'The thought on which my second Ode [*Spring*] turns is manifestly stolen from hence; not that I knew it at the time, but having seen this many years before, to be sure it imprinted itself on my memory, and, forgetting the author, I took it for my own.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 188.

² Johnson makes the Princess in *Rasselas*, ch. 25, supplicate the Nile. 'Answer, great Father of Waters, thou that rollest thy floods through eighty nations. . . . Tell me if thou waterest, through all thy course, a single habitation from which thou dost not hear the murmurs of complaint.' There is a dignity in Johnson's supplication that is wanting in Gray's.

³ Johnson defines *buxom* as '1. obedient, obsequious; 2. gay, lively, brisk; 3. wanton, jolly.'

⁴ 'The language of the age,' Gray wrote, 'is never the language of

poetry; except among the French, whose verse, where the thought or image does not support it, differs in nothing from prose. Gray's *Letters*, i. 97. [See Appendix AA n. 1, p. 444.]

⁵ Gray was at the head of those who, by their reasonings, have attempted to widen the space of separation betwixt prose and metrical composition.' WORDSWORTH, *Works*, vi. 331. See also Coleridge's *Biog. Lit.* 1847, i. 19.

⁶ 'While kine to pails distended udders bring,
And bees their honey, redolent of spring.'

DRYDEN, *Works*, xii. 227.

Gray refers to this passage in a note. *Mason*, i. 72. 'Redolent of youth' is found in one of Mrs. Manley's works (1716). *Mitford*, i. 11 n.

Beattie records that Gray told him, 'that if there was in his own numbers any thing that deserved approbation, he had learned it all from Dryden.' Beattie's *Essays*, p. 17. In a postscript to a letter to Beattie Gray wrote:—'Remember Dryden, and be blind to all his faults.' *Mitford*, iv. 65.

⁷ 'He could not patiently hear him criticised,' writes Nicholls. *Ib.* v. 35.

'He congratulated himself on not having a good verbal memory; for without it, he said, he had imitated too much.' *Ib.* p. 42.

⁸ *Ante*, GRAY, 6.

⁹ HORACE, *Odes*, i. 35. The motto is from Aeschylus, *Agam.* l. 181. See also *Mitford*, i. 17 n.

application. Of this piece, at once poetical and rational, I will not by slight objections violate the dignity.

- 32 My process has now brought me to the 'Wonderful Wonder of Wonders', the two Sister Odes²; by which, though either vulgar ignorance or common sense at first universally rejected them, many have been since persuaded to think themselves delighted³. I am one of those that are willing to be pleased, and therefore would gladly find the meaning of the first stanza of *The Progress of Poetry*⁴.
- 33 Gray seems in his rapture to confound the images of 'spreading sound' and 'running water.' A 'stream of musick' may be allowed⁵; but where does Musick, however 'smooth and strong,' after having visited the 'verdant vales,' 'rowl down the steep amain,' so as that 'rocks and nodding groves rebellow to the roar'? If this be said of Musick, it is nonsense; if it be said of Water, it is nothing to the purpose.
- 34 The second stanza, exhibiting Mars's car and Jove's eagle, is unworthy of further notice. Criticism disdains to chase a school-boy to his common-places⁶.
- 35 To the third it may likewise be objected that it is drawn from Mythology, though such as may be more easily assimilated to real life. 'Idalia's velvet-green'⁷ has something of cant⁸. An

¹ [This is clearly a familiar phrase: cf. Wright's *Caricature History of the Georges*, p. 595, in reference to 'Mr. Bull's Menagerie' (1803). Earlier instances might be quoted.]

² *Ante*, GRAY, 14.

³ Gray, in 1752, described *The Progress of Poesy* as 'a high Pindaric upon stilts, which one must be a better scholar than Dodsley is to understand a line of, and the very best scholars will understand but a little matter here and there.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 219.

Soon after the publication of the two Odes Walpole wrote:—'They [the age] have cast their eyes over them, found them obscure, and looked no further. . . . I do not think that they ever admired Mr. Gray except in his *Churchyard*.' Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 96, 98.

⁴ *The Progress of Poesy*.

⁵ 'Mrs. Montagu,' said Johnson, 'has a constant stream of conversa-

tion.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 275.

⁶ *Ante*, PRIOR, 59; POPE, 326. 'The second strophe of the first Ode is inexcusable; . . . even when one does understand it, perhaps the last line is too turgid.' WALPOLE, *Letters*, iii. 97.

⁷ To make Prince Eugene a favourite of Mars, or to carry on a correspondence between Bellona and the Marshal de Villars, would be downright puerility, and unpardonable in a poet that is past sixteen.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 523.

⁸ 'She rears her flowers and spreads her velvet-green.'

YOUNG, *Sat.* v. 230.

⁹ For Johnson's definition of *cant* see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 221 n.

Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 421, speaking of the comparisons of different classes of writers, says:—'Your men of business are for leading the reader from shop to shop, in the cant of particular trades and employments.'

epithet or metaphor drawn from Nature ennobles Art; an epithet or metaphor drawn from Art degrades Nature. Gray is too fond of words arbitrarily compounded¹. 'Many-twinkling' was formerly censured as not analogical²; we may say *many-spotted*, but scarcely *many-spotting*. This stanza, however, has something pleasing.

Of the second ternary of stanzas the first endeavours to tell 36 something, and would have told it had it not been crossed by Hyperion; the second describes well enough the universal prevalence of poetry, but I am afraid that the conclusion will not rise from the premises. The caverns of the North and the plains of Chili are not the residences of 'Glory' and 'generous Shame.' But that Poetry and Virtue go always together is an opinion so pleasing that I can forgive him who resolves to think it true.

The third stanza sounds big with Delphi, and Egean, and 37 Ilissus, and Meander, and 'hallowed fountain' and 'solemn sound'; but in all Gray's odes there is a kind of cumbrous splendour which we wish away. His position is at last false: in the time of Dante and Petrarch, from whom he derives our first school of poetry³, Italy was overrun by 'tyrant power' and 'coward vice'; nor was our state much better when we first borrowed the Italian arts.

Of the third ternary the first gives a mythological birth of 38 Shakespeare. What is said of that mighty genius is true; but it is not said happily: the real effects of this poetical power are put out of sight by the pomp of machinery⁴. Where truth is

¹ Goldsmith says of 'Gray, Aken-side, and other modern writers':— 'Their compounded epithets... seem evidently borrowed from Spenser.' *Works*, iv. 203.

² In the *Comus* and other early poems of Milton there is a superfluity of double epithets; while in the *Paradise Lost* we find very few, in the *Paradise Regained* scarce any. The same remark holds almost equally true of the *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, compared with the *Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *Hamlet* of our great dramatist. COLERIDGE, *Biog. Lit.* i. 3. For Coleridge's coinage of *myriad-minded* see *ib.* ii. 16.

³ 'To brisk notes in cadence beating,

Glance their many-twinkling feet.'

The Progress of Poesy, ll. 34, 35. Perhaps it had been censured when used by Thomson:—

'The many-twinkling leaves
Of aspen tall.' *Spring*, l. 157.

Lyttelton had objected to Gray's use of it. Walpole wrote to him:— 'In answer to your objection I will quote authority to which you will yield. As Greek as the expression is, it struck Mrs. Garrick; and she says that Mr. Gray is the only poet who ever understood dancing.' Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 97. Walpole described her in her youth as 'the finest dancer in the world.' *ib.* ii. 48.

⁴ Johnson refers to ll. 79–82.

⁵ *Ante*, MILTON, 222.

sufficient to fill the mind, fiction is worse than useless; the counterfeit debases the genuine¹.

- 39 His account of Milton's blindness, if we suppose it caused by study in the formation of his poem, a supposition surely allowable, is poetically true, and happily imagined². But the 'car' of Dryden, with his 'two coursers,' has nothing in it peculiar³; it is a car in which any other rider may be placed.

- 40 *The Bard*⁴ appears at the first view to be, as Algarotti⁵ and others have remarked, an imitation of the prophecy of Nereus⁶. Algarotti thinks it superior to its original⁷, and, if preference depends only on the imagery and animation of the two poems, his judgement is right. There is in *The Bard* more force, more thought, and more variety. But to copy is less than to invent, and the copy has been unhappily produced at a wrong time. The fiction of Horace was to the Romans credible; but its revival disgusts us with apparent and unconquerable falsehood. 'Incredulus odi'⁸.

- 41 To select a singular event, and swell it to a giant's bulk by fabulous appendages of spectres and predictions, has little difficulty, for he that forsakes the probable may always find the marvellous. And it has little use: we are affected only as we believe; we are improved only as we find something to be imitated or declined. I do not see that *The Bard* promotes any truth, moral or political⁹.

- 42 His stanzas are too long, especially his epodes; the ode is finished

¹ 'A lady of quality,' wrote Gray, 'who is a great reader, never suspected there was anything said about Shakespeare or Milton, till it was explained to her.' *Mitford*, iii. 166; *Gray's Letters*, i. 346.

² For Milton's blindness see *ante*, MILTON, 68 n. 2.

³ Voltaire made Dryden drive 'a coach and six stately horses.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 5.

⁴ For 'a bit of the prophecy, very rough and unpolished,' sent by Gray to Wharton on Aug. 21, 1755, see *Gray's Letters*, i. 272. See also *ib.* p. 339.

⁵ *Ante*, MILTON, 230 n. 4; *Mitford*, iv. 6, 8, 98.

⁶ HORACE, *Odes*, i. 15. Gray wrote on Oct. 7, 1757:—'The Review I have read, and admire it, particularly

that observation that *The Bard* is taken from *Pastor quum traheret*, and the advice to be more an original.' *Gray's Letters*, i. 367.

⁷ *Mason*, i. 84. He does not say that Gray imitated Horace.

⁸ HORACE, *Ars Poet.* l. 188. Boswell says of Johnson:—'I never knew any person who, upon hearing an extraordinary circumstance told, discovered more of the *incredulus odi*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 229.

⁹ *Ante*, DRYDEN, 380. 'The tendency of *The Bard*,' writes Mitford, 'is to show the retributive justice that follows an act of tyranny and wickedness. . . . The vanquished has risen superior to his conqueror, and the reader closes the poem with feelings of content.' *Mitford*, ii. Preface, p. 63.

before the ear has learned its measures, and consequently before it can receive pleasure from their consonance and recurrence ¹.

Of the first stanza the abrupt beginning has been celebrated ²; 43 but technical beauties can give praise only to the inventor. It is in the power of any man to rush abruptly upon his subject, that has read the ballad of *Johnny Armstrong*,

'Is there ever a man in all Scotland—' ³

The initial resemblances, or alliterations, 'ruin,' 'ruthless,' 44 'helm nor hauberk,' are below the grandeur of a poem that endeavours at sublimity ⁴.

In the second stanza the Bard is well described; but in the 45 third we have the puerilities of obsolete mythology ⁵. When we are told that Cadwallo 'hush'd the stormy main ⁶,' and that Modred 'made huge Plinlimmon bow his cloud-top'd head,' attention recoils from the repetition of a tale that, even when it was first heard, was heard with scorn.

The 'weaving' of the 'winding sheet' he borrowed, as he 46 owns, from the northern Bards ⁷; but their texture, however, was very properly the work of female powers, as the art of spinning the thread of life in another mythology. Theft is always dangerous; Gray has made weavers of his slaughtered bards by a fiction outrageous and incongruous. They are then called upon to 'Weave the warp, and weave the woof,' perhaps with no great propriety ⁸; for it is by crossing the woof with the warp

¹ *Ante*, AKENSIDE, 23. Gray wrote to Wharton in 1755:—'I am not quite of your opinion with regard to strophe and antistrophe; setting aside the difficulties, methinks it has little or no effect upon the ear, which scarce perceives the regular return of metres at so great a distance from one another. To make it succeed I am persuaded the stanzas must not consist of above nine lines each, at the most.' *Letters*, i. 261. In *The Bard* the strophe and antistrophe (the first and second stanzas of every ternary) consist of fourteen lines, and the epode (the third stanza) of twenty.

'Mr. Gray,' writes Walpole, 'had shackled himself with strophe, antistrophe, and epode (yet acquitting himself nobly).' *Letters*, iii. 97.

² *Mason*, i. 96.

³ Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 403.

⁴ Cowper wrote in 1777:—'I have been reading Gray's *Works*, and think him the only poet since Shakespeare entitled to the character of sublime.' *Letters*, xv. 38.

Adam Smith described Gray as one 'who joins to the sublimity of Milton the elegance and harmony of Pope, and to whom nothing is wanting to render him perhaps the first poet in the English language but to have written a little more.' *Moral Sentiments*, 1801, i. 255.

⁵ *Ante*, BUTLER, 41.

⁶ 'Cold is Cadwallo's tongue,
That hush'd the stormy main.'

The Bard, l. 29.

⁷ *Mason*, i. 40.

⁸ The same remark had been made

that men weave the web or piece; and the first line was dearly bought by the admission of its wretched correspondent, 'Give ample room and verge enough'.¹ He has, however, no other line as bad.

- 47 The third stanza of the second ternary is commended, I think, beyond its merit². The personification is indistinct. Thirst and Hunger are not alike³, and their features, to make the imagery perfect, should have been discriminated. We are told, in the same stanza, how 'towers' are 'fed.' But I will no longer look for particular faults; yet let it be observed that the ode might have been concluded with an action of better example⁴: but suicide is always to be had without expence of thought⁵.

- 48 These odes are marked by glittering accumulations of ungraceful ornaments⁶: they strike, rather than please; the images are magnified by affectation; the language is laboured into harshness. The mind of the writer seems to work with unnatural violence. 'Double, double, toil and trouble'.⁷ He has a kind of strutting dignity, and is tall by walking on tiptoe⁸. His art and his struggle are too visible, and there is too little appearance of ease and nature⁹.

in *The Critical Review*, iv. 167, quoted in *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 38.

Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, gives almost the same definition of each word—'*Warp*. That order of thread in a thing woven that crosses the woof.' '*Woof*. The set of threads that crosses the warp.'

Landor, quoting 'The thread is spun,' continues:—'The thread must have been spun before they began weaving.' *Imag. Conver.* iii. 383.

² Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 327.

³ 'The manner of Richard's death by Famine exhibits such beauties of personification as only the richest and most vivid imagination could supply.' *Mason*, i. 99.

⁴ 'Fell Thirst and Famine scowl

A baleful smile upon their baffled guest.'

The Bard, l. 81.

'Thirst and hunger mocking Richard II appear to me too ludicrously like the devils ['the strange Shapes'] in *The Tempest*, that whisk away the banquet from the shipwrecked Dukes.' WALPOLE, *Letters*, iii. 98.

⁵ 'The last stanza has no beauties

for me.' *Ib.*

⁶ *Ante*, YOUNG, 162.

⁷ 'Gray,' said Johnson, 'was the very Torrè of poetry. He played his coruscations so speciously that his steel-dust is mistaken by many for a shower of gold.' Torrè let off fireworks. *John. Misc.* ii. 321.

⁸ Talking of Gray's Odes, Johnson said:—"They are forced plants raised in a hot-bed; and they are poor plants; they are but cucumbers after all." Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 13.

⁹ *Macbeth*, iv. i. 10.

'Whatever Prior obtains above mediocrity seems the effort of struggle and of toil.' *Ante*, PRIOR, 72.

¹⁰ 'We meet with a similar thought in Quintilian (ii. 3):—"Prima est eloquentiae virtus perspicuitas; et quo quisque ingenio minus valet, hoc se magis attollere et dilatare conatur; ut statura breves in digitos eriguntur, et plura infirmi minantur." PARR, *Works*, iv. 324.

¹¹ 'I think there is something very majestic in Gray's *Installation Ode* [*Ode for Music*]; but as to *The Bard*

To say that he has no beauties would be unjust: a man like 49 him, of great learning and great industry, could not but produce something valuable. When he pleases least, it can only be said that a good design was ill directed.

His translations of Northern and Welsh Poetry deserve praise: 50 the imagery is preserved, perhaps often improved; but the language is unlike the language of other poets¹.

In the character of his *Elegy* I rejoice to concur with the 51 common reader; for by the common sense of readers uncorrupted with literary prejudices, after all the refinements of subtilty and the dogmatism of learning, must be finally decided all claim to poetical honours². The *Church-yard* abounds with images which find a mirrour in every mind³, and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo⁴. The four stanzas beginning 'Yet

and the rest of his lyrics, I must say I think them frigid and artificial.' COLERIDGE, *Table Talk*, 1884, p. 264.

'Gray was a singular instance of a man of taste, poetic feeling and fancy without imagination.' *Ib.* p. 275.

'Gray's *Pindaric Odes* are stately and pedantic, a kind of methodical borrowed frenzy.' HAZLITT, *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1819, p. 234.

'He failed as a poet, not because he took too much pains, and so extinguished his animation, but because he had very little of that fiery quality to begin with, and his pains were of the wrong sort. He wrote English verses as his brother Eton school-boys wrote Latin, filching a phrase now from one author and now from another. I do not profess to be a person of very various reading; nevertheless, if I were to pluck out of Gray's tail all the feathers which I know belong to other birds, he would be left very bare indeed.' WORDSWORTH, R. P. Gillies's *Memoirs*, 1851, ii. 165.

Carlyle, writing of Goethe, describes Gray's poetry as 'a laborious mosaic, through the hard stiff lineaments of which little life or true grace could be expected to look.' *Misc.* (n.d.), i. 185.

¹ Walpole wrote in 1761:—'Gray has translated two noble incantations from the Lord knows who, a Danish Gray, who lived the Lord knows when.' *Letters*, iii. 399. See

also *ib.* v. 91.

² 'About things on which the public thinks long it commonly attains to think right.' *Ante*, ADDISON, 136; see also *ante*, POPE, 280.

³ 'This is a very fine poem, but overloaded with epithet. . . . The latter part is pathetic and interesting.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 436. See Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 404 n., for Goldsmith 'mending the *Elegy* by leaving out an idle word in every line,' and *ante*, PARNELL, 10.

⁴ Coleridge (in his *Literary Life*) says that his friend Mr. Wordsworth had undertaken to show that the language of the *Elegy* is unintelligible: it has however been understood.' HAZLITT, *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1819, p. 234.

Professor Robison told how 'he was on the boat in which Wolfe went to visit some of his posts, the night before the battle [at Quebec]. As they rowed along, the General, with much feeling, repeated nearly the whole of the *Elegy* to an officer who sat with him in the stern, adding that "he would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow."' John Playfair's *Works*, 1822, iv. 126.

³ 'JOHNSON. His *Elegy* has a happy selection of images, but I don't like what are called his great things.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 403.

⁴ See Appendix AA.

even these bones' are to me original: I have never seen the notions in any other place; yet he that reads them here persuades himself that he has always felt them. Had Gray written often thus it had been vain to blame, and useless to praise him.

APPENDIX U (PAGE 424)

Of Mason's book Walpole wrote:—'I prefer it to all the biography I ever saw. . . . Never was a book which people pretended to expect so much with impatience less devoured—at least in London.' *Letters*, vi. 199.

It is in the May list of books in *Gent. Mag.* 1775, p. 244—1 vol. 4to, price 15s. Eighty copies—all the booksellers had—were at once sold in Cambridge. *Mitford*, iv. 221. Boswell wrote on May 10:—'The second edition is come out.' *Letters to Temple*, p. 192. On July 31 not half of it was sold. Walpole's *Letters*, vi. 231 n. The third edition appeared in 1807. The work included the poems (many previously unpublished) as well as the letters of Gray.

Mason, writes *Mitford*, 'altered, abridged and transposed the materials according to his own judgement; so that there is scarcely one genuine letter by Gray in the whole of Mason's volume.' *Mitford*, v. Preface, p. 8. Sending Walpole two letters by Gray in French, he wrote:—'I fancy, if they are not accurate, a few corrections of your pen would make them so; or, perhaps, if one letter was made out of them both, that would be a sufficient specimen of his excellence with respect to writing in a foreign language.' Walpole's *Letters*, v. 479.

Johnson said of the book:—'I forced myself to read it, only because it was a common topic of conversation. I found it mighty dull; and, as to the style, it is fit for the second table.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 31. See also *ib.* i. 29, ii. 164; *John. Letters*, i. 317; Walpole's *Letters*, viii. 3.

'Notwithstanding the extraordinary merits of Gray's matter, he has the double stiffness of an imitator and of a college recluse.' MACKINTOSH, *Life*, ii. 221.

APPENDIX X (PAGE 425)

GRAY, 51. On June 12, 1750, Gray sent it to Walpole, by whom 'it was shewn about in manuscript.' Copies must have been taken against the author's will. 'The stanzas,' he wrote, 'were never meant to be made still more public.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 204, 221; *Mason*, ii. 74. On Feb. 11, 1750-1, he wrote to Walpole that the editors of *The Magazine of Magazines* were printing it under the title of *Reflections in a Country Churchyard*. He continued:—'I am obliged to desire you would make Dodsley print it immediately. The title must be—*Elegy, written in a Country Churchyard*.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 208. According to Mason the original title was *Stanzas written, &c.* 'I persuaded Gray,' he writes, 'to call it an Elegy.' *Mason*, i. 120. For *elegy* see *ante*, HAMMOND, 8.

It was printed for R. Dodsley and sold by M. Cooper. The editor [Walpole] writes:—‘It came into my hands by accident.’ The poem is not printed in quatrains, but continuously. The first line of each quatrain is indented. [Horace Walpole’s statement of course is not true.]

In *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1751, p. 95, under the heading of ‘Poetry, Plays and Entertainment,’ are the following entries:—

‘17. *The modern fine lady.* 6d. Dodsley. We have not had an opportunity to read this poem, but have heard a very great character of it.

‘18. *An elegy wrote in a Country Churchyard.* 6d. Cooper.’

There is no further mention of the *Elegy*.

On Ash-Wednesday (1751) Gray wrote:—‘Nurse Dodsley has given it a pinch or two in the cradle, that (I doubt) it will bear the marks of as long as it lives.’ *Letters*, i. 209. On March 3 he wrote:—‘I do not expect any more editions, as I have appeared in more magazines than one.’ *Ib.* p. 211. For the ‘pinches’ see *ib.*

‘It appeared in *The Magazine of Magazines* for Feb. 1751, p. 160; *The London Magazine* for March, and *The Grand Magazine of Magazines* for April; also in two portions in *The True Briton*, March 6, and April 17. *N. & Q.* 5 S. viii. 212. See also *ib.* 5 S. vii. 142, 469; 6 S. iv. 16. Magazines usually appeared at the end of the month.

APPENDIX Y (PAGE 425)

Bentley was the son of the great scholar. His cousin, Richard Cumberland, calls him (*Memoirs*, 1807, i. 23) ‘the humble designer of drawings to ornament a thin folio of a meagre collection of odes by Gray, the most costive of poets, edited at the Walpolian press.’

Walpole wrote on June 13, 1751:—‘Mr. Bentley is drawing vignettes for Gray’s Odes; what a valuable MS. I shall have!’ *Letters*, ii. 257. On Aug. 28, 1752, he wrote:—‘The Poemata-Grayo-Bentleiana, or Gray’s Odes, are in great forwardness.’ *Ib.* p. 307. In *Short Notes of my Life* he says of the book:—‘I published it.’ *Ib.* Preface, p. 67. It was not printed by him.

Gray wrote to Dodsley:—‘I desire it may be understood (which is the truth) that the verses are only explanatory to the drawings, and suffered by me to come out thus only for that reason.’ He wished the title to be *Designs by Mr. R. Bentley for six poems of Mr. T. Gray.* *Letters*, i. 230. Walpole objected to it, and it was not pressed. Walpole’s *Letters*, ii. 322. In *Gent. Mag.* March, 1753, p. 150, is ‘*Poems by Mr. Gray; with designs by Mr. Bentley*, 4to. 10s. 6d. Dodsley.’ There is no review of the book. At the Fraser Library Sale in 1901 ‘*Designs by R. Bentley for Six Poems by Gray*, the poet’s own copy, containing MS. *Ode to Poesy*, extra stanza to *The Elegy*, &c., sold for £400.’ *The Athenaeum*, May 4, 1901, p. 567.

For Gray’s *Stanzas to Mr. Bentley* see *Mitford*, i. 153.

APPENDIX Z (PAGE 426)

Ante, DRYDEN, 26 ; SAVAGE, 172 n 2. It was offered Gray through Mason, by the Duke of Devonshire, who, as Lord Chamberlain, had the appointment. *Mason*, ii. 135. Gray wrote to Mason on Dec. 19, 1757 :—"Though I very well know the bland, emollient, saponaceous qualities both of sack and silver, yet, if any great man would say to me, "I make you rat-catcher to his Majesty, with a salary of £300 a year, and two butts of the best Malaga ; and, though it has been usual to catch a mouse or two, for form's sake, in public once a year, yet to you, Sir, we shall not stand upon these things," I cannot say I should jump at it ; nay, if they would drop the very name of the office, and call me Sinecure to the King's Majesty, I should still feel a little awkward, and think everybody I saw smelt a rat about me.' He concludes :—"There are poets little enough to envy even a poet-laureate." *Gray's Letters*, i. 372. Mason converted this passage into the following :—"I hope you couched my refusal to Lord John Cavendish in as respectful terms as possible, and with all due acknowledgment to the Duke." *Mason*, ii. 135.

Cibber died on Dec. 11, 1757. William Whitehead succeeded him the same month. *Gent. Mag.* 1757, pp. 578-9. 'Cibber's familiar style,' said Johnson, 'was better than that which Whitehead has assumed. *Grand nonsense is insupportable.*' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 402.

APPENDIX AA (PAGES 435, 441)

'Johnson attacked Gray, calling him "a dull fellow." BOSWELL. "I understand he was reserved, and might appear dull in company ; but surely he was not dull in poetry." JOHNSON. "Sir, he was dull in company, dull in his closet, dull every where. He was dull in a new way, and that made many people think him GREAT. He was a mechanical poet. . . . No, Sir, there are but two good stanzas in Gray's poetry, which are in his *Elegy*." He then repeated the stanza "For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey," &c. . . . He added, "The other stanza I forget." Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 327. Johnson, in the fourth edition of his *Dictionary*, quotes the last line of the *Elegy* under *bosom*. For his parody of the poem ' see *John. Misc.* i. 191, and for a parody of his criticism see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 392 ; *John. Letters*, ii. 315.

Gray, in 1748, wrote of Johnson's two poems in Dodsley's *Coll.* i. 101, iii. 150 :—"London is to me one of those few imitations that have

¹ [Johnson's two versions of a chorus in the *Medea* (ll. 193-206)—the one a serious attempt to render the passage according to his conception of versification, the other a parody on Gray's style, as he conceived it—afford an illustration, as Mr. Tovey points out [*Gray's Poems*, Pitt Press, 1894, Introd. pp. 12-15], of the difference between Johnson's verse, which approaches closely to the prose of his age, and Gray's style re-creating, as it were, a distinct poetic diction. See also *John. Misc.* i. 191.]

all the ease and all the spirit of an original. The same man's verses on the opening of Garrick's theatre are far from bad.' *Letters*, i. 183.

For Gray's exclaiming, when he saw 'Johnson's large uncouth figure rolling before them :—"Look, look, Bonstetten, the great bear! There goes *Ursa Major*,"' see Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 384 n.

Dr. John Gregory wrote to Beattie in 1766 :—"Gray told me with a good deal of acrimony that his *Churchyard Elegy* owed its popularity entirely to the subject, and that the public would have received it as well if it had been written in prose.' Forbes's *Beattie*, 1824, p. 44.

'Soon after its publication,' said Mason, 'I remember sitting with Mr. Gray in his College apartment; he expressed to me his surprise at the rapidity of its sale. I replied :—

"Sunt lacrymae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt"

[*Aeneid* i. 462].

He paused awhile, and, taking his pen, wrote the line on a printed copy of it lying on his table. "This," said he, "shall be its future motto." "Pity," cried I, "that Dr. Young's *Night Thoughts* have pre-occupied it." "So," replied he, "indeed it is." *Mitford*, i. Preface, p. 26.

'Gray's *Elegy* will be read as long as any work of Shakespeare, despite of its moping owl and the tin-kettle of an epitaph tied to its tail. It is the first poem that ever touched my heart, and it strikes it now just in the same place. Homer, Shakespeare, Milton and Dante, the four giants who lived before our last Deluge of poetry, have left the ivy growing on the churchyard wall.' LANDOR, *Works*, 1874, i. 426. See also *Imag. Conver.* ed. Crump, iii. 381.

'Tennyson, speaking of the *Elegy*, quoted :—"The paths of glory lead but to the grave"; and said :—"These divine truisms make me weep." *Allingham MSS.*

'Gray (he said) in his limited sphere is great, and has a wonderful ear.' *Life of Tennyson*, ii. 288.

'This turn for style imparts to our poetry a stamp of high distinction, and sometimes it doubles the force of a poet not by nature of the very highest order such as Gray.' MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Celtic Literature*, 1867, p. 138.

'It seems to me strange that —, — and —', should go on pouring out poem after poem, as if such haste could prosper with any but first-rate men : and I suppose they hardly reckon themselves with the very first. I feel sure that Gray's *Elegy*, pieced and patched together so laboriously by a man of almost as little genius as abundant taste, will outlive all these hasty abortions. And yet there are plenty of faults in that *Elegy* too, resulting from the very elaboration which yet makes it live.' E. FITZGERALD, *Letters*, ii. 209.

' In FitzGerald's *Letters to Fanny Kemble*, p. 151, we find 'Browning, Swinburne, & Co.' See also *ib.* pp. 154, 187.

LYTTELTON¹

- 1 **G**EORGE LYTTELTON, the son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton of Hagley in Worcestershire, was born in 1709². He was educated at Eton³, where he was so much distinguished that his exercises were recommended as models to his school-fellows.
- 2 From Eton he went to Christ-church⁴, where he retained the same reputation of superiority, and displayed his abilities to the publick in a poem on Blenheim⁵.
- 3 He was a very early writer, both in verse and prose. His *Progress of Love*⁶ and his *Persian Letters*⁷ were both written when he was very young; and, indeed, the character of a young man is very visible in both. The Verses cant of shepherds and flocks, and crooks dressed with flowers⁸; and the Letters have something of that indistinct and headstrong ardour for liberty which a man of genius always catches when he enters the world, and always suffers to cool as he passes forward⁹.

¹ See Appendix BB.

² His mother and Gilbert West's mother were sisters. *Ante*, WEST, 2 n. 3.

³ In his *Persian Letters* he describes the education of 'several young noblemen' by a learned clergyman. 'They are accustomed to tremble at a rod, to tell lies in excuse of trifling faults, to betray their companions, to be spies and cowards.' *Works*, 1775, p. 185.

⁴ He matriculated on Feb. 11, 1725-6, but took no degree. *Alumni Oxon.*

⁵ *Post*, LYTTELTON, 31. It is the Palace of Blenheim, and Marlborough 'in these retreats,' and the widowed Duchess that he celebrates. *Eng. Poets*, lxiv. 267. He wrote the poem in 1727. *Works*, 1775, p. 639.

⁶ *The Progress of Love, in Four Eclogues*. *Eng. Poets*, lxiv. 251; *post*, LYTTELTON, 31. It was first published in 1732.

⁷ *Letters from a Persian in Eng-*

land to his Friend at Ispahan, Works, p. 91; *Gent. Mag.* 1735, p. 167. Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, published in 1721, were avowedly imitated by Lyttelton (see Warton's *Essay on Pope*, ii. 386), and by Goldsmith in his *Citizen of the World* (1760).

⁸ *Ante*, POPE, 313.

⁹ *Ante*, AKENSIDE, 3. Lyttelton advocates reform of Parliament and an unrestrained press in public matters. He maintains that Cromwell showed 'solid good sense' in wishing to have the title of King. *Works*, pp. 106, 189, 211, 213. He lived to draw the protest against the repeal of the American Stamp Act. Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 491.

¹⁰ In his *Persian Letters*, many of which are written on the most important subjects in ethics, politics and philosophy, he hath condescended to introduce two or three novels.' FIELDING, *Works*, 1806, v. 424. For

He staid not long at Oxford, for in 1728 he began his travels,⁴ and saw France and Italy¹. When he returned he obtained a seat in parliament², and soon distinguished himself among the most eager opponents of Sir Robert Walpole, though his father, who was Commissioner of the Admiralty, always voted with the Court³.

For many years the name of George Lyttelton was seen in every account of every debate in the House of Commons⁴. He opposed the standing army⁵; he opposed the excise⁶; he supported the motion for petitioning the King to remove Walpole⁷. His zeal was considered by the courtiers not only as violent, but as acrimonious and malignant⁸; and when Walpole was at last hunted⁹ from his places, every effort was made by his friends, and many friends he had, to exclude Lyttelton from the Secret Committee¹⁰.

The Prince of Wales, being (1737) driven from St. James's, kept a separate court, and opened his arms to the opponents of the ministry¹¹. Mr. Lyttelton became his secretary¹², and was

his intention not to reprint these *Letters* see Warton's *Essay on Pope*, ii. 386.

¹ For his letters on his tour see *Works*, p. 639.

² In 1735, as member for Okehampton. *Parl. Hist.* ix. 619.

³ His father was member for Camelford. The list of the division on March 8, 1738-9, on the Convention with Spain is given in *Gent. Mag.* June, 1739, where it is stated (pp. 306, 309) that the father, with a salary of '£1,300, with lodging, and fire and candle,' voted for the ministers, and the son, with a salary of £866 as Secretary to the Prince, voted against them. See also Cox's *Walpole*, i. 603.

⁴ Walpole, in 1747, mentions his making 'the finest oration imaginable.' *Letters*, ii. 81.

⁵ He had a great flow of words, that were always uttered in a lulling monotony, and the little meaning they had to boast of was generally borrowed from the common-place maxims and sentiments of moralists.' LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, i. 433.

⁶ On Feb. 3, 1737-8, and on Feb. 14, 1738-9. *Parl. Hist.* x. 405, 1345.

⁶ The Excise Bill was brought in on April 4, 1733, two years before he entered Parliament. *Ib.* ix. 1.

⁷ On Feb. 13, 1741. *Ib.* xi. 1370. His reported speech was written by Johnson. *Gent. Mag.* 1743, p. 172.

On the opening lines of this paragraph Macaulay seems to have modelled one part of his style.

⁸ 'There was nobody more violent in the Opposition, nor anybody a more declared enemy to Sir Robert Walpole than Mr. Lyttelton.' LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, ii. 481.

⁹ In the first edition, 'driven.' The same word comes four lines lower down.

¹⁰ Appointed on March 29, 1742, 'to inquire into the conduct of the Earl of Orford [Walpole].' Lyttelton was excluded. *Parl. Hist.* xii. 587.

¹¹ *Ante*, POPE, 217; THOMSON, 28; MALLET, 12.

¹² In Aug. 1737. *Works*, p. 701. Mrs. Delany (*Auto.* 2nd Ser. iii. 179) told of 'Lyttelton sending a letter on business of a secret nature to the post, without any direction, about the Prince's affairs, and it came into the hands of Mr. Pelham [the Prime Minister].'

supposed to have great influence in the direction of his conduct¹. He persuaded his master, whose business it was now to be popular, that he would advance his character by patronage². Mallet was made under-secretary with 200*l.*³, and Thomson had a pension of 100*l.* a year⁴. For Thomson Lyttelton always retained his kindness, and was able at last to place him at ease⁵.

7 Moore courted his favour by an apologetical poem, called *The Trial of Selim*⁶, for which he was paid with kind words, which, as is common, raised great hopes, that at last were disappointed⁷.

8 Lyttelton now stood in the first rank of opposition; and Pope, who was incited, it is not easy to say how⁸, to increase the clamour against the ministry, commended him among the other

¹ Lyttelton endorsed the draft of a letter written by him to the Prince before 1734:—'N.B. Hethen advised with me in all his affairs, for I was his chief favourite.' Phillimore's *Lyttelton*, i. 51.

In 1738 Pope wrote (*Epil. Sat.* i. 45):—

'If any ask you, "Who's the man so near

His Prince, that writes in verse, and has his ear?"

Why, answer Lyttelton, and I'll engage

The worthy youth shall ne'er be in a rage.'

Swift, in 1739, asked Lyttelton to let the Prince know 'the profound respect, honour, esteem and veneration I bear towards his princely virtues.' Swift's *Works*, xix. 205.

² For Bute's patronage of literary men see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 372.

³ *Ante*, MALLEY, 12.

⁴ *Ante*, THOMSON, 28. These amounts are not given in the first edition.

⁵ *Ante*, THOMSON, 35. Thomson introduces him in *The Castle of Indolence*, i. 65.

⁶ *The Trial of Selim the Persian for Divers High Crimes and Misdemeanours*. In *Gent. Mag.* 1748, p. 240, it is entered under 'Law.' Selim was the name of the supposed author of the *Persian Letters*. For Moore see *ante*, POPE, 358.

⁷ 'Lyttelton set up *The World* [Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 257]; Moore was to enjoy the full profits of it, whether the numbers were written by himself or not.' Phillimore's *Lyttelton*, i. 329.

Horace Walpole wrote on May 18, 1754:—'You will laugh when I tell you that I am employed to reconcile Sir George and Moore; the latter has been very flippant, say impertinent, on the former's giving a little place to Bower in preference to him.' *Letters*, ii. 386. The 'little place' was 'Clerk to the Bucks warrants.' Phillimore, i. 334.

Smollett, writing of Lyttelton in *Peregrine Pickle*, 1751, iv. 122 (Appendix CC), says:—'Let a scribbler creep into his notice by the most abject veneration, . . . receive and read his emendations with pretended ecstasy, . . . bawl for him upon all occasions in common conversation, prose and rhyme, . . . feed him with the soft pap of dedication, . . . the friendship of Mr. Scrag will be sooner or later manifested in some warm sinecure.'

Smollett also scoffed at him in *Roderick Random*, 1748, ch. 63, in the character of Earl Sheerwit, 'a Macenas in the nation.' See Scott's *Works*, 1834, iii. 128.

⁸ 'He had been won over by the attentions of the Prince of Wales.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 406 n.; *ante*, POPE, 217.

patriots'. This drew upon him the reproaches of Fox, who, in the house, imputed to him as a crime his intimacy with a lampooner so unjust and licentious. Lyttelton supported his friend, and replied that he thought it an honour to be received into the familiarity of so great a poet².

While he was thus conspicuous he married (1741)³ Miss Lucy 9 Fortescue of Devonshire, by whom he had a son, the late lord Lyttelton⁴, and two daughters, and with whom he appears to have lived in the highest degree of connubial felicity: but human pleasures are short; she died in childbed about five years afterwards⁵, and he solaced his grief by writing a long poem to her memory⁶.

He did not, however, condemn himself to perpetual solitude 10 and sorrow, for after a while he was content to seek happiness again by a second marriage with the daughter of Sir Robert Rich; but the experiment was unsuccessful⁷.

At length, after a long struggle, Walpole gave way, and honour 11 and profit were distributed among his conquerors⁸. Lyttelton was made (1744) one of the Lords of the Treasury⁹; and from that time was engaged in supporting the schemes of the ministry.

Politicks did not, however, so much engage him as to withhold 12 his thoughts from things of more importance. He had, in the

¹ 'Sometimes a patriot, active in debate,
Mix with the world, and battle for the state,
Free as young Lyttelton her cause pursue,
Still true to virtue, and as warm as true.'

Imit. Hor., Epis. i. 1. 27.

² *Ante*, POPE, 219. According to Walpole, in the privately printed *Patriot King* (*ante*, POPE, 250), 'where Bolingbroke had strongly flattered their common friend, Lyttelton, Pope suppressed the panegyric. . . . Lyttelton asked Bolingbroke how he had forfeited his good opinion.' Walpole's *Letters*, ii. 159.

³ In June, 1742. Phillimore's *Lyttelton*, i. 213. *Ante*, WEST, 6 n.

⁴ 'The wicked Lord Lyttelton.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 298 n.

⁵ She gave birth to a daughter on Jan. 1, 1746-7, and died on Jan. 19. *Gent. Mag.* 1747, pp. 47-8.

'Her own great imprudence, it is thought, occasioned her death.' MRS. DELANY, *Auto.* ii. 451.

⁶ See Appendix CC.

⁷ 'July 10, 1749. Geo. Lyttelton, Esq., a Lord of the Treasury, to Miss Rich, daughter of Sir Rob. Rich, Bart., with £20,000.' *Gent. Mag.* 1749, p. 331. 'Her conduct at last made a separation inevitable.' *Phillimore*, i. 335. For the verses she and Horace Walpole exchanged in 1784 see his *Letters*, viii. 528.

⁸ Walpole resigned on Feb. 9, 1741-2. *Ib.* i. Preface, p. 63.

⁹ Lyttelton came in with the coalition known as 'The Broad Bottom,' when the Pelhams forced Granville to resign. Smollett's *Hist.* iii. 144. Horace Walpole, mentioning the appointment on Dec. 24, 1744, adds:—'The Prince has turned out Lyttelton, who was his Secretary.' *Letters*, i. 335. See *ante*, THOMSON, 35.

pride of juvenile confidence, with the help of corrupt conversation, entertained doubts of the truth of Christianity¹; but he thought the time now come when it was no longer fit to doubt or believe by chance, and applied himself seriously to the great question. His studies, being honest, ended in conviction. He found that religion was true, and what he had learned he endeavoured to teach (1747) by *Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul*², a treatise to which infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer. This book his father had the happiness of seeing, and expressed his pleasure in a letter which deserves to be inserted:

'I have read your religious treatise with infinite pleasure and satisfaction. The style is fine and clear, the arguments close, cogent, and irresistible. May the King of kings, whose glorious cause you have so well defended, reward your pious labours, and grant that I may be found worthy, through the merits of Jesus Christ, to be an eye-witness of that happiness which I don't doubt he will bountifully bestow upon you. In the mean time, I shall never cease glorifying God, for having endowed you with such useful talents, and giving me so good a son.

'Your affectionate father,

'THOMAS LYTTELTON³.'

- 13 A few years afterwards (1751), by the death of his father⁴, he inherited a baronet's title with a large estate, which, though perhaps he did not augment, he was careful to adorn, by a house of great elegance and expence⁵ and by much attention to the decoration of his park⁶.

- 14 As he continued his activity in parliament, he was gradually

¹ *Post*, LYTTELTON, 27. Horace Walpole wrote from Paris on Oct. 19, 1765:—'For Lord Lyttelton, if he would come hither and turn free-thinker once more, he would be reckoned the most agreeable man in France.' *Letters*, iv. 426.

² '*Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*, price 1s. 6d.' *Gent. Mag.* 1747, p. 252; *Works*, p. 251; *ante*, WEST, 6.

³ Horace Walpole wrote of the Methodists in 1749:—'This sect increases as fast as almost ever any religious nonsense did. Lady Fanny Shirley has chosen this way of bestowing the dregs of her beauty, and Mr. Lyttelton is very near making the same sacrifice of the dregs of all those

various characters that he has worn.' *Letters*, ii. 154.

The same year Fielding dedicated to him *Tom Jones*. 'From the name,' he wrote, 'of my patron indeed, I hope my reader will be convinced at his very entrance on this work that he will find in the whole course of it . . . nothing which can offend even the chastest ear in the perusal.'

⁴ He died on Sept. 14, 1751. *Gent. Mag.* 1751, p. 427.

⁵ 'The house,' wrote Walpole in 1753, 'is immeasurably bad and old.' *Letters*, ii. 352. For Johnson's description of the new house see Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 456.

⁶ Thomson, in 1728, celebrated the park in *Spring*, ll. 901-59. Walpole

advancing his claim to profit and preferment, and accordingly was made in time (1754) cofferer¹ and privy counsellor: this place he exchanged next year for the great office of chancellor of the Exchequer; an office, however, that required some qualifications which he soon perceived himself to want².

The year after his curiosity led him into Wales; of which he 15 has given an account, perhaps rather with too much affectation of delight, to Archibald Bower, a man of whom he had conceived an opinion more favourable than he seems to have deserved, and whom, having once espoused his interest and fame, he never was persuaded to disown. Bower, whatever was his moral character, did not want abilities: attacked as he was by an universal outcry, and that outcry, as it seems, the echo of truth, he kept his ground; at last, when his defences began to fail him, he sallied out upon his adversaries, and his adversaries retreated³.

About this time Lyttelton published his *Dialogues of the 16 Dead*⁴, which were very eagerly read, though the production rather, as it seems, of leisure than of study⁵, rather effusions than compositions. The names of his persons too often enable the reader to anticipate their conversation; and when they have

wrote in 1753:—'There is a scene of a small lake, with cascades falling down such a Parnassus!' *Letters*, ii. 352. Johnson wrote in 1774:—'The park wants water; there is however one temporary cascade.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 456.

² *Gent. Mag.* March, 1754, p. 143. Johnson defines *Cofferer* as a 'principal officer of his Majesty's Court, next under the Comptroller.' The salary was £500. Millan's *Universal Register*, 1756, p. 71.

³ Walpole mentions the appointment on Nov. 25, 1755. *Letters*, ii. 489. On Jan. 24, 1756, he wrote that 'Lyttelton opened the Budget; well enough in general, but was strangely bewildered in the figures; he stumbled over millions, and dwelt pompously upon farthings.' *Ib.* p. 500. See also *ib.* p. 511. When he was succeeded by Dowdeswell, Warburton said:—'The one (Lyttelton) never in his life could learn that two and two made four, while the other knew nothing

else.' Prior's *Malone*, p. 443.

⁴ See Appendix DD.

⁵ *Works*, p. 313; *Gent. Mag.* 1760, p. 251.

Walpole, on May 24, 1760, described it as 'a work paltry enough; the style a mixture of bombast, poetry and vulgarisms.' *Letters*, iii. 314.

Wesley quoting from it:—'Martin has spawned a strange brood of fellows called Methodists, Moravians, Hutchinsonians, who are madder than Jack was in his worst days,' continues:—'I would ask any one who knows what good breeding means, is this language for a nobleman or a porter?' *Journal*, 1827, iii. 398.

⁵ Johnson first wrote:—'The production rather of a mind that means well than thinks vigorously.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 58. Speaking of it he said:—'That man sat down to write a book to tell the world what the world had all his life been telling him.' *Ib.* ii. 126.

met, they too often part without any conclusion. He has copied Fénelon more than Fontenelle¹.

- 17 When they were first published they were kindly commended by the Critical Reviewers², and poor Lyttelton³ with humble gratitude returned, in a note which I have read, acknowledgements which can never be proper, since they must be paid either for flattery or for justice⁴.
- 18 When, in the latter part of the last reign, the inauspicious commencement of the war made the dissolution of the ministry unavoidable, Sir George Lyttelton, losing with the rest his employment, was recompensed with a peerage⁵; and rested from political turbulence in the House of Lords.
- 19 His last literary production was his *History of Henry the*

¹ Lyttelton mentions both writers in his Preface. Fontenelle's *Dialogues des Morts* was published in 1683 and Fénelon's in 1712. In *Dialogue* xiv. first ed. p. 134, Lyttelton wrote of Voltaire:—'Even his exile, I fear, has not taught him enough to curb the excesses of his wit.' Voltaire wrote a letter to him complaining of this and other statements, and signed himself:—'Gentleman of the King's Chamber. At my Castle of Ferney, in Burgundy.' *Œuvres*, l. 543. For Horace Walpole's ridicule of this subscription see his *Letters*, iii. 380. Lyttelton published Voltaire's letter in *Gent. Mag.* 1761, p. 54. For his own answer see Rebecca Warner's *Original Letters*, p. 282.

² The writers in *The Critical Review*. 'They are for supporting the constitution both in Church and State,' said Johnson. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 32. See also *ib.* ii. 39. 'The scope of the *Review* was to decry any work that appeared favourable to the principles of the Revolution.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*, iii. 260. Lyttelton, a Whig, dreaded a hostile criticism. Smollett moreover was the editor, who had grossly libelled him. The reviewer says that 'the hand of a master is visible in every page.' *Critical Review*, May, 1760, p. 390.

³ See *ante*, DRYDEN, 40, for 'poor Dryden,' and *post*, LYTTELTON, Appendix BB.

Walpole wrote in 1781:—'"Poor Lyttelton" were the words of offence. Mrs. Vesey sounded the trumpet. It has not, I believe, produced any altercation, but at a blue-stocking meeting held by Lady Lucan, Mrs. Montagu and Dr. Johnson kept at different ends of the chamber, and set up altar against altar there.' *Letters*, viii. 16.

W. W. Pepys, writing to Mrs. Montagu, lamented that 'our dear and respectable friend should be handed down to succeeding generations under the appellation of poor Lyttelton.' *John. Misc.* ii. 417.

⁴ In the first edition, 'returned his acknowledgements in a note which I have read; acknowledgements either for flattery or justice.'

For Boswell's defence of the practice see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 57, and for Macaulay's breaking through Johnson's rule see his *Life*, 1877, ii. 124.

⁵ Nov. 13, 1756. Mr. Legge returns to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir George Lyttelton is indemnified with a peerage.' H. WALPOLE, *Letters*, iii. 44.

On Nov. 25 Lyttelton wrote to his brother:—'My good friends were pleased to say they would *annihilate* me; but my *annihilation* is a Peerage given me by the King, with the most gracious expressions of favour.' *Phillimore*, ii. 537. See *ante*, WEST, 6 n.

*Second*¹, elaborated by the searches and deliberations of twenty years, and published with such anxiety as only vanity can dictate².

The story of this publication is remarkable. The whole work 20 was printed twice over, a great part of it three times, and many sheets four or five times. The booksellers paid for the first impression; but the charges and repeated operations of the press were at the expence of the author, whose ambitious accuracy is known to have cost him at least a thousand pounds. He began to print in 1755. Three volumes appeared in 1764³, a second edition of them in 1767, a third edition in 1768, and the conclusion in 1771⁴.

Andrew Reid⁵, a man not without considerable abilities, and 21 not unacquainted with letters or with life, undertook to persuade Lyttelton, as he had persuaded himself, that he was master of the secret of punctuation⁶; and, as fear begets credulity, he was

¹ Lyttelton, as he told Doddridge in 1747, wrote the *History* 'to expose a false religion which is every day gaining ground in this kingdom; . . . by the account of that reign in which the spirit of Popery discovers itself in all its deformity.' *Phillimore*, i. 381.

'BOSWELL. I rather think, Sir, that Toryism prevails in this reign. JOHNSON. I know not why you should think so, Sir. You see your friend Lord Lyttelton, a nobleman, is obliged in his *History* to write the most vulgar Whiggism.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 221. See also *ib.* ii. 37 for Johnson's talk with George III about the book.

Hume wrote to Adam Smith on July 14, 1767:—'Have you read Lord Lyttelton? Do you not admire his Whiggery and his Piety; Qualities so useful both for this World and the next?' *Hume MSS.* in the Royal Society, Edinburgh.

'For the first article [in *Mémoires littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*], Lyttelton's *History of Henry II*, I must own myself responsible; but the public has ratified my judgment of that voluminous work, in which sense and learning are not illuminated by a ray of genius.' GIBBON, *Mémoires*, p. 173.

'His *Henry II* raises no more

passions than Burn's *Justice of Peace*. WALPOLE, *Letters*, viii. 16.

² *The Critical Review*, 1767, i. 81, spoke highly of it. 'Mr. Murphy said he understood it was kept back several years for fear of Smollett.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 33.

³ Lyttelton was equally in dread of present and future critics, which made his works so insipid that he had better not have written them at all.' WALPOLE, *Letters*, v. 500.

⁴ The first notice of them is in 1767, both in *Gent. Mag.* p. 319, and *Ann. Reg.* ii. 266. 1767, not 1764, was the year of publication.

⁵ Walpole wrote of it on Dec. 14, 1771:—'It is so crowded with clouds of words, and they are so uninteresting, that I think one may dispute, as metaphysicians do, whether all the space is a plenum or a vacuum.' *Letters*, v. 356.

⁶ He edited *The Present State of the Republic of Letters* (*ante*, POPE, 189 n. 1) from 1728–36. *Brit. Mus. Cata.*

⁷ Johnson said 'that Lyttelton employed a man to point his *History* for him; as if (laughing) another man could point his sense better than himself.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 32.

Byron wrote to John Murray:—'Do you know any one who can stop—

employed, I know not at what price, to point the pages of *Henry the Second*. The book was at last pointed and printed, and sent into the world. Lyttelton took money for his copy ¹, of which, when he had paid the Pointer, he probably gave the rest away; for he was very liberal to the indigent.

- 22 When time brought the *History* to a third edition, Reid was either dead or discarded; and the superintendence of typography and punctuation was committed to a man originally a comb-maker, but then known by the style of Doctor ². Something uncommon was probably expected, and something uncommon was at last done; for to the Doctor's edition is appended, what the world had hardly seen before, a list of errors in nineteen pages ³.
- 23 But to politicks and literature there must be an end. Lord Lyttelton had never the appearance of a strong or of a healthy man; he had a slender uncompact frame, and a meagre face ⁴: he lasted, however, sixty years, and was then seized with his last illness. Of his death a very affecting and instructive account has been given by his physician ⁵, which will spare me the task of his moral character ⁶.

I mean *point*—commas and so forth? for I am, I hear, a sad hand at your punctuation.' Byron's *Works, Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero, 1898, ii. 252.

For Jeffrey's 'attending to the very commas and colons' in the proof-sheets of Macaulay's *England* see Cockburn's *Jeffrey*, i. 402.

¹ Wilkes wrote on June 22, 1767:—'I hear that he has received £3,000 for his *History*, which is in two small quartos.' Wilkes's *Corres.* 1805, iii. 150.

² In the first edition, 'Dr. Saunders.'

³ For an instance of these errors see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 33 n.

⁴ The intrusion or omission of a comma was sufficient to discompose Mr. Savage.' *Ante*, SAVAGE, 127.

⁵ He, not Johnson, was the 'respectable Hottentot' of Chesterfield's *Letters*. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 267 n. Chesterfield wrote of him:—'His head, always hanging upon one or other of his shoulders, seems to have received the first stroke upon a block.' *Letters*, 1774, ii. 219.

⁶ He was, in his figure, extremely tall and thin; his face was so ugly,

his person so ill-made, and his carriage so awkward, that every feature was a blemish, every limb an encumbrance, and every motion a disgrace; but as disagreeable as was his figure, his voice was still more so.' LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, i. 433.

In the lines beneath a caricature he is described as 'so long, so lank, so lean, and bony.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 285 n.

⁵ The physician was Dr. James Johnstone, of Kidderminster, father of Dr. John Johnstone, of Birmingham, editor of Parr's *Works*. The letter, dated May 26, 1773, was written to Mrs. Montagu. Rebecca Warner's *Original Letters*, p. 276. It was first published (with omissions and errors followed by Johnson) in *Gent. Mag.* 1773, p. 604.

⁶ 'Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Lyttelton*, suppressed an anecdote which would have made his memory ridiculous. "He was a man rather melancholy in his disposition, and used to declare to his friends, that when he went to Vauxhall he always supposed pleasure to be in the next box to his." ' *European Mag.* 1798,

'On Sunday evening [morning] the symptoms of his lordship's ²⁴ disorder, which for a week past had alarmed us, put on a fatal appearance, and his lordship believed himself to be a dying man. From this time he suffered by restlessness rather than pain; though his nerves were apparently much fluttered, his mental faculties never seemed stronger, when he was thoroughly awake.

'His lordship's bilious and hepatick complaints' seemed alone ²⁵ not equal to the expected mournful event: his long want of sleep, whether the consequence of the irritation in the bowels, or, which is more probable, of causes of a different kind, accounts for his loss of strength and for his death very sufficiently.

'Though his lordship wished his approaching dissolution not ²⁶ to be lingering, he waited for it with resignation. He said, "It is a folly, a keeping me in misery, now to attempt to prolong life"; yet he was easily persuaded, for the satisfaction of others, to do or take any thing thought proper for him. On Saturday he had been remarkably better, and we were not without some hopes of his recovery.

'On Sunday, about eleven in the forenoon, his lordship sent ²⁷ for me, and said he felt a great hurry, and wished to have a little conversation with me in order to divert it. He then proceeded to open the fountain of that heart from whence goodness had so long flowed as from a copious spring. "Doctor," said he, "you shall be my confessor: when I first set out in the world, I had friends who endeavoured to shake my belief in the Christian religion². I saw difficulties which staggered me; but I kept my mind open to conviction. The evidences and doctrines of Christianity, studied with attention, made me a most firm and persuaded believer of the Christian religion. I have made it the rule of my life, and it is the ground of my future hopes. I have erred and sinned; but have repented, and never indulged any vicious habit. In politicks and publick life I have made publick good the rule of my conduct³. I never gave counsels which I did not at the time think the best. I have seen that I was sometimes in the wrong, but I did not err designedly.

p. 376. E. FitzGerald attributes this saying to Sir C. H. Williams. *More Letters*, p. 157.

¹ Poyntz, English ambassador at the Congress of Soissons in 1728, whom Lyttelton in his youth visited at Paris, wrote to his father:—"His health is liable to frequent interruptions. They seem to proceed chiefly from an ill digestion, which may sometimes be occasioned by the vivacity of his imagination's pursuing some agreeable thought too intensely, and diverting the spirits from their

proper function even at meals.' *Works*, p. 676.

Chesterfield described him as 'wrapped up like a Laputan in intense thought. . . . He throws anywhere but down his throat whatever he means to drink, and only mangles what he means to carve.' *Letters*, ii. 219, iii. 129.

² *Ante*, LYTTELTON, 12.

³ It was not for the public good that a man unable to understand figures held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Ante*, LYTTELTON, 14.

I have endeavoured in private life to do all the good in my power, and never for a moment could indulge malicious or unjust designs upon any person whatsoever¹."

28 'At another time he said, "I must leave my soul in the same state it was in before this illness; I find this a very inconvenient time for solicitude about any thing."

29 'In the evening, when the symptoms of death came on, he said, "I shall die; but it will not be your fault." When lord and lady Valentia² came to see his lordship, he gave them his solemn benediction, and said, "Be good, be virtuous, my lord; you must come to this." Thus he continued giving his dying benediction to all around him. On Monday morning a lucid interval³ gave some small hopes, but these vanished in the evening; and he continued dying, but with very little uneasiness, till Tuesday morning, August 22, when between seven and eight o'clock he expired, almost without a groan.'

30 His lordship was buried at Hagley; and the following inscription is cut on the side of his lady's monument:

'This unadorned stone was placed here
By the particular desire and express
directions of the Right Honourable
GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON,
Who died August 22, 1773, aged 64.'

31 Lord Lyttelton's poems are the works of a man of literature and judgement, devoting part of his time to versification⁴. They have nothing to be despised, and little to be admired. Of his *Progress of Love* it is sufficient blame to say that it is pastoral⁵. His blank verse in *Blenheim*⁶ has neither much force nor much elegance. His little performances, whether Songs or Epigrams, are sometimes spritely and sometimes insipid⁷. His epistolary

¹ Fielding, in the Dedication to *Tom Jones*, says of him and Ralph Allen (*ante*, POPE, 218, 254):—"If there be in this work, as some have been pleased to say, a stronger picture of a truly benevolent mind than is to be found in any other, who that knows you, and a particular acquaintance of yours, will doubt whence that benevolence hath been copied?"

² She was his daughter. Burke's *Peerage*.

³ For 'lucid interval' see *John. Letters*, ii. 377; Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 34.

⁴ On his tour he wrote from Luneville in 1728:—"In the morning the

Duke hunts; but my malicious stars have so contrived it that I am no more a sportsman than a gamester. There are no men of learning in the whole country; on the contrary, it is a character they despise. A man of quality caught me the other day reading a Latin author, and asked me, with an air of contempt, whether I was designed for the Church. All this would be tolerable if I was not condemned to converse with a set of English who are still more ignorant than the French.' *Works*, p. 645.

⁵ *Ante*, LYTTELTON, 3.

⁶ *Ante*, LYTTELTON, 2.

⁷ Gray wrote to Walpole in 1748:—

pieces have a smooth equability, which cannot much tire because they are short, but which seldom elevates or surprises. But from this censure ought to be excepted his *Advice to Belinda*¹, which, though for the most part written when he was very young, contains much truth and much prudence, very elegantly and vigorously expressed, and shews a mind attentive to life, and a power of poetry which cultivation might have raised to excellence².

FINIS³.

APPENDIX BB (PAGES 446, 452)

On July 27, 1780, Johnson wrote to Lyttelton's brother, Lord Westcote, about this *Life*. 'My desire is to avoid offence, and to be totally out of danger. I take the liberty of proposing to your lordship, that the historical account should be written under your direction by any friend you may be willing to employ, and I will only take upon myself to examine the poetry.'

He wrote next day:—'I wish it had been convenient to have had that done which I proposed. I shall certainly not wantonly nor willingly offend; but when there are such near relations living, I had rather they would please themselves. For the life of Lord Lyttelton I shall need no help—it was very public, and I have no need to be minute.' *John. Letters*, ii. 187.

On Aug. 16 he wrote to Nichols the printer:—'Is there not a life of Lyttelton before the quarto edition of his Works? I think there is—if not, I am, in respect to him, quite aground.' *Ib.* p. 197. There is no *Life* prefixed.

For the offence Johnson gave to Lyttelton's friends, and for 'the declaration of war from Mrs. Montagu,' see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 64;

'Mr. Lyttelton is a gentle elegiac person.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 184.

¹ *Advice to a Lady*. He was only twenty-two when, as a lover, he thus teaches Belinda her duty to her future husband:—

'Let ev'n your prudence wear the
pleasing dress

Of care for him, and anxious tenderness.

From kind concern about his weal
or woe

Let each domestic duty seem to
flow.

The household sceptre if he bids
you bear,

Make it your pride his servant to
appear.' *Eng. Poets*, lxiv. 291.

² 'Learning, eloquence and gravity distinguished this peer above most of his rank, and breathe in all his prose. His *Epistle to Mr. Pope* [*Eng. Poets*, lxiv. 282] is the best of his poetry, which was more elegant than striking. Originality seems never to have been his aim.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Works*, i. 539. Walpole, in his *Letters*, viii. 235, describes him as 'a sing-song warbler.'

³ 'Some time in March [1781] I finished the *Lives of the Poets*, which I wrote in my usual way, dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work, and working with vigour and haste.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 34.

John. Misc. ii. 421; *ante*, SHENSTONE, 11. Walpole wrote on Jan. 27, 1781:—‘Mrs. Montagu and all her Maenades intend to tear Johnson limb from limb for despising their moppet, Lord Lyttelton.’ *Letters*, vii. 505.

W. W. Pepys, speaking of the disputation at Streatham upon the *Life* (Boswell’s *Johnson*, iv. 65 n.), says:—‘Johnson took great credit for not having mentioned the coarseness of Lord Lyttelton’s manners.’ *John. Misc.* ii. 417. See also *ib.* i. 244, ii. 193.

J. Hussey recorded on the margin of his *Boswell* [*ante*, SAVAGE, Appendix FF]:—‘Johnson said to me many years before he published his Preface [*Life of Lyttelton*]:—“Lord Lyttelton was a worthy good man, but so ungracious that he did not know how to be a gentleman.”’

For Mrs. Piozzi’s explanation of Johnson’s supposed ill-will towards Lyttelton, see Boswell’s *Johnson*, iv. 57; *John. Misc.* i. 257; *John. Letters*, i. 46 n. For Percy’s explanation see *John. Misc.* ii. 208. See also LYTTTELTON, 17 n. 3.

APPENDIX CC (PAGE 449)

Eng. Poets, lxiv. 311; *ante*, WEST, 6 n. It is advertised in *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1747, p. 548—‘*To the Memory of a Lady lately deceased. A Monody.* Price 1s.’ It is marred by the pastoral passages. ‘Where there is leisure for fiction there is little grief,’ as Johnson said of *Lycidas*. *Ante*, MILTON, 180. Gray wrote of it:—‘If it were all like the fourth stanza I should be excessively pleased. Nature and sorrow and tenderness are the true genius of such things; and something of these I find in several parts of it (not in the orange tree). Poetical ornaments are foreign to the purpose, for they only shew a man is not sorry;—and devotion worse; for it teaches him that he ought not to be sorry, which is all the pleasure of the thing.’ *Letters*, i. 181. See also *ib.* p. 172.

On March 3, 1751, Gray wrote:—‘In the last volume of *Peregrine Pickle* is a character of Mr. Lyttelton, under the name of Gosling Scrag, and a parody of part of his *Monody*, under the notion of a Pastoral on the death of his grandmother.’ *Ib.* p. 212.

In the College of Authors in *Peregrine Pickle*, 1751, iv. 116, ‘a pastoral upon the death of his grandmother’ is read by the poet. The Chairman says that ‘he has expressly imitated, not to say copied, the celebrated production of the universal patron. What! (replied the other) you mean the famous Gosling Scrag, Esq. . . . Did he acquire the reputation of a wit by a repetition of trite invectives against a minister, conveyed in a theatrical cadence, accompanied with the most ridiculous gestures, before he believed it was his interest to desert his master and renounce his party?’ This passage Smollett suppressed in later editions. In his *Hist. of Eng.* v. 381, we read of ‘the delicate taste, the polished muse, and tender feelings of a Lyttelton.’

Gray, in *The Progress of Poesy* (l. 102), perhaps had in mind the following line in *The Monody* (*Eng. Poets*, lxiv. 312):

‘Clos’d are those beauteous eyes in endless night.’

Perhaps each poet imitated Virgil (*Aeneid* x. 746):

‘In aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem.’

APPENDIX DD (PAGE 451)

Account of a Journey into Wales in Two Letters to Mr. Bower, Works, p. 711. The Letters were written in 1756.

Archibald Bower was a Jesuit priest who professed himself a Protestant, and in 1748-66 published a *History of the Popes* in 7 vols. He was attacked by the Jesuits as 'notoriously a liar' and by some Protestants as a Jesuit in disguise. See *Gent. Mag.* 1757, pp. 65, 117, and *ib.* 1785, p. 177, where it is said that 'he defended himself with great skill and ability, which cannot be too much admired, whether guilty or not; and this perhaps will ever remain doubtful. . . . Lord Lyttelton was his friend to the last. He died in 1766, aged 78.'

Walpole wrote of him in 1750:—'He is much admired here; but I am not good Christian enough to rejoice over him, because turned Protestant; nor honour his confessorship, when he ran away with the materials that were trusted to him to write for the Papacy, and makes use of them to write against it.' *Letters*, ii. 209. See also *ib.* p. 508.

Gibbon wrote of him in 1764:—'He is a rogue unmasked, who enjoyed for twenty years the favour of the public, because he had quitted a sect to which he still secretly adhered.' *Misc. Works*, v. 464.

'Lyttelton,' wrote Hume, 'says that Robertson and [Adam] Smith and Bower are the glories of English literature.' Burton's *Hume*, ii. 58.

Bower is joined with Lauder as an impostor and quack in Goldsmith's *Retaliation*. He was one of the writers of *The Universal History*. *John. Letters*, ii. 433.

ADDITIONAL APPENDICES

[MS. OF POPE'S *ILIAD* (pages 119-26).

The original manuscript from which the transcripts were made is preserved in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.* 4807). So numerous are the corrections that only a facsimile could accurately show 'by what gradations Pope's version advanced to correctness.' Johnson, unfortunately, was not very well served by his transcriber, nor is this perhaps a matter for wonder if, as Cunningham says, it was Mrs. Thrale who made the transcript from the first copy.

A comparison between the version of the passages as they were printed in the *Lives of the Poets*, and the same passages as they appear in the actual manuscript in the British Museum, discloses some differences. In the more important instances of divergence, the text of the present edition has been altered in accordance with the manuscript.]

[THOMSON AND THE SURVEYORSHIP-GENERAL OF THE
LEEWARD ISLANDS (page 293).

All the biographers of Thomson have asserted that the poet was appointed Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands; that the appoint-

ment was due to the kind offices of Lyttelton; and that Thomson appointed as his deputy William Paterson, his friend and successor in the post. It is somewhat perplexing to meet with other evidence in conflict with this unanimity.

Before, however, dealing with this conflicting evidence, it is to be observed that there is some difference in the accounts with regard to the date of the appointment and the duration of Thomson's tenure of the office. The author of the life in the *Biographia Britannica* (Suppl. 1766, p. 169) writes: 'In 1746 Lord Lyttelton procured for him the place of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands, and he enjoyed it to his death.' Murdoch, Thomson's friend and biographer, writing four years earlier (*Works*, 1762, Pref., p. 11) states that Thomson, when he lost his place of Secretary of Briefs in 1737, was 'reduced to a state of precarious dependance, in which he passed the remainder of his life; excepting only the two last years of it, during which he enjoyed the place of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands, procured for him by the generous friendship of my Lord Lyttelton.' Johnson also, apparently, adopts 1746 as the correct date, as he mentions the appointment after speaking of *Tancred and Sigismunda*, which was published in 1745. Later biographers, on the other hand, such as M. Morel (*James Thomson, sa vie et ses œuvres*, p. 150) and Mr. Seccombe (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), seem inclined to assign 1744 as the date of appointment. Perhaps the more generally received view is most definitely given in the following statement by Mr. Logie Robertson (*The Seasons*, Clar. Press, p. 16):—'In the following year (1744), Lyttelton being then a Lord of the Treasury, Thomson was appointed to the sinecure office of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands. After paying a deputy to discharge the active duties of the post, he found himself benefited to the extent of about £300 a year.'

As however the commission appointing Lyttelton a Lord of the Treasury bears date Dec. 26, 1744, it is probable that we should read here 1744-5, according to the old reckoning. Mr. Logie Robertson furthermore states (p. 17):—'In 1746 the poet made way for his old friend and deputy, Paterson, in the office of Surveyor-General.'

Through the kindness of Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, the warrant appointing Paterson has been brought before my notice. This warrant, which clearly establishes the fact that Paterson was appointed in 1746, is as follows:—

'William Paterson to be Surveyor Gen^l of Antigua, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Isles, and the Island of Bermuda, in the room of Charles Dunbar dismissed, at the like salary and other allowances as were enjoyed by Mr. Dunbar.' Warrant dated 29 May, 1746. H. P. M. R. A. *Customs and Excise Letter Book*, vol. xxiii. p. 86.

It will be observed that there is no mention of Thomson. Paterson, who has hitherto been regarded as Thomson's deputy, is appointed in 1746 in direct succession to Charles Dunbar, who had been dismissed for frauds in connexion with the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties in the summer of 1743, but whose fate, apparently, was not finally settled as late as 1745, as he continued petitioning the Crown until that date. *Cal. of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1742-5, pp. 269, 271, 289, 697.

In Chamberlayne's *Public State of Great Britain*, 1743, 1745, 1748,

we find confirmation. In the volume for 1743 (part ii. bk. iii. p. 79), under 'Officers of the Customs in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands,' is this entry:—'Barbadoes, Bridge-Town, Charles Dunbar, Surveyor-General, for himself £400; for a clerk £50.' In 1745 (p. 80) the office is entered as vacant. In 1748 (p. 98) the following entry appears:—'Bridge-Town, William Paterson, Esq., Surveyor-General, for himself £400; for a clerk £50.'

Again in regard to the general view that the post was a sinecure and discharged, in Thomson's case at any rate, through a deputy, the terms of the warrant hardly seem to allow of this. Moreover it is certain that Edward Perrie, Dunbar's predecessor, Dunbar himself and Paterson were all present in person to perform the duties of the office. *Cal. of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1731-4, p. 552, and a long letter of Thomson's written 'to Mr. Paterson of the Leeward Islands,' in 1748—almost certainly in April—wherein there are references to Paterson's official duties and to his residence in the Barbadoes. *The Seasons*, 1791, Life by R. Heron, Pref., p. 40.

The only suggestion I can make is that Lyttelton some time after his appointment in December, 1744, may have offered the post to Thomson. Thomson possibly did not care to go out to Barbadoes, and perhaps after some delay, occasioned by the fact that Dunbar's fate still hung in the balance, secured the transference of the post to his old friend William Paterson, the author of *Arminius*, who, from his experience as a clerk in a counting-house, was more competent than Thomson to perform the duties. Some private arrangement, I suggest, was made that Paterson should pay to Thomson a portion of the salary of £400.]

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